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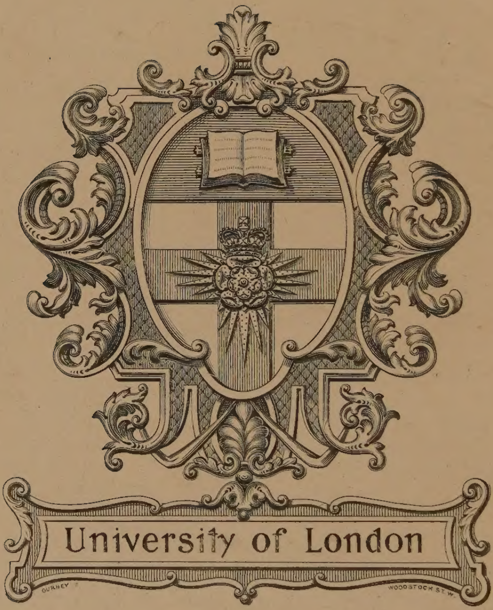
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THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION),

FOURTH SERIES.

FIFTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT
OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

4 EDWARD VII.

VOLUME CXXXVIII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF JULY
TO THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY OF JULY, 1904.

TENTH VOLUME OF SESSION

1904.

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CHRONOLOGY OF "THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES."

THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY contains all that can be collected of the Legislative History of this country from the Conquest to the close of the XVIIIth Century (1803), 36 vols. The chief sources whence these Debates are derived are the Constitutional History, 24 vols.; Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal; Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621; Chandler and Timberland's Debates, 22 vols.; Grey's Debates of the Commons, from 1667 to 1694, 10 vols.; Almon's Debates, 24 vols.; Debrett's Debates, 63 vols.; The Hardwicke Papers; Debates in Parliament by Dr. Johnson, &c., &c.

THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES commence with the year 1803, and the contents are set forth in the following Chronological Table:—

HISTORY.

CONQUEST to 34 GEO. II.—1066 to 1760.

Vol. 1 to 15, 1 Will. I. to 34 Geo. II.
1066-1760

REIGN OF GEORGE III.—1760 to 1820.

Vol. 15 to 35, 1 Geo. III. to 40 Geo. III.
1760-1800

(First Parliament.)

Vol. 35	41 Geo. III.	1801
— 36	42 —	1802

(Second Parliament.)

Vol. 36	42 Geo. III.	1802-3

DEBATES.

First Series.

(Second Parliament—*continued.*)

Vol. 1 & 2	44 Geo. III.	1803-4
— 3 to 5	45 —	1805
— 6 & 7	46 —	1806

(Third Parliament.)

Vol. 8 & 9	47 Geo. III.	1806-7

(Fourth Parliament.)

Vol. 9 to 11	48 Geo. III.	1807-8
— 12 — 14	49 —	1809
— 15 — 17	50 —	1810
— 18 — 20	51 —	1810-11
— 21 — 23	52 —	1812

(Fifth Parliament.)

Vol. 24 to 26	53 Geo. III.	1812-13
— 27 & 28	54 —	1813-14
— 29 to 31	55 —	1814-15
— 32 — 34	56 —	1816
— 35 & 36	57 —	1817
— 37 — 38	58 —	1818

(Sixth Parliament.)

Vol. 39 & 40	59 Geo. III.	1819
— 41	60 —	1819-20

Second Series.

REIGN OF GEORGE IV.—1820 to 1830.

(Seventh Parliament.)

Vol. 1 to 3	1 Geo. IV.	1820
— 4 & 5	2 —	1821
— 6 — 7	3 —	1822
— 8 — 9	4 —	1823
— 10 — 11	5 —	1824
— 12 — 13	6 —	1825-6
— 14 — 15	7 —	1826

(Eighth Parliament.)

Vol. 16	7 Geo. IV.	1826
— 17	8 —	1827
— 18 & 19	9 —	1828
— 20 — 21	10 —	1829
— 22 to 25	11 —	1830

Third Series.

REIGN OF WILLIAM IV.—1830 to 1837.

(Ninth Parliament.)

Vol. 1 to 3	1 Will. IV.	1830-1

(Tenth Parliament.)

Vol. 4 to 8	2 Will. IV.	1831
— 9 — 14	3 —	1832

(Eleventh Parliament.)

Vol. 15 to 20	4 Will. IV.	1833
— 21 — 25	5 —	1834

(Twelfth Parliament.)

Vol. 26 to 30	6 Will. IV.	1835
— 31 — 35	7 —	1836
— 36 — 38	8 —	1837

REIGN OF VICTORIA—1837 to 1901.

(Thirteenth Parliament.)

Vol. 39 to 44... 1 Victoria 1838
— 45 — 50... 2 — 1839
— 51 — 55... 3 — 1840
— 56 — 58... 4 — (a) 1841

(Fourteenth Parliament.)

Vol. 59 .... 4 Victoria (b) 1841
— 60 to 65... 5 — 1842
— 66 — 71... 6 — 1843
— 72 — 76... 7 — 1844
— 77 — 82... 8 — 1845
— 83 — 88... 9 — 1846
— 89 — 94...10 — (a) 1847

(Fifteenth Parliament.)

Vol. 95 ... .10 Victoria (b) 1847
— 96 to 101...11 — 1848
— 102 —107...12 — 1849
— 108 —113...13 — 1850
— 114 —118...14 — 1851
— 119 —122...15 — (a) 1852

(Sixteenth Parliament.)

Vol. 123 ....15 Victoria (b) 1852
— 124 to 129...16 — 1853
— 130 —135...17 — 1854
— 136 —139...18 — 1855
— 140 —143...19 — 1856
— 144 ....20 — (a) 1857

(Seventeenth Parliament.)

Vol. 145 to 147...20 Victoria (b) 1857
— 148 —151 ..21 — 1858
— 152 —153...22 — (a) 1859

(Eighteenth Parliament.)

Vol. 154 to 155...22 Victoria (b) 1859
— 156 —160...23 — 1860
— 161 —164...24 — 1861
— 165 —168...25 — 1862
— 169 —172...26 — 1863
— 173 —176...27 — 1864
— 177 —180...28 — 1865

(Nineteenth Parliament.)

Vol. 181 to 184...29 Victoria...... 1866
— 185 —189...30 — 1867
— 190 —193...31 — ... 1867-8

(Twentieth Parliament.)

Vol. 194 to 198...32 Victoria ... 1868-9
— 199 —203...33 — 1870
— 204 —208...34 — 1871
— 209 —213...35 — 1872
— 214 —217...36 — 1873

(Twenty-First Parliament.)

Vol. 218 to 221...37 Victoria 1874
— 222 —226...38 — 1875
— 227 —231...39 — 1876
— 232 —236...40 — 1877
— 237 —242...41 — 1878
— 243 —249...42 — ... 1878-9
— 250 & 251...43 — (a) 1880

(Twenty-Second Parliament.)

Vol. 252 to 256...43 Victoria (b) 1880
— 257 —265...44 — 1881
— 266 —273...45 — (a) 1882
— 274 & 275...45 — (b) 1882
— 276 to 283...46 — 1883
— 284 —292...47 — 1884
— 293 —301...48 — ... 1884-5

(Twenty-Third Parliament.)

Vol. 302 to 307...49 Victoria (a) 1886

(Twenty-Fourth Parliament.)

Vol. 308 & 309...49 Victoria (b) 1886
— 310 to 321...50 — 1887
— 322 —332...51 — 1888
— 333 —340...52 — 1889
— 341 —348...53 — 1890
— 349 —356...54 — ... 1890-1

Fourth Series.

(Twenty-Fourth Parliament—*cont.*)

Vol. 1 to 6...55 Victoria 1892

(Twenty-Fifth Parliament.)

Vol. 7 ....56 Victoria 1892
— 8 to 21...57 — ... 1893-4
— 22 — 29...57 — 1894
— 30 — 35...58 — 1895

(Twenty-Sixth Parliament.)

Vol. 36 ....59 Victoria 1895
— 37 to 44...59 — ... 1895-6
— 45 — 52...60 — 1897
— 53 — 65...61 — 1898
— 66 — 76...62 — 1899
— 77 ....63 — 1899
— 78 — 83...63 — 1900
— 84 ... 63 & 64 — 1900
— 85 — 87...64 — 1900

(Twenty-Seventh Parliament.)

Vol. 88 ....64 Victoria 1900

REIGN OF EDWARD VII.

(Twenty-Seventh Parliament—*cont.*)

Vol. 89 .... 1 Edward VII....1901
— 90 to 100 1 — ...1901
— 101 ... 1 & 2 — ...1902
— 102 to 117 2 — ...1902
— 118 to 128 3 — ...1903
— 129 to 138 4 — ...1904

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TO

VOLUME CXXXVIII.

TENTH VOLUME OF SESSION, 1904.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 14TH JULY, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Page

Leyton Urban District Council Bill.—Supplemental Report from His Majesty's Attorney-General received, and ordered to lie on the Table .. 1

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill [H.L.].—Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to 1

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.—Report from, That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the London County Council (General Powers) Bill ought to be dispensed with and the Bill allowed to proceed. Read, and agreed to 1

Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways Bill.—The meeting of the Standing Orders Committee (which stands appointed for this day), put off to Monday next 1

Tottenham Improvement Bill.—Reported, with Amendments 1

Carlisle Corporation Bill; Middlesbrough, Stockton-on-Tees, and Thornaby Tramways Bill; Clyde Navigation (Works) Bill.—Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Romney and the Lord Brougham and Vaux be proposed to the House as members of the Select Committee in the place of the Earl of Craven and the Viscount Hampden; and that the Lord Brougham and Vaux be Chairman of the said Committee; read, and agreed to 2

Selby Urban District Council Bill.—Moved, That the Order made on the 14th day of March, last "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2d; agreed to. Bill read 2d accordingly and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.. 2

July 14.]

Page

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill; Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons .. 2

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.—Brought from the Commons .. 2

Richard Jaeger's Patent Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to .. 3

Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. To be read 2^a To-morrow .. 3

Local Government Provisional Order (No 4) Bill.—Moved, That the Order made on the 14th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2^a; agreed to. Bill read 2^a accordingly and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow .. 3

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No 1) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill. Moved, That the Order made on the 14th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2^a; agreed to. Bills read 2^a accordingly and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next .. 3

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]—House in Committee (according to order). The Amendments proposed by the Select Committee made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow; and Standing Order No. XXXIX. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with .. 3

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill.—Read 3^a (according to order), and passed .. 3

Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons .. 3

Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Cnofirmation Bill [H.L.]; Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Read 3^a (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons .. 3

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill.—Read 3^a (according to order); Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons .. 4

Doncaster Corporation Bill; Skipton Water and Improvement Bill; Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to .. 4

Barnet District Gas and Water Bill.—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments .. 4

July 14.] *Page*

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.—Read 1 ; to be printed and referred to the Examiners. (No. 145) 4

PETITION.

OUTDOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES) BILL [H.L.].—Petition in favour of ; of Guardians of the Poor of the Ecclesall-Bierlow Union ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 4

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—No. 3213. Italy (Sicily) ; No. 3214. United States (Hawai) ; No. 3215. Sweden ; No. 3216. France (Dunkirk) 4

COLONIES (ANNUAL).—No. 420. St. Helena (Report for 1903) 4

COLONIES (IMMIGRATION).—Papers relative to the laws and regulations in force in the Colonies under responsible Government respecting the admission of immigrants.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 4

SUPERANNUATION.—Treasury Minute, dated 9th July, 1904, declaring that George J. Stuck, skilled labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a civil service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his department 4

GAS AND WATER WORKS FACILITIES ACT, 1870.

Reports by the Board of Trade as to dispensing—

With the consent of the Little Stambridge parish meeting in the case of the Rochford Gas Provisional Order.

With the consent of the Cheshunt Urban District Council in the case of the Waltham Abbey and Cheshunt Gas Provisional Order.

With the consents of the Melbourn Rural District Council and the Meldreth and Shepreth Parish Councils in the case of the Meldreth and Melbourn District Gas and Water Provisional Order.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table. 5

Hall-Marking of Foreign Plate Bill.—Read 3^a, and passed.

Public Health Bill [SECOND READING] [H.L.].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 5

Moved, " That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

July 14.] Page

Dean Forest Bill [Second Reading.]—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) 6

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

The New Service Rifle.

Lord Tweedmouth .. ..

Moved, "For Papers with regard to the new rifle service."—(*Lord Tweedmouth.*)

The Under Secretary of State for War (*The Earl of Donoughmore*) .. 13
The Earl of Erroll 16
Lord Tweedmouth 17
The Earl of Wemyss 18

House adjourned at twenty minutes past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 14th JULY, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Great Eastern Railway Bill; North-Western Electricity and Power Gas Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 18

Llanelly Harbour Bill [Lords].—Verbal Amendments made (King's Consent signified); Bill read the third time and passed, with Amendments .. 19

Tynemouth Corporation Bill [Lords].—Read the third time and passed, with Amendments 19

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Govan Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next 19

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time to-morrow 19

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill.—As amended, considered; Bill read the third time, and passed 19

Selection (Unopposed Bill Committees) (Panel).—Mr. Halsey reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had selected the following Member to serve on Unopposed Bill Committees under Standing Order No. 109:—Mr. Crombie.

Report to lie upon the Table 19

July 14.] *Page*

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892, relating to Hamilton Gas." [Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water." [Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station." [Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.] 19

Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time; Referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 271.] 20

Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—To be considered upon Monday next 20

Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—To be considered upon Monday next 20

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 272.] 20

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP L).—Mr. AGG-GARDNER reported from the Committee on Group L of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned till Monday next, at Twelve of the clock 20

Report to lie upon the Table 20

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.—Petition from Rothesay, for alteration; to lie upon the Table 20

LAND VALUES (ASSESSMENT AND RATING) BILL.—Petition from Glamorgan, in favour; to lie upon the Table 20

LICENSING BILL.—Petitions against: from Amble; Arfon; Banff; Beeston; Birstwith; Bouthwaite; Brown Bank; Caerphilly; Crowcrook; Darlington; Dunston; Fewston; Garthmyl; Gourock; Grasshouses; Hafod; Hardisty Hill; Haslingden; Horfield; Ilford; Ipswich; Kingston on Thames; Kirkintilloch; Langford; Langley Mill; Llandudno (ten); Llanfairpwllgyn; Lofthouse; Malton; Menai Bridge; Middletown; Montgomery (two); Morpeth; Newcastle Town Moor (two); Paisley; Pateley Bridge; Pelton Fell; Pencaerneisiog; Peterhead; Pontypridd; Pudsey; Rhondda Valleys; Shaw Mills; Summerbridge; Theddlethorpe; Thornthwaite; Welshpool; Wilsill; Winlaton-on-Tyne and Woodmamoray; to lie upon the Table 20

VALUATION BILL.—Petitions for alteration: from Hawarden; Holyhead; and, Pwllheli; to lie upon the Table 21

July 14.] Page

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PUBLIC REVENUE (INTERCEPTION).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 27th April; *Mr. Gibson Bowles*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 253.] 21

PACIFIC CABLE ACT, 1901.—Account presented, showing the money issued from the Consolidated Fund under the provisions of The Pacific Cable Act, 1901, and of the Money received, expended, and borrowed, and Securities created under the said Act to the 31st March, 1904, together with a copy of the Report of the Chairman of the Pacific Cable Board [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 254.] 21

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3216 to 3219 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 21

COLONIES (IMMIGRATION).—Copy presented, of Papers relative to the Laws and Regulations in Force in the Colonies under Responsible Government respecting the Admission of Immigrants [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 21

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [LORDS].—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 255.] 21

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [LORDS].—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 256.] 21

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 257.] 22

Water Orders Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 258.] 22

ELECTRIC POWER UNDERTAKINGS.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 12th July; *Mr. Gerald Balfour*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 259.] 22

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [LORDS].—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 12th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 260.] 22

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [LORDS].—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 261.] 22

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [LORDS].—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 262.] 22

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill [LORDS].—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 263.] 22

July 14.] *Page*

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.—Divorce and Matrimonial Causes (Rule). Copy of Draft Additional Rule and Order in Divorce and Matrimonial Causes made under The Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857 [by Act]. 22

LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT, 1903–4.—Return ordered, "Showing, in respect of the financial year ended the 31st day of March, 1904, the distribution of the proceeds of the Local Taxation Licence Duties, Estate Duty, and Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Duties paid into the Local Taxation Account in pursuance of the provisions of The Local Government Act, 1888, The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, and The Finance Act, 1894 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 353, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Grant Lawson*) 23

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

VALUE OF PRISON-MADE FOREIGN GOODS NOT ADMITTED TO THIS COUNTRY.—Question, Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 23

NAVAL REGULATIONS.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, Mr. Pretyman 23

JUVENILE CASES IN METROPOLITAN POLICE COURTS—CHILDREN IN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.—Question, Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 24

LICENCES ISSUED TO MOTOR CARS—AMOUNT OF REVENUE.—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 25

SHIPMENT OF WORN OUT HORSES TO THE CONTINENT.—Question, Mr. Butcher (York); Answer, Earl Percy 25

PROPOSED TITHE SCHEMES FOR VILLAGES IN EUROPEAN TURKEY.—Question, Mr. Moon (St. Pancras, N.); Answer, Earl Percy 25

APPEAL CASE OF THE FREED SLAVE MSHANGAMA AT PEMBA.—Question, Mr. Bayley (Derbyshire, Chesterfield); Answer, Earl Percy 26

PASSAGE OF THE BOSPHORUS BY ARMED RUSSIAN CRUISER—BRITISH SHIPS STOPPED IN THE RED SEA.—Question, Mr. Brotherton (Wakefield); Answer, Earl Percy 26

SUNDAY POST FROM GOREY TO KILANEVIN (COUNTY WEXFORD).—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 27

POSTMEN'S PENSIONS—CONSIDERATION OF SUNDAY PAY IN THE CALCULATION.—Question, Captain Freeman-Thomas (Hastings); Answer, Lord Stanley .. 27

THE ROYAL HIBERNIAN ACADEMY.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 27

NAVAL GUN SIGHTS.—Question, Mr. Kearley (Devonport); Answer, Mr. Pretyman 28

NAVAL PROMOTIONS—DELAY IN FILLING VACANCIES.—Question, Mr. Kearley; Answer, Mr. Pretyman 28

STORES OF SEAGOING SHIPS—ALLOWANCES TO MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.—Question, Mr. Kearley (Devonport); Answer, Mr. Pretyman .. 29

LONDON GOVERNMENT ACT COMMISSIONERS—APPEALS.—Question, Mr. W. F. D. Smith (Strand, Westminster); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 29

SHERLOCK ESTATE—OPPORTUNITY FOR TENANTS TO PURCHASE THEIR HOLDINGS.—Question, Captain Donelan (Cork County, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 29

AUGHNAMULLEN EAST BAND—ACTION OF CONSTABLE CREAGHAN.—Question, Mr. McKean (Monaghan, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 30

GOVERNMENT PROVISION OF ROBES AND VESTMENTS FOR IRISH CHAPLAINS.—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster .. 30

DELAY IN DISTRIBUTION OF MEDALS TO SCOTTISH HORSE.—Question, Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 31

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

PAY OF ARMY LIEUTENANTS.—Questions, Mr. Markham (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield) and Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answers, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Mr. Bromley Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield) 31

LIEUTENANT WITTON'S CASE.—Questions, Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham) and Mr. Joyce (Limerick); Answers, Mr. Bromley Davenport 32

CHINESE DESERTERS FOR RAND MINES.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington 33

THE CROWN AGENTS.—Questions, Mr. Austin Taylor (Liverpool, East Toxteth); Answers, Mr. Lyttelton 33

KAFFIRS AS MINE OVERSEERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, Mr. Markham; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 34

GERMAN SANATORIUM SYNDICATE AT FUNCHAL.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) 34

ELECTRICITY IN MINES.—Questions, Mr. Markham and Mr. Fenwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) 35

LAMBETH GUARDIANS AND CATHOLIC NURSE.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.); Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Walter Long ,Bristol, S.) 36

ORDNANCE SURVEY OFFICER'S GRIEVANCE.—Questions, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answers, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey) 37

July 14.] Page

MERCHANT SEAMEN AND MARGARINE.—Question, Mr. Gilhooly (Cork County, W.) Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes 37

CUSACK ESTATE, COUNTY LONGFORD.—Questions, Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.) and Mr. Cullinan (Tipperary, S.); Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 38

MAHONY ESTATE, GAP OF DUNLOE.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 39

SPRAYING MACHINES FOR KERRY FARMERS.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 39

IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.—Questions, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 40

KERRY COUNTY COURT LAND VALUER.—Question, Mr. Murphy (Kerry, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 40

REV. L. S. MALONE'S ESTATE, KING'S COUNTY.—Questions, Mr. Reddy (King's County, Birr); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 41

ARMAGH, KEADY, AND CASTLEBLAYNEY RAILWAY.—Question, Mr. John Campbell (Armagh, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 42

HENRIETTA DE BURGH'S ESTATE, COUNTY CAVAN.—Question, Mr. Vincent Kennedy (Cavan, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 42

KING'S COUNTY, EVICTED TENANT.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 42

PROPOSAL OF ROSCOMMON DISTRICT COUNCIL.—Question, Mr. James O'Kelly (Roscommon, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 43

NEWRY GUARDIANS AND DEPORTATION OF PAUPERS.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 43

HOLDINGS FOR HERDS ON GRAZING LANDS.—Question, Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 44

LABOURERS' COTTAGES IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Tully; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 44

JONES LLOYD ESTATE.—Question, Mr. Tully; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 45

PHŒNIX PARK, DUBLIN—TRADERS' PASSES.—Questions, Mr. Clancy (Dublin County, N.); Answers, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 45

IRISH REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE RETURN.—Question, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 46

ROSCREA INCOME-TAX APPEALS.—Question, Mr. Tully; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 47

IRISH MILITIA.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Mr. Bromley Davenport 47

July 14.] *Page*

Cut Road, Queen's County.—Question, Mr. Delany; Answer, Mr. Bromley Davenport 47

The Seizure of the "Allanton."—Question, Mr. Runciman (Dewsbury); Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 48

Valuation Bill.—Question, Mr. Duncan (Yorkshire, W.R., Otley); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 49

Consolidated Fund.—Question, Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 49

The Labourers (Ireland) Bill.—Questions, Mr. John Redmond (Waterford), Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield) and Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 49

Business of the House.—Question, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 51

Questions.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, Mr. Speaker 51

Supply (17th Allotted Day].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. Jeffreys (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

Army Estimates, 1904–5.—Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £331,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges of the War Office, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) .. 52
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) 84
Mr. Griffith Boscawen (Kent, Tunbridge) 88
Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) 89
Sir John Colomb (Great Yarmouth) 96
Mr. Munro Ferguson (Leith Burghs) 100
Mr. Reginald Lucas (Portsmouth) 101
Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.) 104
Colonel Pilkington (Lancashire, Newton) 106
Mr. Guest (Plymouth) 109
Mr. Arnold-Forster 112

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill [Lords] (By Order).—Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered."

Mr. Robson (South Shields) 117
Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.) 119

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Mr. Robson.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. Charles McArthur (Liverpool, Exchange) 119
Sir Charles Cayzer (Barrow-in-Furness) 121
Mr. Lawrence (Liverpool, Abercromby) 125
Mr. Runciman (Dewsbury) 127
Mr. Houston (Liverpool, West Toxteth) 131
Sir John Brunner (Cheshire, Northwich) 136
The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. Bonar Law, Glasgow, Blackfriars) 139

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 52 ; Noes, 154. (Division List No. 238.)

Words added.

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to. Consideration, as amended, put off for three months.

University of Liverpool Bill;—Read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment (St. Kilda) Bill.—Read a second time, and committed for Wednesday next.

Registration of Nurses.—Ordered, That Sir Michael Foster be discharged from the Select Committee, and that Dr. Hutchinson be added.—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

Adjourned at eighteen Minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: FRIDAY, 15TH JULY, 1904.

arl of Cork and Orrery.—Petition of Charles Spencer Canning Boyle, Earl of Cork and Orrery in the Peerage of Ireland, claiming a right to vote at the election of Representative Peers for Ireland ; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House 145

July 15.] *Page*

Marquess Conyngham.—Petition of Victor George Henry Francis, Marquess Conyngham in the Peerage of Ireland, claiming a right to vote at the election of Representative Peers for Ireland; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House 145

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Loch Leven Water Power. The same was ordered to lie on the Table 145

Thames River Steamboat Service Bill.—The King's consent, and the consent of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in right of his Duchy of Cornwall, signified, and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 145

Belfast and North-East Ireland Electricity and Power Gas Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons 145

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. [No. 148] 145

Llanelly Harbour Bill [H.L.].—Tynemouth Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 145

Great Eastern Railway Bill.—North Western Electricity and Power Gas Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to .. 146

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No 3.) Bill [H.L.].—Amendments reported (according to order). Then Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to order), and dispensed with. Bill read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons 146

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill.—House in Committee (according to order; Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3ª on Tuesday next 146

Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Read 2ª (according to order), and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899) deemed to have been reported from the Committee. Bills to be read 3ª on Monday next 146

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Army.—Summary of the speech of the Secretary of State for War with regard to the re-organisation of the Army 146

Trade Reports (Annual Series).

No. 3217. Brazil (Imports into Brazil).
No. 3218. Japan (Hakodate).
No. 3219. Japan (Shimonoseki).
No. 3220. Corea 146

July 15.]

Page

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.—Report on the cultivation and drying of chicory in Great Britain and Belgium 146

POST OFFICE (WAGES).—Report and appendices of the Committee to inquire into Post Office wages.

Part. I Report.

Part II. Minutes of Evidence.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 146

PACIFIC CABLE ACT, 1901 (ACCOUNT 1903–1904).—Account showing the money issued from the Consolidated Fund under the provisions of the Pacific Cable Act, 1901 (1 Edw. 7. c. 31), and the money received, expended, and borrowed, and securities created under the said Act, to the 31st March, 1904; together with a copy of the report of the Chairman of the Pacific Cable Board .. 147

RULES PUBLICATION ACT, 1893.—Draft additional rule, July, 1904 (previous proceedings) 147

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF ESSEX).—Order made by the county council of the county of Essex altering certain polling districts in the county .. ..

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 147

Public Health Bill [H.L.].—House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment; and re-committed to the Standing Committee 147

Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill.—House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2.

The Earl of Denbigh 147

Amendment moved—

"In page 2, line 12, after the word 'signed' to insert the words, 'where the premises are situate within the county borough of Dublin by by two justices of the peace for the said county borough, and where the premises are situate in any part of the Dublin Metropolitan Police District which is not comprised in the county borough of Dublin by two justices of the peace for the county of Dublin, and where the premises are situate elsewhere in Ireland'"—(*The Earl of Denbigh*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

July 15.] Page

Clause 3.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 4.

The Earl of Denbigh 148
Lord Clonbrock 149

Amendment moved—

"In page 4, line 37, after the word 'club' to insert the words 'except between the hours of eight o'clock in the morning and ten o'clock at night to members of the club.'"—(*Lord Clonbrock.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

The Earl of Mayo 149

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 5.

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Clause 5, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 7.

Consequential Amendment agreed to.

Clause 7, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 8.

Consequential Amendment agreed to.

Clause 8, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to, and Bill reported, with Amendments, to the House.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 146.)

Dean Forest Bill.—House in Committee (according to order).

Clauses 1 to 3 agreed to.

Clause 4.

The Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) 149

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 27, after the word 'gale' to insert the words 'or tract of coal.'"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 5.

Verbal Amendment agreed to.

Clause 5, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6.

Verbal Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 7 and 8 agreed to.

Clause 9.

The Marquess of Salisbury 151

Amendment moved—

"In page 6, lines 13 and 14, to leave out the words 'any person holding through or under' and to insert the words 'the heirs and assigns of.'"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Consequential Amendments agreed to.

Clause 9, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 10.

Consequential Amendment agreed to,

Clause 10, as amended, agreed to.

Bill reported, with Amendments, to the House.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. [No. 147.]

House adjourned at five minutes before five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 15TH JULY, 1904.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 152

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill. Read the third time, and passed 152

Canal Rates and Charges (Regent's Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [LORDS].—Reported without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next 152

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [LORDS]. Reported, without Amendment. [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next 153

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [LORDS]. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill as amended, to be considered upon Monday next 153

Lothians Electric Power Bill [LORDS].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 153

Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [LORDS].—Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Bill to be read the third time 153

Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [LORDS].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 153

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP M).—Ordered, That Dr. John William Hembrough do attend the Committee on Group M of Private Bills upon Tuesday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock 153

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Hall-Marking of Foreign Plate Bill, without Amendment.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill; Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill; Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to—Richard Jaeger's Patent Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade, under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Birkenhead (Extension), Bishop Auckland (Amendment), Huddersfield (Extension to Golcar), Maidenhead (Extensions),

July 15.]

Page

Milford-on-Sea, Newquay, Penzance, Ramsgate, Sunderland Districts, and Tavistock." [Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3.) Bill [Lords].
And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Belfast and North East Ireland Electricity and Power Gas Company; and for other purposes." [Belfast and North East Ireland Electricity and Power Gas Bill [Lords.] 153

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill.—Lords Amendments to be considered upon Monday next 154

Belfast and North East Ireland Electricity and Power Gas Bill [Lords].
Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 154

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 274.] 154

PETITIONS.

Licensing Bill.—Petitions against; from Atherington; Aylesbury; Barnstaple; Caldbeck; Challacombe; Compton Martin; Denton's Green; Ebberly Lodge; Edgcumb; Felling; Gainsborough; Gateshead (two); Goodleigh; Heddon Filleigh; Highbickington; Inverness; Landkey; Longridge; Midlothian; Mile End, E.; Newcastle on Tyne (six); Newcastle Town Moor; Oakenshaw; Pensarn Portobello; St. Helens (two); Sherborne; Southam; South Shields; Talywain; Treorchy; Wreckenton; and Yarnscombe; to lie upon the Table 154

Licensing Bill.—Petitions for alteration; from Southmolton; and Wood Green; to lie upon the Table 154

Valuation Bill.—Petition from Wangford, against; to lie upon the Table .. 154

Voluntary Schools Act, 1897.—Petition from Walthamstow, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 154

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Army Re-organisation.—Copy presented, of Summary of the speech of the Secretary of State for War with regard to the Re-organisation of the Army [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 155

Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.—Copy presented, of Report on the Cultivation and Drying of Chicory in Great Britain and Belgium [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 155

Post Office Wages.—Copy presented, of Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into Post Office Wages, together with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 155

Polling Districts (County of Essex).—Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of Essex altering certain Polling Districts in the county [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 155

July 15.] Page

CROWN AGENTS.—Return presented, relative thereto [Address 2nd May; *Mr. Austin Taylor*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 264.] .. 155

POOR RELIEF (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 29th March; *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 265.] 155

INDIAN ARMY (UNIFORMS).—Return presented, relative thereto [Address 11th July; *Sir Seymour King*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 266.] 155

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

FOREIGN CREWS ON BRITISH SHIPS.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 155

INSPECTION OF ART INSTRUCTION IN KENDAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL.—Question, Mr. Lawrence (Liverpool, Abercrombie); Answer, Sir William Anson .. 156

DRIFT MAPS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.—Question, Mr. Morrell (Oxfordshire, Woodstock); Answer, Sir William Anson 157

PRESENCE OF INSPECTORS AT VIVISECTION EXPERIMENTS.—Question, Dr. Shipman (Northampton); Mr. Akers-Douglas 158

VIVISECTION—CONSECUTIVE OPERATIONS ON THE SAME ANIMAL.—Question, Dr. Shipman; Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 158

VIVISECTION EXPERIMENTS.—Question, Dr. Shipman; Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 158

AIR IN HUMID COTTON WEAVING SHEDS.—Question, Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 159

SUPERANNUATION OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OFFICERS.—Question, Mr. Corrie Grant (Warwickshire, Rugby); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 159

SUGGESTED REMOVAL OF RESTRICTIONS ON IMPORTATION OF ARGENTINE CATTLE IN CONSEQUENCE OF AMERICAN BUTCHERS' STRIKE.—Question, Mr. Houston (Liverpool, West Toxteth); Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes 160

SALE OF OLD WAR VESSELS.—Question, Colonel Denny (Kilmarnock Burghs); Answer, Mr. Pretyman 161

STRENGTH OF VOLUNTEER FORCES IN THE HOME DISTRICT.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 162

THE GOVERNMENT'S FISCAL POLICY.—Question, Mr. Black (Banffshire); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 165

Education (Local Authority Default) Bill.—[SECOND READING.]—Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

July 15.] Page

Mr. Lloyd Morgan (Carmarthenshire, W.) 165
Sir Alfred Thomas (Glamorganshire, E.) 171

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out from the word 'That' to the end of the Question, and add the words 'this House declines to pass any measure to extend the powers of the Board of Education under the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 until the Government is prepared to introduce a Bill to amend the said Acts by abolishing all religious tests on teachers, and placing all elementary schools supported by public funds under complete popular control.'"—(*Mr. Lloyd Morgan.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 174
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) 178
Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University) 183
Mr. Alfred Hutton (Yorkshire, W.R., Morley) 187
Mr. Ernest Gray (West Ham, N.) 190
Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.) 193
Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.) 196
Sir Francis Powell (Wigan) 198
Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs) 200
The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University) 208
Mr. Abel Thomas (Carmarthenshire, E.) 212
Mr. Edwards (Radnor) 214

And, it being half-past Five of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded to interrupt the Business.

Whereupon Sir WILLIAM ANSON rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 226; Noes, 104. (Division List No. 239.)

Question put accordingly, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House divided:—Ayes, 245; Noes, 111. (Division List No. 240.)

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR claimed, "That the main Question be now put."

Main Question put accordingly.

The House divided:—Ayes, 233; Noes, 102. (Division List No. 241).

Bill accordingly read a second time, and committed for Tuesday next.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).—Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures; Mr. O'Mara, Sir Elliott Lees, and Sir John Barrington Simeon; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Hoult, and Lord Bingham.

Report to lie upon the Table 227

And, it being after six of the Clock, Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the Standing Order, adjourned the House without Question put till Monday next.

Adjourned at five minutes after Six o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS, MONDAY, 18TH JULY, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11).

Also the Certificate that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill:—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 229

Carlisle Corporation Bill.—The order made on the 30th of June last appointing certain Lords the Select Committee to consider the said Bill, discharged .. 229

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 229

London and India Docks Company Bill.—Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 229

Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill.—The King's consent signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments 229

Carlisle Corporation Bill; Leyton Urban District Council Bill; Rotherham Corporation Bill; Selby Urban District Council Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills; (viz.), M. Camden, E. Mayo, L. Braye, L. Lawrence, L. Newton (Chairman); agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Thursday next at Twelve o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills .. 229

Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons 229

Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Third Reading (which stands appointed for this day) put off till To-morrow .. 230

July 18.] *Page*

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. House in Committeee (according to order). Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow 230

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported without amendment. Standing Committee negatived ; and the Bill to be read 3ª To-morrow .. 230

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill.—House in Committee (according to order). Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow 230

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill. House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported without amendment. Standing Committee negatived ; and Bill to be read 3ª To-morrow .. 230

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill.—Brought from the Commons and read 1ª ; to be printed ; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 152.) 230

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

RAILWAYS (CONTINUOUS BRAKES).—Return by the railway companies of the United Kingdom, for the six months ended 31st December, 1903 230

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3221. Germany (Frankfort-on-Maine).

No. 3222. Italy (Genoa).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 230

PAWNBROKERS (IRELAND).—Returns from the City Marshal of Dublin, for the year 1903. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 230

Supply of Electricity Bill [H.L.]—Report from the Select Committee (with Proceedings of the Committee), made, and to be printed. (No. 149.) Bill reported with Amendments ; and committed to a Committee of the Whole House ; and to be printed as amended. (No. 150.) 231

Railways (Private Sidings) Bill.—House in Committee (according to order). An Amendment made. Bill recommitted to the Standing Committee ; and to be printed as amended. (No. 151.) 231

THE YEOMANRY AND LOVAT'S SCOUTS.

The Earl of Wemyss 231
Lord Lovat 237
Earl Roberts 239
The Under Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Donoughmore) 240
The Earl of Erroll 243
The Earl of Wemyss 244

July 18.] *Page*

County Courts Bill [H.L.]—[SECOND READING].—Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

The Lord Chancellor (*The Earl of Halsbury*) 245

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Earl of Halsbury.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Friday next.

Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill.—[SECOND READING].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) 246

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question, Bill read 2a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. MONDAY, 18TH JULY, 1904.

The House met at Two of the clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time To-morrow 248

Bournemouth Corporation (Tramways) Bill [LORDS]; Holywood Tramways Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered ; to be read the third time .. 249

Metropolitan District Railway Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered ; an Amendment made ; Bill to be read the third time 249

West Riding Tramways Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered ; Amendments made ; Bill to be read the third time 249

Buxton Urban District Council Bill [LORDS].—Read a second time, and committed. 249

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 249

July 18.] *Page*

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Govan Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Canal Rates and Charges (Regent's Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 249

Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Considered; to be read the third time upon Wednesday 249

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time To-morrow 249

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill. As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed 249

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow 249

Message from the Lords.—That they have agreed to—Amendments to, Llanelly Harbour Bill [Lords]; Tynemouth Corporation Bill [Lords], without Amendment 249

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Order relating to Stroud, Nailsworth, and Dursley not confirmed; remaining Orders confirmed] [Title amended]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow 250

PETITIONS.

Licensing Bill.—Petitions against; from Alderley Edge; Bacup (three); Balgownie; Bath; Beeston; Beverley; Bierton; aldbeck (two); Cardiff; Facit; Fortrose; Kendal; Kilmarnock; Larkhall; Montford Bridge; Romford; Stacksteads; Strathaven; Thirsk; Thorn; Wigston; Wigton; and Winlaton; to lie upon the Table 250

Valuation Bill.—Petitions for alteration; from Bridport; and Great Yarmouth; to lie upon the Table 250

Voluntary Schools Act, 1897.—Petition from Longton, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 250

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Prosecution of Offences Acts, 1879 and 1884.—Return presented, relative thereto [Address 12th July; *Mr. Cochrane*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 267.] 250

Pawnbrokers' Returns (Ireland).—Copy presented, of Returns from the City Marshal of Dublin for the year ended 31st December, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 250

July 18.] *Page*

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [LORDS].—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 5th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 268.] 250

IMPERIAL REVENUE (COLLECTION AND EXPENDITURE) (GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 21st March; *Mr. J. A. Pease*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 269.] .. 251

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 3220 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 251

TRAMWAYS ORDERS CONFIRMATION (NO. 1) BILL [LORDS].—Copy ordered, "of Memorandum stating the nature of the Proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]."—(*Mr. Bonar Law.*) 251

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

IMPORTATION OF VEGETABLES AND FRUIT GROWN ON FRENCH SEWAGE FARMS.—Question, Sir W. Hart Dyke (Kent, Dartford); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 251

COMPENSATION TO BOERS—ACCOUNT OF EXPENDITURE.—Question, Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 252

TENDERS FOR SUPPLIES TO IRISH PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 252

IRISH ANCIENT MONUMENTS.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 253

SITE OF NEW POST OFFICE AT GOREY.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, Lord Stanley 253

OVERCOATS FOR AUXILIARY POSTMEN IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.); Answer, Lord Stanley 254

MEMORIAL OF MR. RICHARD MEAGHER, JUNIOR, OF RATMACAN.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 254

RULES FOR DELIVERY OF LETTERS TO PERSONS OF SIMILAR NAME IN THE SAME LOCALITY.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin; Answer, Lord Stanley 255

PROPOSED REDUCTION IN CLASS OF GLASGOW TELEGRAPH OFFICE STAFF.—Question, Mr. John Wilson (Glasgow, St. Rollox); Answer, Lord Stanley .. 255

CHARGES FOR LETTERS ADDRESSED TO TAIN POST OFFICE TO BE CALLED FOR.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Lord Stanley 255

CONDITIONS FOR SUPPLYING BRASS CASTINGS TO THE ADMIRALTY.—Question, Mr. White Ridley (Stalybridge); Answer, Mr. Pretyman 25

EMPLOYMENT AS SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OFFICERS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED BY BOARDS OF GUARDIANS OR DISTRICT COUNCILS.—Question, Mr. Henry Hobhouse (Somersetshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 256

July 18.] *Page*

ALIEN SAILORS ON BRITISH SHIPS.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 257

RULES UNDER RAILWAY EMPLOYMENT (PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS) ACT.—Question, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 257

CUSTODY OF CHILDREN UNDER REMAND.—Questions, Mr. Talbot (Oxford University) and Sir John Gorst (Cambridge University); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 258

CHILDREN EMPLOYED IN STREET TRADING IN LONDON.—Question, Sir John Gorst; Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 259

SPECIALISTS CALLED IN BY CORONERS TO PERFORM POST-MORTEM EXAMINATIONS.—Question, Mr. Kimber (Wandsworth); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas .. 260

LAND CONCESSIONS TO EAST AFRICA SYNDICATE—RIGHTS OF THE MASAI—WAGES OF NATIVE LABOURERS.—Question, Mr. Labouchere (Northampton); Answer, Earl Percy 260

PROPOSED ALTERATION OF INCOME TAX DISTRICTS.—Question, Mr. Ellis Griffith (Anglesey); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 261

PETITIONS OF PANDIT ADYA PRASADA MISRA, BANDARU APPALA CHARYULU AND MUTHIA GOUNDEN.—Questions, Mr. Weir; Answers, Mr. Brodrick 261

REMOVAL OF HEADQUARTERS OF LONDON RECRUITING DISTRICT.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 262

ACREAGE OF LAND AND RENTAL VALUE OF REALTY HELD BY WAR OFFICE IN MALTA.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton .. 262

SUMS VOTED BY IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT FOR RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT, ETC., TO CANADA, AUSTRALIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA.—Question, Mr. John Ellis; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 262

HOME OFFICE VOTE.—Question, Mr. Tenant (Berwickshire); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 263

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN THE ROYAL NAVY.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.) and Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) 263

THE MISSION TO TIBET.—Questions, Mr. Swift, Mr. MacNeill; Answers, The [illegible]

THE MARCH ON LHASA.—Questions, Mr. Flynn (Cork County, N.); Answers, Mr. Brodrick 265

INDIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.—Question, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree (Bethnal Green, N.E.); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 266

July 15.]

Page

INDIAN CONTRIBUTION FOR RESEARCH WORK AT THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.—Question, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 267

TRAINING OF INDIAN UNIVERSITY GRADUATES IN THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE LABORATORIES.—Question, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 267

EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE SERVICE—SUB-COMMISSIONER BAGGE.—Question, The Master of Elibank (Edinburgh, Midlothian); Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) 268

RUSSIAN WARSHIPS AND BRITISH VESSELS IN THE RED SEA.—Question, General Laurie (Pembroke and Haverfordwest); Answer, Earl Percy 268

BUCKLAND FRIENDLY SOCIETY AND THE TREASURY.—Question, Mr. A. K. Loyd (Berkshire, Abingdon); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 269

STONY STRATFORD POSTMASTERSHIP.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 269

SOUTHAMPTON POSTMASTERSHIP.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.) Answer, Lord Stanley 270

WEST HAM POLICE STATION BIRCH.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) 271

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BILL.—Question, Mr. Samuel Evans (Glamorganshire, Mid.); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 271

ALIEN IMMIGRATION.—Question, Major Evans Gordon (Tower Hamlets, Stepney); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 271

MOTOR BICYCLES IN DUBLIN—INEFFICIENT MEANS OF IDENTIFICATION.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 272

LAND PURCHASE IN COUNTY KERRY—LANDLORDS' APPLICATIONS TO THE CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 273

LAND PURCHASE IN COUNTY SLIGO—MR. WEBBER'S SKREEN ESTATE.—Question, Mr. William McKillop (Sligo, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 273

LAND PURCHASE IN COUNTY CLARE—WESTROPP ESTATE.—Question, Mr. Sheehy (Meath, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 274

EVICTED TENANT'S FARM IN COUNTY MEATH.—Question, Mr. Sheehy; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 275

KILBRIDE CANTEEN LICENCE.—Question, Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 275

July 18.] Page

IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE BERTILLION SYSTEM.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 275

EX-SERGEANT SHERIDAN AND CONSTABLE ANDERSON, ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 276

CATHOLIC HEAD CONSTABLES AT CORK.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 277

FATHER GLEESON AND THE IRISH POLICE AT ROUNDSTONE.—Questions, Mr. Sloan; Answers, Mr. Wyndham.. 277

MAJOR FOX'S ESTATE IN KING'S COUNTY.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 279

THE ESTATES COMMISSIONERS AND THE BALLYMACROSSIN EVICTED TENANT.—Questions, Mr. Delany; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 279

PROCESSIONS IN THE MOY TOWNLANDS.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 280

BELTURBET ARTISANS' DWELLINGS SCHEME.—Question, Mr. Vincent Kennedy (Cavan, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 281

ECONOMIC HOLDINGS FOR HERDS ON GRAZING LANDS NUMBERED UNDER THE LAND ACT OF 1903.—Question, Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 281

FAIR RENT APPEALS IN COUNTY TIPPERARY.—Question, Mr. Kendal O'Brien (Tipperary, Mid.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 282

DR. STARKIE.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 282

HASTINGS *v.* BEEGAN.—Question, Mr. Tully; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 282

IMPRISONMENT FOR CRUELTY TO ANIMALS IN COUNTY ROSCOMMON.—Question, Mr. Tully; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 283

DUNGANN SCHOOL ATTENDANCE COMMITTEE.—Question, Mr. Doogan (Tyrone, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 283

TELEGRAPHIC DELAYS IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Lord Stanley 284

FEMALE LEARNERS IN IRISH POST OFFICES.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin; Answer, Lord Stanley 284

SUNDAY LETTER DELIVERY IN JOHNSTOWN SUB-DISTRICT, KILKENNY.—Question, Mr. Joseph Devlin; Answer, Lord Stanley 285

SHAMBLE BARRACKS, GALWAY.—Question, Mr. Charles Douglas (Galway); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Mr. Bromley Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield) 285

July 18.]

Page

ANGLO-FRENCH CONVENTION.—Questions, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answers, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 286

NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.—Questions, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 287

THE COLONIAL VOTE.—Question, Mr. John Ellis (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 287

CRIMINAL ALIENS BILL.—Question, Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 288

THE PORT OF LONDON BILL.—Question, Mr. John Ellis; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 288

SHOP HOURS BILL.—Questions, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland) and Mr. Herbert Robertson (Hackney, S.); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 289

MR. KRUGER'S BURIAL PLACE.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill and Mr. Power (Waterford, E.); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 289

ARMY REFORM DEBATE.—Questions, Mr. Winston Churchill; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 289

THE POST OFFICE WAGES COMMITTEE'S REPORT.—Questions, Mr. Forde Ridley (Bethnal Green, S.W.), Mr. Flynn, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs), Mr. Gibson Bowles, Mr. Swift MacNeill and Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour and Lord Stanley 290

ARMY SCHEME—NO RESOLUTION TO BE SUBMITTED TO PARLIAMENT.—Questions, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.) and Mr. Winston Churchill; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 292

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE TAXATION OF FOOD—A VOTE OF CENSURE.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 292

CANADA AND LORD DUNDONALD.—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton (Canterbury); Answer, Mr. Bromley Davenport 294

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 294

ERITH URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL *v.* CAPTAIN MILES BARNE.—Petition of Parish and Hickson, of 6, Laurence Pounteney Hill, in the City of London, solicitors for the plaintiffs, praying for leave for the proper officer to attend before the Court of summary jurisdiction for the petty sessional division of Dartford, in Kent, and produce plans and books of reference, etc.—(*Sir W. Hart Dyke.*)

Leave given to the proper officer to attend accordingly 295

July 18.] *Page*

NEW BILL.

Wireless Telegraphy Bill.—" To provide for the regulation of Wireless Telegraphy," presented by Lord Stanley; supported by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster, Mr. Gerald Balfour, and Mr. Pretyman; to be read a second time upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 275.] 295

Finance Bill

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 2 :—

Amendment again proposed—

" In page 2, line 3, to leave out from the word ' pound ' to the end of the clause."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Question proposed, " That the words ' and the duties payable under the same section on ' stand part of the clause."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.*) 296
Mr. Munro Ferguson (*Leith Burghs*) 299
Mr. Robson (*South Shields*) 300
Mr. Charles McArthur (*Liverpool, Exchange*) 305
Mr. McKenna (*Monmouthshire, N.*) 308
Mr. Austin Taylor 312
Mr. Sydney Buxton (*Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) 315
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 319
Mr. Rea (*Gloucester*) 323
Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) 325
Sir Frederick Wills (*Bristol, N.*) 327
Mr. Runciman (*Dewsbury*) 329
Mr. Munro Ferguson 330

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 223; Noes, 173. (Division List No. 242.)

Mr. McKenna 335

Amendment proposed—

" In page 2, line 6, to leave out the words ' three pence ' and insert the word ' three halfpence.' "—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Question proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause. "

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 337
Mr. Sydney Buxton 338
Mr. Runciman 339
Mr. Gibson Bowles (*Lynn Regis*) 340
Sir James Joicey (*Durham, Chester-le-Street*) 342

July 18.] *Page*

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 228 ; Noes, 166. (Division List No. 243.)

Amendment proposed—

> " In page 2, line 6, at the end, to add the words, ' (2) A rebate at the rate of three halfpence for every pound of tobacco shall be allowed on any increased duty under this Act paid on or after the nineteenth day of July, nineteen hundred and four, in respect of any stripped tobacco which is shown to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Customs to have been deposited in a bonded warehouse before the twentieth day of April, nineteen hundred and four.' "—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Lough 345
Mr. McKenna 346

And, it being now half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill [Lords] (by order).—As amended, considered.

Mr. Herbert Robertson (Hackney, S.) 347
Sir William Tomlinson 349

A Clause (Compensation to owners and occupiers on the Holywell Stream)—

> " (1) If at any time or times, in consequence of the making of any tunnel or the execution of any works authorised by this Act or of any works connected therewith, the flow of water from Saint Winifred's Well into the Holywell Stream is reduced below an average daily quantity of two and a half million gallons, then the company shall pay compensation to the person or persons injuriously affected thereby, and the amount of such compensation shall, failing agreement, be determined in the manner provided by The Waterworks Clauses Act, 1847.
>
> " (2) Any compensation which the company may become liable to pay under this section the subscribed capital of the company shall be a first charge upon the uncalled capital of the company, and 25 per cent. of remain uncalled until the expiration of one year after the completion of the tunnels authorised by this Act."—(*Mr. Herbert Robertson.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the clause be read a second time."

Page

Mr. Tennant (Berwickshire) 349
Mr. Brigg (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley) 351
The Chairman of Committees (Mr. J. W. Lowther, Cumberland, Penrith) 351
Mr. Cripps (Lancashire, Stretford) 352
Mr. Tomkinson (Cheshire, Crewe) 352
Sir James Joicey (Durham, Chester-le-Street) 353
Colonel Pryce-Jones (Montgomery Boroughs) 353
Mr. Hudson (Hertfordshire, Hitchin) 354
Mr. William Abraham (Glamorganshire, Rhondda) 354

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 169 ; Noes, 142. (Division List No. 244.)

Amendment proposed—

“ To leave out Sub-section (2).”—(*Mr. Herbert Robertson.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Motion made, and Question put, “ That the clause, as amended, be added to the Bill.”

The House divided :—Ayes, 179 ; Noes, 138. (Division List No. 245.)

Bill to be read the third time.

Finance Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 2.

Amendment again proposed—

“ In page 2, line 6, at the end, to add the words, ‘ (2) A rebate at the rate of three halfpence for every pound of tobacco shall be allowed on any increased duty under this Act paid on or after the nineteenth day of July, nineteen hundred and four, in respect of any stripped tobacco which is shown to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Customs to have been deposited in a bonded warehouse before the twentieth day of April, nineteen hundred and four.’ ”—(*The Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Question again proposed, “ That those words be there inserted.”

Mr. Sydney Buxton 361

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

“ In line 1, to leave out the word ‘ half-pence,’ and insert the word ‘ pence.’ ”—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton.*)

Question put, “ That the word ‘ halfpence ’ stand part of the proposed Amendment.”

July 18.]

Page
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 363
Mr. Munro Ferguson 363
Mr. David MacIver (Liverpool, Kirkdale) 363
Mr. McKenna 364
Mr. Runciman 364

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 194 ; Noes, 152. (Division List No. 246.)

Mr. Runciman 367

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

"After the word 'before' to insert the words 'or is on the high seas consigned to an United Kingdom portion.' "—(*Mr. Runciman.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the proposed Amendment."

Mr. Sydney Buxton 369
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 369

Question put, and agreed to.

Words, as amended, added.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 6, at end, to add the words 'in this section the expression, "stripped tobacco" means any leaf tobacco of which the leaf is not complete by reason of the removal of the stalk or midrib or of some portion thereof, but tobacco shall not be deemed to be stripped tobacco solely by reason of its having been subjected to such process of butting as the Commissioners of Customs allow.' "—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 2, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham) 370
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 374
Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.) 376
Mr. Courtenay Warner (Staffordshire ,Lichfield) 376
Mr. McKenna 377
Mr. Sydney Buxton 379

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 160 ; Noes, 94. (Division List No. 247.)

Clause 3 :—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 11, to leave out the word 'May' and insert the word 'July.' "—(*Mr. Soares.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'July' stand part of the clause."

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 14, to leave out Sub-section (2), and insert the words, 'Section 2 of the Finance Act, 1898, is hereby repealed,' and in Section 4 of The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1887, the words 'thirty-two per centum' shall be substituted for the words 'thirty-five per centum.'"—(*Mr. Soares.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section (2) stand part of the clause."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 382

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

"After the figures '1887,' to insert the words 'which relates to moisture in tobacco.'"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Committee do report progress and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Mr. Sydney Buxton 383
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 383
Mr. Winston Churchill 384

Question put and agreed to.

Committee report progress; to sit again To-morrow.

DRUNKENNESS (IRELAND) BILL.—Read a second time, and committed for this day 384

Adjourned at five minutes before One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS: TUESDAY, 19TH JULY, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.—Report from, That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways Bill ought to be dispensed with, and the Bill allowed to proceed.
Read, and agreed to 385

Rotherham Corporation Bill.—The Lord BALFOUR informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn; the orders made on Tuesday last and yesterday discharged, and Bill committed 385

July 19.] *Page*

Clyde Navigation (Works) Bill.—Report from the Select Commtttee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 28th and 30th of June last discharged, and Bill committed 385

London County Council (General Powers) Bill; Loch Leven Water Power Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 14th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2ª; agreed to. Bills read 2ª accordingly and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection 385

Lytham Improvement Bill.—Read 3ª, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons 385

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Govan Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Canal Rates and Charges (Regent's Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to. 385

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 386

Carlisle Corporation Bill; Leyton Urban District Council Bill; Selby Urban District Council Bill; London County Council Bill (General Powers); Loch Leven Water Power Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Vivian be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Marquess Camden; read, and agreed to 386

London County Council (General Powers) Bill; Loch Leven Water Power Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Five Lords appointed a Select Committee on the Carlisle Corporation Bill and other Bills do form the Select Committee for the consideration of the London County Council (General Powers) Bill and the Loch Leven Water Power Bill; read, and agreed to. All petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills 386

Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª (according to order). Amendments made; Bill passed, and sent to the Commons 386

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill. Amendments reported (according to order), and Bills to be read 3ª on Thursday next .. 386

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill. Read 3ª (according to order), and passed 386

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 153.) 386

July 19.] *Page*

London County Council (General Powers) Bill.

Loch Leven Water Power Bill.

The Acting Chairman of Committees (*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*) 387

Moved, "That the order made on the 14th day of March last, 'That no private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next,' be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2ª."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, agreed to. Bills read 2ª accordingly and committed: the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Board of Education.—Regulations for evening schools, technical institutions, and schools of art and art classes (from 1st August, 1904, to 31st July, 1905) 387

Trade Reports (Annual Series).

No. 3223. Turkey (Palestine).

No. 3224. Turkey (Erzeroum).

Africa.—No. 9 (1904). Return of concessions in the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates (in continuation of Africa, No. 7 (1903)); No. 10 (1904). Memorandum on the state of the African Protectorates administered under the Foreign Office; Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 387

Public Health Bill [H.L.].—Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on Thursday next 387

Railways (Private Sidings) Bill.—Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment. The Report of the Amendment made in Committee of the Whole House to be received on Thursday next 388

Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill.

Dean Forest Bill.

Reported from the Standing Committee with a further Amendment to each Bill; The Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House, and by the Standing Committee, to be received on Thursday next .. 388

The New Army Scheme

Viscount Hardinge 388
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 388
Earl Spencer 389

The Parliamentary Session.

Lord Newton 390
The Marquess of Lansdowne 393

Page

FREIGHTS TO SOUTH AFRICA.

Earl Grey 395

Moved, "For a Return showing the quantities and description of manufactured goods exported from New York to South Africa during the two years ending 30th June, 1904, and the freight charged; also the freight charged on similar goods exported from the United Kingdom to South Africa."—(*Earl Grey.*)

Lord Wolverton 402
The Earl of Rosebery 403
The Marquess of Lansdowne 403

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn,

House adjourned at twenty minutes past Five o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 19TH JULY, AND WEDNESDAY, 20TH JULY, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—Belfast and North East Ireland Electricity and Power-Gas Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time 404

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill; Thurles Urban District Council Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to .. 404

Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 404

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 404

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill.—As amended, considered; to be read the third time To-morrow 404

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill.—As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed 405

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [LORDS]; Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed 405

July 19.] *Page*

Railway Bills (Group 9).—Sir Edward Strachey reported from the Committee on Group 9 of Railway Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned until Friday, at half-past Eleven of the clock. Report to lie upon the Table 405

Leeds Corporation (Consolidation) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 405

Message from the Lords.—That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Greenock Corporation." [Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.)." [Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords] 405

Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].—Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th July, and to be printed. [Bill 277.] 405

Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.—Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th July, and to be printed. [Bill 278.] 405

PETITIONS.

Alkali, etc., Works Bill.—Petition from Dublin, in favour; to lie upon the Table 405

Licensing Bill.—Petitions against; from Clevedon; Dewsbury; Dudley; Edinburgh; Foss Bridge; Frodsham (two); Hawick; Huntington (two); Jarrow-on-Tyne; Long Benton; Lennoxtown; Mortlake; Portbury; Portishead; Scotswood; Seaton Delaval; Skelton; Strewsall; Sunderland; Tyneside; and Withernsea; to lie upon the Table 406

Shop Hours Bill.—Petition from Edinburgh, in favour; to lie upon the Table 406

Street Betting Bill [Lords].—Petition from West Ham, in favour; to lie upon the Table 406

Voluntary Schools Act, 1897.—Petition from Felling, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 406

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Africa (No. 9, 1904).—Copy presented, of Return of Concessions in the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates (in continuation of Africa (No. 7, 1903) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 406

Africa (No. 10, 1904).—Copy presented, of Memorandum on the State of the African Protectorates administered under the Foreign Office [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 406

July 19.]

Page

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3221 to 3224 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 406

BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Copy presented, of Regulations for Evening Schools, Technical Institutions, and Schools of Art and Art Classes, from 1st August, 1904, to 31st July, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 406

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1887 (EVICTION NOTICES).—Copy presented, of Return of Eviction Notices filed during the quarter ended 30th June, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 406

NAVY (EXCEPTIONS TO KING'S REGULATIONS).—Copy presented, of List of Exceptions to the King's Regulations as to Pay, Non-effective Pay, and Allowances during the year 1903–4 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 407

TRAMWAYS ORDERS CONFIRMATION (NO. 1) BILL [LORDS].—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 18th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 270.] 407

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY BILL.—Copy ordered, "of Memorandum explanatory of the Wireless Telegraphy Bill."—(*Lord Stanley.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 271.] 407

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS (EXPORTATION) (UNITED KINGDOM AND CONTINENTAL COUNTRIES).—Return ordered, "showing the total value, and the value per head of the population, of the exports of the following agricultural products, viz.: (1) Principal descriptions of grain; (2) Principal descriptions of meat and live stock; (3) Dairy produce; (4) Eggs; (5) Potatoes, from the following Countries, viz.: United Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Denmark, in the years 1890, 1895, 1900, and 1903."—(*Mr. Crombie.*) 407

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

EVICTED TENANTS—COMPENSATION FOR VACATION OF HOLDINGS BY PRESENT OCCUPIERS.—Question, Mr. Cullinan (Tipperary, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 407

REFUSAL OF LOAN TO BOYLE TOWN COMMISSIONERS FOR ERECTION OF COTTAGES.—Question, Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 408

CLAIM OF MR. W. B. WATSON FOR GOODS COMMANDEERED DURING SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—Question, Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 408

SWINE FEVER IN MIDLOTHIAN.—Question, The Master of Elibank (Edinburgh, Midlothian); Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes 409

BRITISH SHIPS STOPPED BY RUSSIAN CRUISERS IN THE RED SEA.—Question, Mr. Younger (Lincolnshire, Stamford); Answer, Earl Percy 409

SUMMER UNIFORMS FOR IRISH RURAL POSTMEN.—Question, Mr. Hugh Law (Donegal, W.); Answer, Lord Stanley 410

July 19.] *Page*

POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS IN THE GWEEDORE AND BUNBEG DISTRICTS, COUNTY DONEGAL.—Question, Mr Hugh Law; Answer, Lord Stanley 410

PETITION OF SWASUBRAMANIA NADAN.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 410

MARINE WORKS IN IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Hugh Law; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 410

ARMY BOOT CONTRACTS—FAIR WAGES RESOLUTION.—Question, Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 411

EDUCATION OF TAMIL CHILDREN ON CEYLON ESTATES.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 412

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

THE "CAT" IN THE NAVY.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) 412

THE CONVICT WITTON.—Question, Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 412

PAY OF JUNIOR ARMY OFFICERS.—Question, Mr. Markham (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 413

ARMY REORGANISATION SCHEME.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 413

SIR PERCY GIROUARD.—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington) 413

LIFE OF THE GOLD MINES IN SOUTH AFRICA.—Questions, Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Markham; Answers, Mr. Lyttelton 414

CONVICTED SOLDIERS IN PRETORIA.—Questions, Mr. Joyce (Limerick); Answers, Mr. Lyttelton 414

PETITIONS FROM INDIA.—Questions, Sir Charles Dalrymple (Ipswich) and Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 415

ROYAL NIGER COMPANY—PURCHASE BY THE GOVERNMENT.—Questions, Mr. Bayley (Derbyshire, Chesterfield) and Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 415

ALIENS IN BRITISH PRISONS.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) 415

USE OF FOREIGN CEMENT FOR GOVERNMENT WORKS.—Question, Sir Gilbert Parker (Gravesend); Answer, Lord Balcarres (Lancashire, Chorley) .. 417

July 19.]

Page

INITIAL SALARIES OF IRISH TEACHERS AND CONSTABLES.—Question, Mr. John Campbell (Armagh, S.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 417

IRISH TEACHERS' SALARY GRIEVANCE.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 417

IRISH TEACHERS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.—Question, Mr. John Campbell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 418

CARNANE ESTATE, COUNTY LIMERICK.—Question, Mr. Lundon (Limerick, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 419

IRISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT TENDERS.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin (Galway); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 419

IRISH LUNATIC ASYLUMS—ASSISTANT RESIDENT MEDICAL OFFICERS.—Questions, Mr. Hayden (Roscommon, S.) and Mr. Clancy (Dublin County, N.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 420

SALARIES OF IRISH POOR LAW MEDICAL OFFICERS.—Question, Mr. Hayden; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 421

APPOINTMENT OF MEDICAL SUPERINTENDENT AT BALLINASLOE DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUM.—Questions, Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.) Mr. MacVeagh, (Down, S.) and Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 421

MAYO COUNTY COUNCIL APPOINTMENTS.—Question, Mr. Charles Craig; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 422

VETERINARY BRANCH OF THE IRISH AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 423

CASTLEREA RATE COLLECTOR.—Question, Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 424

KEADEW (CARRICK-ON-SHANNON) CATHOLIC SCHOOL TEACHER.—Question, Mr. Tully; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 424

STUDENTS IN IRISH QUEEN'S COLLEGES AND ROYAL UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS.—Questions, Mr. John Redmond (Waterford) and Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 424

GALWAY HARBOUR LIGHTING CONTRACT.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin; Answer, The Financial Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 425

GALWAY HARBOUR LIGHTS.—Questions, Mr. Charles Devlin; Answers, Mr. Victor Cavendish 425

THE DOGS BILL.—Question, Mr. Bayley; Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 427

ARMY CORPS.—Questions, Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.), Captain Norton (Newington, W.) and Mr. Swift MacNeill and Mr. Winston Churchill; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 427

THE VOTE OF CENSURE.—Questions.—Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs) and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 428

LORD DUNDONALD—MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE asked leave to move the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the conduct of Major-General Lord Dundonald, late Commander of the Militia in Canada, in taking part, whilst still an officer in the British Army, in a political agitation against His Majesty's Government in the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. SPEAKER called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly arisen:

The Motion stood over, under Standing Order No. 10, till this Evening's Sitting 429

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping and Manufactures; Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Lambert, and Mr. Wolff; and they had appointed in substitution: Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Condon, Mr. Farrell, and Sir James Haslett.

Report to lie upon the Table 429

Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill.—Special Report from the Select Committee on the Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read 430

Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill.

Reported, without Amendment.

Report and Special Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 272.] 430

County of Suffolk Bill.

Reported, without Amendment, from the Select Committee.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 273.]

Minutes of Proceedings to be printed. [No. 273.]

Bill re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House for To-morrow .. 430

Finance Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

July 19.] Page

Clause 4.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause stand part of the Bill."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.*) 430
Mr. Gibson Bowles (*Lynn Regis*) 431
Sir George Bartley (*Islington, N.*) 431
Sir Fortescue Flannery (*Yorkshire, Shipley*) 432

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 188 ; Noes, 129. (Division List No. 248.)

Clause 5 :

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 30, to leave out the word 'August' and insert the word 'July.'"—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'August' stand part of the clause."

Mr. McKenna (*Monmouthshire, N.*) 435
Mr. Flynn (*Cork County, N.*) 436
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 436
Mr. Sydney Buxton (*Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) 437
Sir George Bartley 437
Mr. Buchanan (*Perthshire, E.*) 438
Mr. Herbert Samuel (*Yorkshire, Cleveland*) 438
Mr. Runciman (*Dewsbury*) 438

Question put, and negatived.

Question "That the word 'July' be there inserted," put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Flynn 439
Mr. McKenna 440

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 217 ; Noes, 141. (Division List No. 249.)

Clause 6 :

Mr. J. H. Lewis (*Flint Boroughs*) 443

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 37, after the words 'Income tax' to insert the words 'at the graduated rates hereinafter mentioned.'"—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 448
Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) 452
Sir George Bartley (Islington, N.) 456
Sir Edward Grey (Northumberland, Berwick) 458
Mr. Herbert Samuel 459
Mr. Soares (Devonshire, Barnstaple) 462
Mr. Sydney Buxton 465
Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) 466
Mr. Broadhurst (Leicester) 468
Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) 469
Mr. Gibson Bowles 470
Mr. Runciman 472
Mr. Charles Allen (Gloucestershire, Stroud) 474
Mr. Courtenay Warner (Staffordshire, Lichfield) 475

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 165 ; Noes, 234. (Division List No. 250.)

Mr. Lambert 479

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

ADJOURNMENT (UNDER STANDING ORDER NO. 10) (LORD DUNDONALD AND THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT).

Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs) 482
Mr. Winston Churchill (Oldham) 485

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) .. 490
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) 496
Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.) 498

Question put, and negatived.

Belfast Corporation (Tramways) Bill [LORDS] (BY ORDER).—[SECOND READING].

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made and Question proposed, " That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. Joseph Devlin (Kilkenny, N.) 500
Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.) 500
Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.) 503

July 19.] Page

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'this day three months.'"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy*).

Question proposed "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. McKenna (*Monmouthshire, N.*) 505
Mr. Joseph Devlin 506

Question put.

The House proceeded to a Division, and Mr. SPEAKER stated that he thought the Ayes had it; and, on his decision being challenged, it appeared to him that the Division was frivolously claimed, and he accordingly called upon the Members who supported and who challenged his decision successively to rise in their places, and he declared the Ayes had it, Three Members only who challenged his decision having stood up.

Bill read a second time.

Finance Bill.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 6:—

Mr. Lambert 506

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 39, to leave out the words 'one shilling' and insert the word 'elevenpence.'"—(*Mr. Lambert.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 507
Mr. Sydney Buxton 509
Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon Boroughs*) 510
Mr. Soares 513
Mr. Winston Churchill (*Oldham*) 514
Mr. McKenna 516

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 209; Noes, 101. (Division List No. 251.)

Mr. McCrae (*Edinburgh, E.*) 519

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 39, after the words 'one shilling' to insert the words 'provided always that all incomes under Schedule D derived from trades and professions and not derived from investments shall be subject to a rebate of fourpence per pound.'"—(*Mr. McCrae.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 522
Mr. McKenna 523
Mr. Herbert Samuel 524
Mr. Markham (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield) 524
Mr. Runciman 525
Mr. Soares 526

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. McKenna 526

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 1, to leave out Sub-section (2)."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

The Attorney-General (Sir Robert Finlay, Inverness Burghs) 527

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 5, to leave out Sub-section (3)."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 528

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. McKenna 529

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 10, after the word 'year' to insert the words 'Provided that the Commissioners of Inland Revenue may direct revaluation where existing valuations are incorrect.'"—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 529
Mr. Winston Churchill 529

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 80 ; Noes, 171. (Division List No. 252.)

Mr. Sydney Buxton 533

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton.*)

The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) .. 533
Mr. John Wilson (Durham, Mid.) .. 534
Mr. McCrae .. 534
Mr. A. J. Balfour .. 534
Sir Edward Grey .. 535
Mr. Fenwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck) .. 535
Mr. Winston Churchill .. 536
Mr. William Abraham (Glamorganshire, Rhondda) .. 537
Mr. McKenna .. 537
Mr. Lloyd-George .. 538
Mr. Sydney Buxton .. 539
Mr. Fison (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster) .. 539
Mr. Courtenay Warner .. 539
Mr. Joseph Walton (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley) .. 540
Mr. A. J. Balfour .. 541
Sir Edward Grey .. 541
Mr. Trevelyan .. 542
Mr. Joseph Walton .. 542
Mr. Eugene Wason .. 543
Mr. Emmott (Oldham) .. 543

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 75 ; Noes, 168. (Division List No. 253.)

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question, 'That the clause stand part of the Bill,' be now put."

Question put, "That the Question, 'That the clause stand part of the Bill' be now put."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 167 ; Noes, 74. (Division List No. 254.)

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 166 ; Noes, 70. (Division List No. 255.)

Clause 7 :—

Mr. McCrae .. 551

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 25, to leave out the words from the word 'shall' to the word 'out,' in line 26, and insert the word 'pay.'"—(*Mr. McCrae.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain .. 552
Mr. Lloyd-George .. 553
Mr. Sydney Buxton .. 554
Mr. Runciman .. 555
Mr. Winston Churchill .. 556
Mr. George Whiteley .. 557

Mr. Ainsworth (Argyllshire) 558
Mr. McKenna 559
Mr. Winston Churchill 560

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 158 ; Noes, 65. (Division List, No. 256.)

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer rose in his place, and claimed to move, " That the Question, ' That the clause stand part of the Bill,' be now put. "

Question put, " That the Question, ' That the clause stand part of the Bill,' be now put. "

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 157 ; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 257.)

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 158 ; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 258.)

Clause 8 :—

Mr. Soares 567

Amendment proposed—

" In page 3, line 34, to leave out the words ' and the Acts amending that Act.' "—(*Mr. Soares.*)

Question proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Sir Robert Finlay 567
Mr. Winston Churchill 568
Mr. Sydney Buxton 568

Question put, " That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 155 ; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 259.)

Mr. Attorney-General rose in his place, and claimed to move, " That the Question be now put."

Question put accordingly, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 156 ; Noes, 64. (Division List No. 260.)

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer rose in his place and claimed to move, " That the Question, ' That the clause stand part of the Bill,' be now put."

Question put, " That the Question, ' That the clause stand part of the Bill,' be now put."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 155 ; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 261.)

July 19.] *Page*

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 156 ; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 262.)

Mr. John Wilson 579

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. John Wilson, Durham.*)

Mr. A. J. Balfour 579
Mr. Fenwick 580
Sir Edward Grey 581
Mr. Lough 581
Mr. Winston Churchill 582
Mr. Claude Lowther (*Cumberland, Eskdale*) 583
Mr. Joseph Walton 584

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 154 ; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 263.)

Question put accordingly, "That the Chairman do report Progress and ask leave to sit again."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 65 ; Noes, 155. (Division List No. 264.)

Mr. Lough 589

New Clause (Amendment of Section 2 of Finance Act, 1901)—

"On the first day of July, 1904, the duties on sugar, molasses, glucose, and other articles, imposed by Sections 2 and 5 of the Finance Act, 1901, and the drawbacks allowed under the Act, shall cease and determine."—(*Mr. Lough.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 592
Mr. Sydney Buxton 592
Mr. Winston Churchill 593
Mr. Lloyd-George 594
Mr. George Whiteley 596
Mr. Runciman 597
Mr. Lough 598
Mr. McKenna 599
Mr. Winston Churchill 600

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 66 ; Noes, 150. (Division List No. 265.)

July 19.] Page

Mr. John Wilson 601
Mr. Joseph Walton 609

New Clause (Reduction of Coal Duty)—

> " On and after the first day of August, nineteen hundred and four, one penny shall be substituted for one shilling as the duty on coal under Section 3 of The Finance Act, 1901."—(*Mr. John Wilson, Durham.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. William Abraham .. 614
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 615
Mr. Fenwick 618
Mr. Johnson (Gateshead) .. 621
Mr. Burt (Morpeth) 624
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 625

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Mr. Emmott 628
Mr. Eugene Wason 630
Mr. Courtenay Warner 630
Mr. Shackleton (Lancashire, Clitheroe) 630
Mr. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy Burghs) 631
Sir Frederick Milner (Nottinghamshire, Bassetlaw) 632
Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.) 634
Mr. McCrae 634
Mr. Labouchere (Northampton) 635
Sir Christopher Furness (Hartlepool) 635
Sir James Joicey (Durham, Chester-le-Street) 636
Mr. Lough 636

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 112 ; Noes, 195. (Division List No. 266.)

Original Question again proposed.

Sir James Joicey 639
Mr. Eugene Wason 643
Mr. Parrot (Yorkshire, W.R., Normanton) 645
Sir Edward Grey 647
Mr. Munro Ferguson (Leith Burghs) 650

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer rose in his place, and claimed to move, " That the Question be now put."

Question put, " That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 173 ; Noes, 117. (Division List No. 267.)

July 19.] Page

Question put accordingly, " That the clause be read a second time."

The Committee divided :—Ayes, 129 ; Noes, 173. (Division List No. 268.)

Mr. Lloyd George 657
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 658

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Chairman do report Progress and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Mr. A. J. Balfour 658

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Lough 665

New clause. (Charge on delivery of tea from warehouse.)

" Such part of the Customs Tariff Act, 1876, as refers to a charge upon the delivery of tea from any warehouse for home consumption is hereby repealed."—(*Mr. Lough.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. Sydney Buxton 667
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 667

Clause, by leave, withdrawn.

New clause. (Amendment of 39 and 40 Vict., c. 35.)

" In lieu and instead of the additional rates provided for in the Customs Tariff Act, 1876, there shall be charged upon the delivery of the following goods from any warehouse for home consumption, in addition to the duties of Customs and any other charges thereon, for every one hundred pounds of such duties of Customs payable thereon, the rates following (that is to say) :—In respect of tobacco, 1s. 3d. ; in respect of other goods, 2s. 6d. ; whether such tobacco or other goods shall have been removed to such warehouse under bond or not."—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Brought up, and read the first and second time and added to the Bill.

Mr. Buchanan 668

New clause. (Amount of permanent annual charge for National Debt.)

" The amount of the permanent annual charge for the National Debt during the current and every subsequent financial year shall be the sum of twenty-six million pounds, and ' twenty-six million eight hundred thousand pounds ' shall be substituted for ' twenty-seven ' in Section six (one) of the Finance Act, 1903."—(*Mr. Buchanan.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the clause be read a second time."

July 19.] Page

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 670

Clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. George Whiteley 672

New clause. (Amendment of 5 and 6 Vic., c. 35, and 59 and 60 Vic., c. 16.)

"Section one hundred and ninety-two of the Income-Tax Act, 1842, shall read if as the words 'and unregistered friendly societies having an income of less than one hundred and sixty pounds a year' were inserted after the word 'corporate.'"

"Section two of the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896, as extended by the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896, etc., Continuance Act, 1901, which authorises certain payments to be made out of the Local Taxation Account, and requires the Commissioners of Inland Revenue to pay to the Local Taxation Account, out of the proceeds of the Estate Duty derived in England from personal property, the annual sum required by that section to be paid to that account, shall cease to have effect from and after the thirty-first day of March next after the passing of this Act."—(*Mr. George Whiteley.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. A. K. Lloyd (*Berkshire, Abingdon*) 673

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause added to the Bill.

Mr. Scott-Montagu (*Hampshire, New Forest*) 673

New clause. (Exemption from duty of alcohol used for motive power.)

"On and after the first day of August, 1904, where it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue that alcohol which has been suitably denatured and rendered unpotable is required for motive power, lighting, heating, and manufacturing purposes, it shall be lawful to sell such spirit without payment of any duty or tax thereon, and further, subject to such regulations as the Commissioners may require for the security of the revenue, absolute alcohol shall also be exempt from duty when employed in manufacturing operations where it can be proved to the Commissioners that denaturing agents would prevent its use."—(*Mr. Scott-Montagu.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 674
Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) 675
Mr. Gibson Bowles 675

Clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Schedule.

Amendments proposed—

"In page 4, line 27, to leave out the word 'said.'"

"In page 4, line 27, after the word 'provisions,' to insert the words 'applicable thereto.'"

"In page 4, line 33, at end, to insert the words '(5) Notwithstanding anything in Section 1 of the Manufactured Tobacco Act, 1863, drawback on tobacco shall be allowed in respect of fractions of a pound in accordance with the provisions of Section 17 of the Customs Consolidation Act, 1876.'"

"In page 4, line 36, at end, to insert the words, 'and that subsection shall apply to stalks, shorts, and other refuse of tobacco not of the fineness of snuff.'"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendments agreed to.

Mr. Sydney Buxton 676
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 676

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 276.]

And, it being after One of the clock on Wednesday morning, Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House, pursuant to the Standing Order, without Question put.

Adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Four o'clock in the afternoon.

HOUSE OF LORDS: THURSDAY, 21ST JULY, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Surrey Commercial Dock Bill.—Reported with Amendments 677

Tottenham Improvement Bill.—Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 677

London United Tramways Bill.—Read 3ª, with the Amendments, further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons 677

Swindon Corporation Bill.—Reported, with Amendments 677

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1.) Bill.—Read 3ª (according to order) with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons 677

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3.) Bill.—Read 3ª, according to order, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons. 677

July 21.] *Page*

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS—I. ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3225. Sweden (Gothenburg).

No. 3226. France (Algeria).

No. 3227. China (Wuchow). 677

II. MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.

No. 615. Germany (Special Technical Schools for the Ceramic Industries).

No. 616. Fishing trade of the Weser seaports 677

ARMY.—(Extensions of Service.) Statement showing the extensions of service, since 1st April, 1904, of men enlisted for three years with the colours (rank an file only) to seven and eight years respectively.

(Special Pensions.) Return, for the year ended the 31st March, 1904, of pensions specially granted under Articles 730, 1173A, and 1207 of the Army Pay Warrant. 677

PHYSICAL DETERIORATION.—Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Vol. I. Report and appendix 678

CENSUS (ENGLAND AND WALES).—General Report, with appendices, 1901 .. 678

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK—Annual Report of the President for the Session 1900–1904 678

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1887 (EVICTION NOTICES).—Return of the number of eviction notices filed during the quarter ended 30th June, 1904. Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 678

POST OFFICE (FOREIGN AND COLONIAL PARCEL POST) STATUTORY RULES AND ORDERS, 1904. No. 1077.—Foreign and Colonial Parcel Post Amendment (No. 10) Warrant, 1904, dated 22nd June, 1904. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 678

NEW BILL.

Poor Law Authorities (Transfer of Property) Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to make provision for the transfer of property and other matters consequent upon the dissolution of districts and poor law unions or the addition of one poor law union to another, was presented by the Earl Waldegrave (for the Lord Kenyon); read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Tuesday next. (No. 154.) 678

Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill.—Amendments reported (according to order); and Bill to be read 3ª To-morrow 678

Public Health Bill [H.L.].—Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons 678

Railways (Private Sidings) Bill.—Amendment reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3ª To-morrow 679

July 21.] *Page*

Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clauses 1 and 2 agreed to.

Clause 3 :—

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 4 :—

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 5 and 6 agreed to.

Clause 7 :—

The Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) 679

Amendment moved—

> " In page 4, line 3, to leave out the word ' two ' and insert the word ' four.' "—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 7, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 8 agreed to.

Clause 9 :—

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Clause 9, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 10 and 11 agreed to.

Clause 12 :—

Amendment moved—

> " In page 5, line 24, to leave out the words ' foreign or colonial,' and in line 25, after the word ' authority ' to insert the words ' in any British Possession or foreign country.' "—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Clause 12, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 13 agreed to.

Clause 14 :—

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 14, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to ; and Bill reported with Amendments to the House.

The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 155.)

RE-ORGANISATION OF THE ARMY.

Lord Burghclere	680
Lord Denman	690
Earl Roberts	695
Viscount Hardinge	696
Lord Heneage	699
Lord Lovat	704
Lord Harris	707
The Under Secretary of State for War (The Earl of Donoughmore)	711
Lord Monkswell	726
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne)	733
Earl Spencer	737

House adjourned at twenty minutes past eight o'clock, till To-morrow Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: THURSDAY, 21ST JULY, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Bournemouth Corporation (Tramways) Bill [LORDS] ; Ebbw Vale Urban District Water Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 743

Harrogate Waterworks Tramroad Bill [LORDS].—Verbal Amendments made ; Bill read the third time and passed, with Amendments 743

Holywood Tramways Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 744

Metropolitan District Railway Bill [LORDS]. (King's Consent signified)—Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 744

Lothians Electric Power Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered ; a Clause added, and an Amendment made ; Bill to be read the third time 744

Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill [LORDS] ; Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment. 744

July 21.] Page

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill.—Third Reading deferred till Monday next 744

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (No. 5).—Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the harbour of Courtown, in the county of Wexford, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 5) Bill.—" To confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the harbour of Courtown, in the county of Wexford," presented accordingly.

Ordered, " That Standing Order 193A be suspended, and that the Bill be read the first time."—(*Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland.*)

Bill accordingly read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 279.] 744

Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [LORDS].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 744

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP M).—Sir JAMES WOODHOUSE reported from the Committee on Group M of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned till Wednesday next, at Eleven of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table 744

Manchester Corporation (General Powers) Bill [LORDS].—Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee [Section A]; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 745

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [LORDS].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 745

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill.—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table ..

Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow 745

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill, without Amendment.

Lytham Improvement Bill, with Amendments 745

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.—Petitions against; from Annan; Birkenhead; Buckley; Bush Hill Park; Connah's Quay; Dalkeith; Deganwy (three); Dumfries; Durham; Eskdale; Ffynongroew (four); Finsbury Park; Glastonbury; Hilperton; Linlithgow (two); Llandudno; Manchester; New Southgate; Oxford; Parkgate; Pendleton (two); Stafford; Thornton Dale; and Worthing; to lie upon the Table 745

July 21.] *Page*

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (TAXATION AND PURCHASE OF LAND) BILL.—Petition from Middlesbrough, in favour; to lie upon the Table 745

TUBERCULOSIS (ANIMALS) COMPENSATION BILL.—Petition of the Royal, Parliamentary, and Police Burghs of Scotland, against; to lie upon the Table .. 745

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ARMY.—Copy presented, of Statement showing the extensions of service, since 1st April, 1904, of men enlisted for three years with the colours (rank and file only) to seven and eight years respectively [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 746

ARMY (SPECIAL PENSIONS).—Copy presented, of Return for the year ended 31st March, 1904, of Pensions specially granted under Articles 730, 1173a, and 1207 of the Army Pay Warrant [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 746

CENSUS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1901.—Copy presented, of General Report, with Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 746

PHYSICAL DETERIORATION.—Copy presented, of Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Vol. I. Report and Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 746

POST OFFICE (FOREIGN AND COLONIAL PARCEL POST).—Copy presented, of the Foreign and Colonial Parcel Post Amendment (No. 10) Warrant, 1904, dated 22nd June, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 746

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK.—Copy presented, of Report of the President for the Session 1903-4, with Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 746

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3225 to 3227 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 746

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, Nos. 615 and 616 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 746

BAHAMAS.—Copy presented, of amended Prison Rule relating to the Persona Correction of Prisoners [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 747

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.—Address for "Return of all sentences of Corporal Punishment inflicted under 26 and 27 Vic., c. 44, upon persons convicted of offences against Section 43 of the Larceny Act, 1861, and Section 21 of The Offences Against the Person Act, 1861, in England and Wales, from the 31st day of December, 1902 to the 31st day of December, 1903, (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 185, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Lloyd Morgan.*) 747

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [LORDS].—Copy ordered, "of Memorandum stating the nature of the Proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords]."—(*Mr. Bonar Law.*) 747

July 21.] Page

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

LOCOMOTIVES AND TRUCKS IN PUBLIC STREETS IN LONDON.—Question, Mr. Coghill (Stoke-upon-Trent); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 747

PRISONERS FLOGGED UNDER THE VAGRANCY ACT DURING 1903.—Question, Mr. Lloyd Morgan (Carmarthen, W.); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 748

CLUBS FAILING TO REGISTER UNDER THE LICENSING ACT, 1902.—Question, Mr. Colston (Gloucestershire, Thornbury); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 748

EXPERIMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE DROWNING OF DOGS.—Question, Colonel Lockwood (Essex, Epping); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 748

DOG LICENCES FOR DOGS KEPT FOR VIVISECTION PURPOSES.—Question, Dr. Shipman (Northampton); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 749

ALLEGED BIRCHING BY THE SPARKHILL POLICE TO EXTORT CONFESSION.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 749

ADOPTION OF SUGGESTIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD CIRCULAR OF 11TH MARCH, 1899.—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 750

ACCOMMODATION FOR SICK POOR IN EASTVILLE WORKHOUSE.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 750

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK—ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DEPOSITS UNDER ONE POUND.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Lord Stanley 751

MIDDLESBROUGH POST OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Goddard (Ipswich); Answer, Lord Stanley 751

VACANCIES IN THE POST OFFICE SERVICE FILLED BY PERSONS OTHER THAN POSTAL SERVANTS.—Question, Mr. John Wilson (Durham, Mid); Answer, Lord Stanley 752

AVOCH HARBOUR.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 753

SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION AT HAYWARDS HEATH.—Question, Mr. Evelyn Cecil (Aston Manor); Answer, Sir William Anson 753

DETENTION OF BRITISH SHIPS BY RUSSIAN CRUISERS.—Question, Sir Thomas Dewar (Tower Hamlets, St. Georges); Answer, Earl Percy 754

ALLEGED CONCESSION TO GERMANY IN MADEIRA.—Question, Sir Walter Foster; Answer, Earl Percy 754

DUTY ON ALCOHOL USED FOR INDUSTRIAL PURPOSES.—Question, Colonel Denny (Kilmarnock Burghs); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 755

DEATH FROM FLOGGING OF RAMJI HARIBA.—Question, Mr. J. A. Pease (Essex, Saffron Walden); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 756

ENCOURAGEMENT OF FISHING INDUSTRY ON SOUTH EAST COAST OF IRELAND.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.); Answer. Mr. Wyndham .. 756

July 21.] *Page*

IRISH BANKRUPTCY COURT—AMOUNT OF UNCLAIMED DIVIDEND FUND.—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 756

DESTRUCTION OF FLAG ON ORANGE HALL, TRILLICK.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 756

INSPECTION OF MR. O'DONOVAN'S PROPERTY AT SKIBBEREEN.—Question, Mr. Gilhooly (Cork Co., W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 757

LOSSES OF DEBENTURE HOLDERS OF IRISH LOAN FUND BANKS.—Question, Dr. Thompson (Monaghan, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 757

INSPECTION OF IRISH WORKHOUSES AND WORKHOUSE HOSPITALS.—Question, Dr. Thompson; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 577

AGE RETIREMENT OF IRISH POOR LAW MEDICAL OFFICERS.—Question, Dr. Thompson; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 758

ROYAL ARMY MEDICAL CORPS.—Question, Dr. Thompson; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 759

IMPROVED SLEEPING ACCOMMODATION IN GUARD ROOMS.—Question, Mr. Colston; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 759

ARMY ESTIMATES.—Question, Mr. Goddard; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster .. 759

THE RESERVES.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 760

RATES OF WAGES FOR CHINESE LABOURERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 761

LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND CHINESE LABOUR.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 761

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF THE TRANSVAAL, ORANGE RIVER COLONY AND INTERCOLONIAL COUNCIL.—Question, Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 761

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

SALE OF OBSOLETE WAR VESSELS.—Question, Colonel Denny (Kilmarnock Burghs); Answer, The Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Arthur Lee, Hampshire, Fareham) 762

ARMY REORGANISATION SCHEME.—Question, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, S.) 763

ARMY RECRUITING 1903-4.—Questions, Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.); Answers, Mr. Arnold-Forster 765

RECRUITING—COMPARATIVE TABLES.—Question, Sir J. Fergusson (Manchester, N.E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 765

July 21.]

Page

RE-ENGAGEMENT IN THE GUARDS BRIGADE.—Question, Sir J. Fergusson; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 766

PROPOSED REDUCTION OF THE VOLUNTEER FORCE.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 766

EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MILITARY WORKS ACT.—Questions, Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee) and Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answers, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Mr. Bromley Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield) 767

CHINESE COOLIES IN SOUTH AFRICA—TREATMENT OF THE "TWEEDDALE" CONTINGENT.—Question, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington) 767

EX-PRESIDENT KRUGER'S FUNERAL.—Question, Mr. Power (Waterford, E.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 767

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR THE TRANSVAAL COLONY.—Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 768

PROCEDENCE IN THE COLONIES.—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 769

ZANZIBAR—ENVOYS COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE REGENT.—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason; Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) 769

BLENDED SPIRITS—OPERATIONS IN BOND.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 769

PATENT-STILL DISTILLERIES IN SCOTLAND.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 770

CONVEYANCE OF DUTIABLE GOODS BETWEEN ENGLISH AND IRISH PORTS—CARRYING TRADES' ACCOUNTS.—Questions, Mr. Clancy (Dublin County, N.); Answers, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 770

DESERTIONS OF BRITISH MERCHANT SEAMEN IN PACIFIC PORTS.—Question, Sir J. Fergusson; Answer, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. Bonar Law, Glasgow, Blackfriars) 772

EDUCATION IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT—COUNTY COUNCIL AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND SCHOOLS.—Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University) 773

DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS—TRANSFERS TO LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES.—Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, Sir William Anson 773

RATHMINES REGISTRATION LISTS.—Questions, Mr. Mooney (Dublin County, S.) and Mr. John Redmond (Waterford); Answers, The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) 774

July 21.] Page

DREDGER FOR THE WEST OF IRELAND.—Questions, Mr. Charles Devlin (Galway) and Mr. John Redmond; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 774

LAND PURCHASE IN GALWAY.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 775

MOUNTPOTTINGER CONSTABULARY BARRACKS.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 775

GAULT ESTATE, COUNTY TYRONE.—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 776

WEIR ESTATE, COUNTY SLIGO.—Question, Mr. O'Dowd (Sligo, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 776

RATHMINES COMMISSIONERS' APPEAL.—Question, Mr. Mooney; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 777

DROMORE ORANGE DEMONSTRATION—ASSAULT ON JAMES GAMBLE.—Questions, Mr. Sloan; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 777

SECTION 7.—LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) ACT.—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 778

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST—LECTURES.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 778

IRISH SECTION, ST. LOUIS EXHIBITION —Question, Captain Donelan (Cork County, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 779

CONSTABLE ANDERSON, ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.), and Mr. Lundon (Limerick, E.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 781

IRISH SALT FIRKIN BUTTER REGULATIONS.—Question, Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 781

IRISH RENT STATISTICS.—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton (Canterbury); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 781

TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 782

FENIT PIER, COUNTY KERRY.—Question, Mr. Flavin; Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 783

IRISH LAND STOCK.—Questions, Mr. Coghill (Stoke-upon-Trent), and Mr. John Redmond; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 783

ALLEGED CONGESTION OF BUSINESS IN THE LAW COURTS.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 784

MINISTERS AS COMPANY DIRECTORS.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 784

July 21.]

Page

"INSULAR FREE TRADE".—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 785

SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.—Questions, Mr. Buchanan; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 786

IMPERIAL OFFICERS AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS.—Question, Mr. Markham (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 786

THE SEIZURE OF THE "MALACCA."—Questions, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 786

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 787

RATHMINES REGISTRATION SCANDAL—MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT REFUSED.

Mr. Mooney (*Dublin County, S.*) 788

SUPPLY [18TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904–5.—

CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £27,750, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant in Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

Sir Henry Fowler (*Wolverhampton, E.*) 789

Whereupon Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £27,700, be granted for the said service."—(*Sir Henry Fowler.*)

Mr. J. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) 801
Sir Charles Dilke (*Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean*) 813
Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree (*Bethnal Green, N.E.*) 822
Mr. Markham (*Nottinghamshire, Mansfield*) 827
The Secretary of State for the Colonies (*Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington*) 835
Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*) 849

And it being half-past Seven of the Clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

July 21.]

Page

EVENING SITTING.

SUPPLY [18TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904–5.

CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £27,750, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant-in-Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

Sir Robert Reid 851
Mr. John Stroyan (Perthshire, W.) 857
Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.) 859
Major Seely (Isle of Wight) 866
Mr. Lyttelton 870
Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs) 877

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £27,650, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Mr. Chaplin (Lincolnshire, Sleaford) 883

And, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress ; to sit again upon Monday next.

County of Suffolk (Re-committed) Bill [NOT AMENDED.]—Considered in Committee. Committee report Progress ; to sit again to-morrow.

Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment (St. Kilda) Bill.—Considered in Committee, and reported without Amendment ; Bill read the third time, and passed.

THE SEIZURE OF THE "MALACCA."—On the Question that the House do now adjourn. Question, Sir John Brunner (Cheshire, Northwich) ; Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 884

Adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS, FRIDAY, 22ND JULY, 1904.

COMMISSION.—The following Bills received the Royal Assent—

Hall-marking of Foreign Plate.
Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea).
Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London).
Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (Birmingham).
Education Board Provisional Order (Cardiff).
Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4).
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5).
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6).
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7).
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8).
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12).
Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14)
Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15).
Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas).
Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2).
Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4).
Commons Regulation (Merrow) Provisional Order.
Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order.
Land Drainage Provisional Order.
Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order.
Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 1)
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5).
Canal Rates and Charges (Regent's Canal) Order Confirmation.
Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Order Confirmation.
North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation.
Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation.
Leith Burgh Order Confirmation.
Airdrie Corporation Gas Order Confirmation.
Wishaw Corporation Order Confirmation.
Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation.
Govan Corporation Order Confirmation.
Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation.
Glasgow and South-Western Railway Order Confirmation.
Donegal Railway.
Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway.
South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time).
Bexhill Water and Gas.
Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways.
London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway.
Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power.
Manchester Ship Canal (Finance).

July 22.] Page

Preston Corporation Water.
Shipley Urban District Council.
Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power.
Great Northern Railway.
Matlock and District Gas.
Ticehurst and District Water and Gas.
London and North Western Railway.
Baker Street and Waterloo Railway.
Brymbo Water.
Great Central and Midland Joint Railways.
Humber Commercial Railway and Dock.
Southend-on-Sea Gas.
St. Mary Woolnoth.
Minehead Urban District Council Water.
Clyde Valley Electrical Power.
Birkdale Improvement.
Crystal Palace District Gas.
Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time).
City of London (Central Criminal Court House).
Filey Improvement.
Maidenhead Bridge.
Great Central Railway.
London County Council (Money).
Plymouth Corporation.
Wolverhampton Corporation.
Liverpool and Wigan Churches.
Barrow-in-Furness Corporation.
Richard Jaeger's Patent.
Doncaster Corporation.
Skipton Water and Improvement.
Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways.
Llanelly Harbour.
Tynemouth Corporation.
Great Eastern Railway.
North-Western Electricity and Power Gas.
Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway 885

MARQUESS CONYNGHAM.—Report made from the Lord Chancellor that the right of Victor George Henry Francis, Marquess Conyngham in the Peerage of Ireland, to vote at the election of Representative Peers for Ireland, has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 887

July 22.]

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with :—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10); Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8).

Also the Certificate that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill :—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table 887

Radcliffe Tramways and Improvement Bill.—Reported, with Amendments 888

Felixstowe Gas Bill.—Reported, with Amendments 888

Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways Bill.—Moved, That the Ordr made on the 14th day of March last, " That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time, after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2ª ; agreed to. Bill read 2ª accordingly and committed 888

Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to 888

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments 888

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill; Thurles Urban District Council Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 888

Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendments (St. Kilda) Bill.—Brought from the Commons 888

Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to 888

Bournemouth Corporation (Tramways) Bill [H.L.]; Holywood Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments 888

Ebbw Vale Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]; Harrogate Waterworks Tramroad Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to 888

Arbroath Corporation Water Order Confirmation Bill; Dunfermline District Water Order Confirmation Bill; Melrose District Water Order Confirmation Bill. Read 3ª (according to order), and passed 889

Dundee, Broughty Ferry and District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill.—Read 3ª (according to order); Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons 889

July 22.] Page

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BAHAMAS.—Amended prison rule relating to the personal correction of prisoners. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie upon the Table 889

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877.—Statutes made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, on the 4th March, 1904, amending Statutes II., III., IV., V., VI., and VII. of the Statutes of the College. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 156.) 889

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—No. 3228. Japan (Yokohama); No. 3229. Egypt (Port Said and Suez) 889

SEA FISHERIES ACTS.—Annual Report of proceedings under the Acts, for the year 1903 889

SALMON AND FRESHWATER FISHERIES ACTS.—Annual Report of proceedings under the Acts, for the year 1903.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 889

WINTER ASSIZES ACT, 1876.—Seven Orders in Council of the 15th July, 1904, relating to the ensuing winter assizes 889

EXTRADITION ACT, 1870.—Order in Council on the 15th July, 1904, entitled, "The Straits Settlements Fugitive Offenders Order, 1904" 889

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.—Orders in Council of the 15th July, 1904, entitled respectively "The China and Corea (Shipping Registry) Order in Council, 1904" and "The China and Corea (Consular and Marriage Fees) Order in Council, 1904" 889

County Courts Bill [H.L.].—House in the Committee (according to order), *The Lord Chancellor (The Earl of Halsbury)* 890

Bill reported without Amendment; and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

MINISTERS AND THE FISCAL POLICY.

The Duke of Devonshire 890
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Lansdowne) 900
The Earl of Rosebery 908
Lord Balfour of Burleigh 916
The First Lord of the Admiralty (The Earl of Selborne) 923
Viscount Goschen 930
Earl Spencer 933

Savings Banks Acts Amendments Bill.—Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3ª on Monday next 936

Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill.—Read 3ª (according to order), with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 936

Railways (Private Sidings) Bill.—Read 3ª (according to order), with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons 936

Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment (St. Kilda) Bill.—Read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 157.) 936

NEW BILL.

Official Secrets Bill [H.L.].—A Bill to amend the Official Secrets Act, 1889, with respect to the consent of the Attorney-General to the institution of prosecutions under that Act—Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 158.) 936

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Eight o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: FRIDAY, 22nd JULY, 1904.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

Royal Commission.—Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went; and, being returned—

Mr. Speaker reported the Royal Assent to—

Hall-Marking of Foreign Plate Act, 1904.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (Swansea) Act, 1904.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Act, 1904.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (Birmingham) Act, 1904.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (Cardiff) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 4) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 5) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 6) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 7) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 8) Act, 904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 12) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 14) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 15) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (Gas) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Act, 1904.

July 22.] *Page*

Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 4) Act, 1904.
Commons Regulation (Merrow) Provisional Order Act, 1904.
Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order Act, 1904.
Land Drainage Provisional Order Confirmation Act, 1904.
Drainage and Improvement of Lands Supplemental (Ireland) Act, 1904.
Pier and Harbour Order Confirmation (No. 1) Act, 1904.
Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 5) Act, 1904.
Canal Rates and Charges (Regent's Canal) Order Confirmation Act, 1904.
Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Order Confirmation Act, 1904.
North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation Act, 1904.
Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Act, 1904.
Leith Burgh Order Confirmation Act, 1904.
Airdrie Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Act, 1904.
Wishaw Corporation Order Confirmation Act, 1904.
Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Act, 1904.
Govan Corporation Order Confirmation Act, 1904.
Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Act, 1904.
Glasgow and South-Western Railway Order Confirmation Act, 1904.
Donegal Railway Act, 1904.
Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Act, 1904.
South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time) Act, 1904.
Bexhill Water and Gas Act, 1904.
Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Act, 1904.
London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Act, 1904.
Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power Act, 1904.
Manchester Ship Canal (Finance) Act, 1904.
Preston Corporation Water Act, 1904.
Shipley Urban District Council Act, 1904.
Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Act, 1904.
Great Northern Railway Act, 1904.
Matlock and District Gas Act, 1904.
Ticehurst and District Water and Gas Act, 1904.
London and North Western Railway Act, 1904.
Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Act, 1904.
Brymbo Water Act, 1904.
Great Central and Midland Railway Companies Act, 1904.
Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Act, 1904.
Southend-on-Sea Gas Act, 1904.
St. Mary Woolnoth Church Act, 1904.
Minehead Urban District Council Act, 1904.
Clyde Valley Electrical Power Act, 1904.

July 22.] *Page*

Birkdale Improvement Act, 1904.
South Suburban Gas Act, 1904.
Southport and Lytham Tramroad Act, 1904.
City of London (Central Criminal Court-House) Act, 1904.
Filey Improvement Act, 1904.
Maidenhead Bridge Act, 1904.
Great Central Railway Act, 1904.
London County Council (Money) Act, 1904.
Plymouth Corporation Act, 1904.
Wolverhampton Corporation Act, 1904.
Liverpool and Wigan Churches Act, 1904.
Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Act, 1904.
Richard Jaeger's Patent Act, 1904.
Doncaster Corporation Act, 1904.
Skipton Water and Improvement Act, 1904.
Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways Act, 1904.
Llanelly Harbour Act, 1904.
Tynemouth Corporation Act, 1904.
Great Eastern Railway (General Powers) Act, 1904.
North-Western Electricity and Power Gas Act, 1904.
Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Act, 1904 937

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz. :—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time upon Monday next 940

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [LORDS].—Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next 940

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill [LORDS]. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next 940

King's College Hospital Bill [LORDS]; Manchester Ship anal Bill [Lords]; Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [Lords]; Leeds Corporation (Waterworks) Railway Bill [Lords]; De Trafford Estate Bill [Lords]; Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads (re-committed) Bill [Lords].—Reported with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed .. 940

July 22.] Page

Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time 940

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Bill [Lords] (by Order.) As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time 940

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next 941

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation.—Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the Newburgh and North Fife Railway, ordered to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the Newburgh and North Fife Railway," presented accordingly; and ordered to be considered upon Monday next 941

PETITIONS.

Licensing Bill.—Petitions against; from Finsbury; Gateshead; Kilmarnock; Lasswade; Lincolnshire; Lostock Hall; Martin Dales; Sailsbury; Spennymoor; Tiverton on Avon; Wallsend; Whitby; Worthing; and Wrexham; to lie upon the Table 941

Valuation Bill.—Petition from Fylde, for alteration; to lie upon the Table .. 941

Voluntary Schools Act, 1897.—Petition from Edmonton, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 941

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford).—Copy presented of Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, on 4th March, 1904, amending Statutes II., III., IV., V., VI., and VII., of the Statutes of the College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 247.] 941

Winter Assizes Acts, 1876 and 1877.—Copy presented, of Seven Orders in Council of 15th July, 1904, relating to the ensuing Winter Assizes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 942

Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890.—Copies presented, of Orders in Council of 15th July, 1904, entitled, respectively, The China and Corea (Shipping Registry) Order in Council, 1904, and the China and Corea (Consular and Marriage Fees) Order in Council, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table .. 942

Extradition Act, 1870.—Copy presented, of Order in Council of 15th July, 1904, entitled, The Straits Settlement Fugitive Offenders Order, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 942

July 22.] Page

SEA FISHERIES.—Copy presented of Annual Report of Preceedings under the Acts relating to Sea Fisheries for the year 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 942

SALMON AND FRESHWATER FISHERIES.—Copy presented, of Annual Report of Proceedings under the Salmon and Fresh Water Fisheries Acts, etc., for the year 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 942

NAVAL WORKS.—Copy presented, of Statement showing the total estimated cost of each Work, the estimated expenditure thereon during 1903–4 and 1904–5, and the expected date of completion [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 942

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [LORDS].—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 21st July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 274.] 942

TRAMWAYS AND LIGHT RAILWAYS (STREET AND ROAD).—Return ordered, "Of Street and Road Tramways and Light Railways authorised by Act or Order, showing the amount of Capital authorised, paid up, and expended; the length of line authorised, and the length open for the public conveyance of passengers down to the 31st day of December, 1903, in respect of Companies, and the 31st March, 1904, in respect of Local Authorities; the gross Receipts, working Expenditure, net Receipts, and application of net Receipts; the number of passengers conveyed, quantity of Electrical Energy used, and the number of miles run by Cars during the year ended on the foregoing dates respectively; together with the number of Horses, Engines, and Cars at those dates (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 324, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

ALIEN IMMIGRATION.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 943

DOGS VIVISECTED AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DURING 1903.—Question, Dr. Shipman (Northampton); Question, Mr. Akers Douglas 944

CANCER IN DOGS.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 944

THE ARMY—COST OF RE-ARMAMENT SCHEME.—Question, Mr. Goddard (Ipswich); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 944

THE NEW ARMY SCHEME AND INDIAN DRAFTS.—Question, Mr. McCrae (Edinburgh, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 945

THE MILITIA.—Question, Dr. Thompson (Monaghan, N.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 945

RECRUITING FOR IRISH MILITIA REGIMENTS.—Question, Dr. Thompson; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 946

CONGESTED DISTRICTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 946

HUMANE SLAUGHTERING OF ANIMALS.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.); Answer, Mr. Arthur Lee 947

RECALL OF LORD DUNDONALD.—Question, Mr. Markham (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 947

PROPOSED REDUCTION OF POSTAL RATES TO THE CONTINENT.—Question, Sir Thomas Dewar (Tower Hamlets, St. George's); Answer, Lord Stanley .. 948

CONSULAR SERVICE EXAMINATION—OMISSION OF MODERN HISTORY.—Question, Mr. Vincent Kennedy (Cavan, W.); Answer, Earl Percy 948

INSANITARY CONDITION OF SANDY, BEDFORDSHIRE.—Question, Mr. Schwann (Manchester, N.); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 948

GOVERNMENT ORDERS AND SHEFFIELD FIRMS.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 949

RESERVISTS AVAILABLE ON 1ST OCTOBER, 1899.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 949

THE CROWN AGENTS AND CEYLON.—Question, The Master of Elibank (Edinburgh, Midlothian); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 949

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

THE CASE OF THE "MALACCA."—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) and Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answers, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury (Sir A. Acland-Hood, Somersetshire, Wellington) 951

Finance Bill.—As amended, considered.
Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.) 951

A clause. [Amendment of Section 3 of Finance Act, 1901.]

"Section three of the Finance Act, 1901, shall read as if the words 'until the first day of August, nineteen hundred and five,' were inserted after the words 'nineteen hundred and one' in line two of the Section." —(*Mr. Channing*).

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire E.) 953
Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets Poplar) 954
Mr. Whitley (Halifax) 954
Mr. Brynmor Jones (Swansea District) 955
Mr. Trevelyan (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) 955
Mr. Samuel Evans (Glamorganshire, Mid) 956

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 87; Noes, 147. (Division List No. 269.)

Mr. Joseph Walton (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley) 959

A clause [Reduction of Coal Duty]—

"On and after the first day of August, nineteen hundred and four, one penny shall be substituted for one shilling as the duty on coal under Section 3 of the Finance Act, 1901."—(*Mr. Joseph Walton.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Sir William Holland (Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham) 969
Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.) 970
Mr. Mount (Berkshire, Newbury) 972
Mr. Samuel Evans 974
Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) 978
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 979
Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil) 983
Sir Thomas Wrightson (St. Pancras, E.) 986
Mr. Beaumont (Northumberland, Hexham) 987
Mr. Atherley Jones (Durham, N.W.) 988
Mr. Compton Rickett (Scarborough) 990
Mr. Fenwick (Northumberland, Wansbeck) 992
Sir Charles McLaren (Leicestershire, Bosworth) 992

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 142; Noes, 197. (Division List No. 270.)

And, it being half-past Five of the clock, and objection being taken to further proceedings, further proceeding on consideration, as amended, stood adjourned.

Bill, as amended, to be further considered upon Monday next.

Telegraph (Construction) Bill.—Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn 999

County of Suffolk (Re-committed) Bill [Not Amended].—Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; to be read the third time upon Monday next 999

Post Office Bill—Read a second time, and committed for Monday next without discussion 999

The Seizure of the "Malacca."—Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) 999

The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 999

WHITE LABOUR ON THE RAND.

Mr. Reginald Lucas (Portsmouth) 999
The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick, Leamington) 1000
Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) 1000
Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.) 1000

Question put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at seventeen minutes before Six o'clock, till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS: MONDAY, 25TH JULY, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13).
The same was ordered to lie on the Table 1001

Bournemouth Corporation (Tramways) Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to 1001

Barnet District Gas and Water Bill; Thames River Steamboat Service Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bills passed, and returned to the Commons 1001

Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill; Surrey Commercial Dock Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments and passed, and returned to the Commons 1001

Torquay Tramways Bill—Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments.

Lord Clifford of Chudleigh 1001

Moved, "to insert as a new clause:—'If at any time it be proved that any injury or damage to any mains, pipes, or apparatus of the corporation or of the Torquay Gas Company shall have resulted from the use of electric current on any of the tramways authorised by this Act, nothing in this Act shall relieve the company from liability to make compensation for such injury or damage.'"—(*Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.*)

Lord Hawkesbury 1004
The Acting Chairman of Committees (Lord Balfour of Burleigh) .. 1005
Lord Wolverton 1008
Viscount Cross 1009
Lord Newton 1009
Lord Clifford of Chudleigh 1010

On Question, Amendment disagreed to.

Moved, "That the Bill do pass."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*).

On Question, Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Leeds Corporation (Consolidation) Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1ª, and referred to the Examiners 1010

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Education (Scotland) Bill.—Return, showing the population, valuation, the average assessment levied under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, for the three years, 1900–1901 to 1902–1903, in each parish, and the total raised from each local government district, together with calculations showing the amounts which would be raised from each parish if the total assessment so raised from each local government district were imposed as a district rate upon parishes on the basis of (1) valuation alone, and (2) half on valuation and half on population; and calculations showing the amounts which would be raised from each parish if the charge in respect of interest on and repayment of loans were borne by the respective parishes instead of the district as a whole 1011

Trade Reports—I. Miscellaneous Series.

No. 617. Railway Systems of Brazil 1011

II. Annual Series.

No. 3230. France (Marsielles).

No. 3231. China (Pakhoi).

No. 3232. Russia (Odessa)

No. 3233. Austria-Hungary (Trieste and Lissa).

No. 3234. Spain (Canary Islands).

No. 3235. Turkey (Bagdad).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1011

Pilotage.—Abstract of Returns relating to pilots and pilotage in the United Kingdom (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 33, of session 1904), as furnished by the various pilotage authorities. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1011

The Decoration of the Palace of Westminster.

Lord Stanmore 1011

Moved, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire and report with respect to the unfinished condition of the rooms in the Palace of Westminster appropriated to the service of this House, and their approaches. —(*Lord Stanmore.*)

The First Commissioner of Works (*Lord Windsor*) 1018
Earl Spencer 1019
Lord Stanmore 1020

On Question, resolved in the negative.

Dean Forest Bill.—The Report of Amendments (which stands appointed for this day) put off to Thursday next 1021

Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill.—Read 3^{a}, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons 1021

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MONDAY, 25TH JULY, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Lytham Improvement Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 1021

Lothians Electric Power Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 1022

Cardiff Railway Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; an Amendment made; Bill to be read the third time 1022

Derwent Valley Water Board Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; an Amendment made; Bill to be read the third time 1022

Great Western Railway Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time 1022

Leeds Corporation (Consolidation) Bill.—As amended, considered.—Ordered That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed 1022

Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time 1022

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill [LORDS].—Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment 1022

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill.—Considered; to be read the third time upon Wednesday . 1022

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [LORDS].—As amended, considered; to be read the third time To-morrow 1022

Electric Lighting (London) (re-committed) Bill.—Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; read the third time, and passed 1022

July 25.]

Page

Prevention of Cruelty to Children (Amendment) Bill [LORDS].—Read a second time, and committed for this day 1022

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.: —Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow. 1022

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE.—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz.:—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 5) Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow 1023

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [LORDS]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read a second time and committed 1023

KIRKCALDY CORPORATION ORDER CONFIRMATION.—Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Kirkcaldy Corporation, ordered to be brought in by the Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Kirkcaldy Corporation Order Confirmation Bill.—"To confirm a Provisional Order, under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Kirkcaldy Corporation," presented accordingly; and ordered to be considered upon Wednesday 1023

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill; Arbroath Corporation Water Order Confirmation Bill; Dunfermline District Water Order Confirmation Bill; Melrose District Water Order Confirmation Bill, without Amendment.

Railways (Private Sidings) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill, with an Amendment.

Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill; Dundee, Broughty Ferry, and District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill; Tottenham Improvement Bill; London United Tramways Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to—**Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill** [LORDS]; Ebbw Vale Urban District Water Bill [Lords]; Harrogate Waterworks Tramroad Bill [Lords] without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to enable regulations to be made for carrying into effect conventions with respect to the prevention of danger arising to public health from vessels, and the prevention of the conveyance of infection by means of vessels." [Public Health Bill [Lords] 1023

PETITIONS.

Licensing Bill.—Petitions against; from Alvingham; Bath; Bridgwater; Consett; Donington; Louth; Paulton; Portsmouth; Reston; Sheffield; South Willingham; and Tottington; to lie upon the Table 1024

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Education (Scotland) Bill.—Copy presented, of Return showing the population, valuation, the average assessment levied under The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, for the three years 1900–1 to 1902–3 in each parish, and the total raised from each Local Government district, together with calculations showing the amounts which would be raised from each parish if the total assessment so raised from each Local Government district were imposed as a district rate upon parishes on the basis of (1) valuation alone, and (2) half on valuation and half on population, and calculations showing the amounts which would be raised from each parish if the charge in respect of interest on and repayment of loans were borne by the respective parishes instead of the district as a whole [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 1024

Companies (Medical and Dental).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th June; *Sir John Tuke*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 275.] 1025

Pilotage.—Copy presented, of Abstract of Returns relating to Pilots and Pilotage in the United Kingdom (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 330 of Session 1904) as furnished by the various Pilotage Authorities [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 276] 1025

East India.—Copy presented of Review of Progress of Education in India, 1897–8 to 1901–2. Vol. I. Fourth Quinquennial Review. Vol. II. Maps and Index [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1025

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3228 to 3235 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1025

Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 617 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1025

Bridlington Corporation Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1025

Public Petitions Committee.—Tenth Report brought up, and read; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1025

NEW BILL.

Leeds University Bill.—"To extend the privileges of the graduates of the University of Leeds," presented by Mr. Barran; supported by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cautley, Mr. Hastings Duncan, Mr. Beckett, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Trevelyan, and Mr. Whitley; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, and to be printed. [Bill 280] 1025

July 25.] Page

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

LIFE-SAVING PRECAUTIONS ON BRITISH EMIGRANT SHIPS.—Question, Sir Thomas Dewar (Tower Hamlets, St. George's); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour .. 1026

INSTRUCTION IN COOKERY AND HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY IN HIGHLAND SCHOOLS.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 1026

VACCINATION OF PRISONERS IN GLASGOW PRISON.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 1026

REPAIR AND GUARDIANSHIP OF IRISH ANCIENT MONUMENTS.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish .. 1027

SUPPLY OF FUEL TO PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN COUNTY WEXFORD.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde?—Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1027

GUN SIGHTS ON H.M.S. "PRINCE OF WALES."—Question, Mr. Harmsworth (Caithness-shire); Answer, Mr. Pretyman 1028

DISTRIBUTION OF CANTON BOOTY FUNDS.—Question, Mr. Sharpe (Kensington, N. Answer, Mr. Pretyman 1029

PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC WALLS AT BERWICK-ON-TWEED.—Question, Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.); Answer, Lord Balcarres 1029

SUNDAY DUTY OF METROPOLITAN POLICE.—Question, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 1030

CASE OF ADOLF BECK—MISTAKEN IDENTITY.—Question, Sir Thomas Dewar; Answer, Mr. Akers-Douglas 1030

ANNUAL LEAVE OF UNESTABLISHED POSTAL SERVANTS.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1030

INCREMENTS OF CIVIL SERVANTS.—Question, Captain Norton; Answer, Lord Stanley 1031

LEARNERS IN PORTADOWN POST OFFICE—ALLEGED INEFFICIENCY.—Question, Colonel Saunderson (Armagh, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1031

DELAY IN TRANSMISSION OF PARCELS FROM CHELTENHAM TO NORTH OF IRELAND.—Question, Dr. Thompson (Monaghan, N.); Answer, Lord Stanley .. 1032

PRESERVATION OF MEAT FROM DECOMPOSITION DURING TRANSIT.—Question, Mr. Alfred Davies (Carmarthen Boroughs); Answer, Mr. Walter Long .. 1032

CLAIMS FROM BRITISH RESIDENTS IN SAMOA FOR DAMAGE SUSTAINED BY THE BOMBARDMENT OF APIA.—Question, Mr. Corrie Grant (Warwickshire, Rugby); Answer, Earl Percy 1033

WATER STORAGE WORK FOR GUJERAT AND THE DECCAN.—Question, Mr. Samuel Smith (Flintshire); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1033

EXPENDITURE OF THE MALTA PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1034

July 25.] *Page*

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE, CAMBERLEY—CADETS SHOOTING.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 1037

ARMY RECRUITING—VISION TESTS FOR RECRUITS.—Question, Captain Norton; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1038

RECRUITING—INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S RECOMMENDATIONS.—Question, Captain Norton; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1038

TRANSVAAL ARMY STORES SCANDAL.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1039

LONGFORD TROOPS—COMPLAINT OF THE REV. JOSEPH SCULLY.—Questions, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.) Mr. Swift MacNeill, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory) and Mr. Whitley (Halifax); Answers, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1039

MR. BRODRICK AND THE TOAST OF "HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES."—Question, Mr. Lough (Islington, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 1041

IMPERIAL FISCAL POLICY—SUGGESTED COLONIAL CONFERENCE.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington) 1041

TRANSVAAL WAR CONTRIBUTION.—Question, Mr. Whitley; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1041

TRANSVAAL INTERESTS AT DELAGOA BAY.—Question, The Master of Elibank (Edinburgh, Midlothian); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1042

REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS FOR THE TRANSVAAL.—Question, Mr. Horner (Lambeth, N.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1042

CHINESE LABOURERS AND THE TRANSVAAL LIQUOR LAW.—Question, Captain Ellice (St. Andrews Burghs); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1042

CHINESE RIOTS IN THE TRANSVAAL.—Questions, Captain Norton and Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, Mr. Lyttelton 1043

TRANSVAAL GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS FOR PURCHASE OF REPATRIATION STORES. Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1043

COTTON GROWING IN AFRICA.—Question, Sir Seymour King (Hull, Central); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1043

CHIEF JUSTICE OF NEW ZEALAND—QUESTION OF PRECEDENCE.—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason (Orkney and Shetland); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1044

INDIAN ARMY REPRESENTATIVE AT THE WAR OFFICE.—Question, Captain Norton; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1044

CONGO FREE STATE—CHARGES OF MALADMINISTRATION.—Questions, Mr. O'Dowd (Sligo, S.) and Mr. James O'Connor (Wicklow, W.); Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) 1044

July 25.] Page

CONGO FREE STATE—AGITATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.—Question, Mr. O'Dowd; Answer, Earl Percy 1045

RUSSIAN WARSHIPS AND BRITISH VESSELS.—Questions, General Laurie Pembroke and Haverfordwest); Answers, Earl Percy(.. 1045

POSTAL COMMUNICATION WITH EAST AFRICA.—Question, Mr. Cathcart Wason; Answer, The Postmaster General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) 1046

PORTUGUESE TARIFF ON MERCERISED GOODS.—Question, Mr. White Ridley (Stalybridge); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 1046

GRADUATED INCOME TAX.—Question, Mr. Herbert Samuel (Yorkshire, Cleveland); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Victor Cavendish, Derbyshire, W.) 1047

LURGYDOUNELL RIVER FLOODS.—Question, Mr. P. A. McHugh (Leitrim, N.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 1047

ESTATES COMMISSIONERS' STAFF.—Question, Mr. O'Shee (Waterford, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1048

IRISH LOAN FUND BILL.—Questions, Mr. P. A. McHugh and Mr. McVeagh; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1048

WEST OF IRELAND GRAZING FARMS.—Questions, Mr. O'Dowd and Mr. Cullinan (Tipperary, S.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1050

DUNDONALD CEMETERY, BELFAST—BURIAL OF ROMAN CATHOLICS.—Questions, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1050

REV. T. L. MALONE'S ESTATE IN KING'S COUNTY.—Question, Mr. Reddy (King's County, Birr); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1051

MILLSTREET RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL AUDIT.—Question, Mr. Sheehan (Cork County, Mid); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1051

MOUNT POTTINGER CONSTABULARY BARRACKS.—Questions, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.) and Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1052

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST—ADDITIONAL APPOINTMENT OF PROFESSORS.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1053

MORLEY ESTATE, COUNTY CAVAN.—Question, Mr. Vincent Kennedy (Cavan, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1054

LONGFORD AGRICULTURAL INSTRUCTOR.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1054

PEAT PRODUCTION AT INNY JUNCTION.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1054

GALBRAITH ESTATE, NORTH LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr Wyndham 1055

July 25.] *Page*

ANALYSES OF CATTLE FOODS IN COUNTY LONGFORD.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1055

KINVARA PIER, COUNTY GALWAY.—Question, Mr. Joyce (Limerick); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1055

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS—CASES IN COUNTY ROSCOMMON.—Question, Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1056

MAYO FIRE ARMS OUTRAGE.—Question, Mr. Tully; Answer, Mr. Wyndham .. 1056

CORK SUMMER ASSIZES—CHALLENGING OF JURORS.—Questions, Mr. Flynn (Cork County, N.) and Mr. MacVeagh; Answers, The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) 1057

RUSH HARBOUR, COUNTY DUBLIN—COMPLAINTS OF DISREPAIR.—Question, Mr. Clancy (Dublin County, N.); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1058

RUSH HARBOUR—CAUSE OF SILTING.—Question, Mr. Clancy; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1059

RUSH HARBOUR—COST OF REPAIRS.—Question, Mr. Clancy; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1059

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF IRELAND—CASE OF MR. EVANS.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1060

SUNDAY PAY OF ADULT MESSENGERS AT BELFAST.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Lord Stanley 1061

RUSSIAN VOLUNTEER FLEET—CAPTURE OF BRITISH STEAMERS—PASSAGE THROUGH SUEZ CANAL.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1061

RIGHTS OF SEARCH AND VISIT BY BELLIGERENT WARSHIPS.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1062

RUSSIAN CRUISERS—PASSAGE THROUGH THE BOSPHORUS AND DARDANELLES.—Questions, Mr. Gibson Bowles and General Laurie; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1063

REDISTRIBUTION.—Question, Mr. Horner (Lambeth, N.), Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1064

PATENT SPIRIT WHISKY.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1065

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) and Mr. Buchanan (Perthshire, E.); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1065

NEW WRIT.

New Writ for the county of Lanark (North Eastern Division) in the room of Sir William Henry Rattigan, knight, deceased.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood*) 1066

Finance Bill.—As amended further considered.

Mr. Edmund Robertson (*Dundee*) 1066

A clause [Amount of permanent annual charge for National Debt]—

> "The amount for the permanent annual charge for the National Debt during the current and every subsequent financial year shall be the sum of twenty-six million eight hundred thousand pounds, and 'twenty-six million eight hundred thousand' shall be substituted for 'twenty-seven' in Section 6 of the Finance Act, 1903."—(*Mr. Edmund Robertson.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. Gibson Bowles (*Lynn Regis*) 1071
Mr. Buchanan (*Perthshire, E.*) 1076
The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.*) 1079
Mr. Sydney Buxton (*Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) 1083
Sir Edgar Vincent (*Exeter*) 1085
Mr. McKenna (*Monmouthshire, N.*) 1087
Sir George Bartley (*Islington, N.*) 1089
Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon Boroughs*) 1090
Mr. Perks (*Lincolnshire, Louth*) 1094
Mr. Courtenay Warner (*Staffordshire, Lichfield*) 1097
Mr. Whitley (*Halifax*) 1099

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 136 ; Noes, 223. (Division List No. 271.)

Sir Seymour King (*Hull, Central*) 1103

A clause [Relief from income tax on insurances with colonial companies]—

> "Section fifty-four of the Income Tax Act, 1853 (under which relief is granted in respect of premiums on life insurances or contracts for deferred annuities), shall apply in relation to life insurances or contracts for deferred annuities effected in or with any insurance company legally established in any British possession as it applies in relation to life insurances or contracts in or with the insurance companies mentioned in that section."—(*Sir Seymour King.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1104
Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) 1104

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause added to the Bill.

July 25.]

Page

Mr. Charles Hobhouse (*Bristol, E.*) 1105

A clause [exemption from duty of alcohol used for motive power]—

"On and after the first day of August, nineteen hundred and four, where it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue that alcohol which has been suitably denatured and rendered unpotable is required for motive power, lighting, heating, and manufacturing purposes, it shall be lawful to sell such spirit without payment of any duty or tax thereon, and further, subject to such regulations as the Commissioners may require for the security of the revenue, absolute alcohol shall also be exempt from duty when employed in manufacturing operations where it can be proved to the Commissioners that denaturing agents would prevent its use."—(*Mr. Charles Hobhouse.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1106
Mr. Haldane (*Haddingtonshire*) 1107
Colonel Sadler (*Middlesbrough*) 1110
Mr. Lyell (*Dorsetshire, E.*) 1113
Sir William Holland (*Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham*) 1114
Mr. Harwood (*Bolton*) 1115
Mr. Lough 1115
Mr. Sydney Buxton 1117
Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1117
Mr. Lloyd-George 1118
Mr. Theodore Taylor (*Lancashire, Radcliffe*) 1119
Mr. Pirie (*Aberdeen, N.*) 1120

Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided :—Ayes, 225 ; Noes, 134. (Division List No. 272.)

Question put accordingly, "That the clause be read a second time."

The House divided :—Ayes, 128 ; Noes, 219. (Division List No. 273.)

And, it being after half-past seven of the Clock, further proceedings on consideration, as amended, stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

FINANCE BILL.—As amended, further considered.

Mr. Channing (*Northamptonshire, E.*) 1127

A clause [abolition of sugar duty]—

"Section 2 of the Finance Act, 1901, is hereby repealed."—(*Mr. Channing.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain .. 1134
Mr. Sydney Buxton .. 1135
Mr. Emmott (Oldham) .. 1136
Dr. Macnamara (*Camberwell, N.*) .. 1138
Mr. Whitley .. 1139
Mr. Harwood .. 1139
Mr. Lloyd-George .. 1141

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 124 ; Noes, 201. (Division List No. 274.)

Mr. J. H. Lewis (*Flint Boroughs*) .. 1147

Amendments proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 16, to leave out the words 'in lieu of.'"—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Lloyd-George .. 1149
Mr. Austen Chamberlain .. 1152
Mr. Herbert Samuel (*Yorkshire, Cleveland*) .. 1153
Mr. KcKenna .. 1155
Mr. Herbert Roberts (*Denbighshire, W.*) .. 1156
Mr. Harwood .. 1157
Mr. Theodore Taylor .. 1158
Mr. George Whiteley (*Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey*) .. 1161
Mr. Shackleton (*Lancashire, Clitheroe*) .. 1162
Mr. Pirie .. 1163

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 191 ; Noes, 107. (Division List No. 275.) ..

Mr. Swift MacNeill .. 1165

Amendment proposed to the Bill.

"In page 1, line 17, to leave out the words 'nor Ireland.'"—(*Mr. MacNeill.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain .. 1170
Mr. Lough .. 1170
Dr. Macnamara .. 1170

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 170 ; Noes, 75. (Division List No. 276.)

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> " In Clause 2, page 2, lines 11 and 12, to leave out the words ' was on the high seas consigned to a port of the United Kingdom,' and insert the words ' to have been in an importing vessel consigned to a port in Great Britain or Ireland.' "—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> " In Clause 4, page 2, line 36, to leave out the word ' August,' and insert the word ' July.' "—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> " In Clause 6, page 3, line 16, at end, to insert the words ' The rate of charge on the delivery of spirits from an Excise warehouse under The Customs and Excise Warehousing Act, 1869, shall be reduced from five shillings to two shillings and six pence.' "—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1173

Question put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> "In Clause 6, page 3, line 16, at end, to insert the words 'The last paragraph but one of the Schedule to The Customs Tariff Act, 1876, beginning ' There shall be charged upon the delivery of the following goods,' and ending with the words ' under bond or not,' is hereby repealed.' "—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Herbert Samuel 1174

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Dr. Macnamara 1175

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> "In clause 7, page 3, line 21, after the word 'shilling' to insert the words ' provided always, that all incomes under Schedule D derived from trades and professions, and not derived from investments, shall be subject to a rebate of four pence per pound.' "—(*Dr. Macnamara.*)

Question porposed, " That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1175

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Lough 1175

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In Clause 8, page 4, line 6, after the word 'societies,' to insert the words 'or limited liability companies.' "—(*Mr. Lough.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1176

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Bill to be read the third time To-morrow and to be printed. [Bill 281.]

Electric Lighting (London) (Re-committed) Bill.—Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment ; read the third time, and passed 1176

Prevention of Cruelty to Children (Amendment) Bill [LORDS.]—Read a second time, and committed for this day 1176

Adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS : TUESDAY, 26TH JULY, 1904.

EARL OF CORK AND ORRERY.—Report made from the Lord Chancellor that the right of Charles Spencer Canning Boyle, Earl of Cork and Orrery in the Peerage of Ireland, to vote at the election of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor ; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1177

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.].—Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to 1177

Electric Lighting (London) Bill ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill. Brought from the Commons 1177

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to 1177

Lothians Electric Power Bill [H.L.].—Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments 1177

Lytham Improvement Bill.—Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to 1177

Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways Bill Reported, with an Amendment 1177

Electric Lighting (London) Bill. (No. 163) ; Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill. (No. 164). Read ; to be printed ; and referred to the Examiners 1177

July 26.] *Page*

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—No. 3236. Bulgaria 1177

AFRICA No. 11 (1904).—Final Report of the Uganda Railway Committee .. 1177

INDIA (EDUCATION).—Progress of Education in India, 1897–1898 to 1901–1902. Vol. I. Fourth Quinquennial Review; Vol. II. Maps and tables 1178

COLONIES (MISCELLANEOUS).—No. 27. Selections from Colonial medical reports for 1901 and 1902 1178

CHARITABLE DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS (IRELAND).—Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Commissioners 1178

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).—Calendar of the Stuart Papers belonging to His Majesty the King, preserved at Windsor Castle, Vol. II.

Report on the manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie, preserved at Alloa House, N.B. 1178

RAILWAY RETURNS.—Returns of the capital, traffic, receipts, and working expenditure of the railway companies of the United Kingdom, for the year 1903; with a general report thereon, and summary tables for a series of years 1178

STATISTICS.—Statistical abstract for the United Kingdom in each of the last fifteen years from 1889 to 1903. Fifty-first Number.
Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1178

SUPERANNUATION.—Treasury minute, dated 21st July, 1904, declaring that William Callow, gauger, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department 1178

LAND REGISTRY.—Account of receipts and payments in respect of the Land Registry, for the year ended 31st March, 1904 1178

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE AND COURT OF APPEAL, ETC.—Account showing the receipts and expenditure in respect of the High Court of Justice and Court of Appeal during the year ended 31st March, 1904.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table .. 1178

COUNTY COURTS BILL [H.L.].—Reported from the Standing Committee, with Amendments. The Report thereof to be received on Thursday next; and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 159) 1179

ARMY COUNCIL BILL [H.L.].—A Bill to transfer to the Army Council certain statutory powers and duties of the Secretary of State and other officers, and for other purposes connected therewith—Was presented by the Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*); read 1ª; to be printed; and to be read 2ª on Friday next. (No. 160) 1179

CONTINUATION SCHOOLS BILL [H.L.].—A Bill to amend the Education Acts, 1870 to 1903, with respect to school attendance and to secure further attendance under certain conditions at evening continuation schools—Was presented by the Lord Bishop of Hereford; read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 161) .. 1179

POOR LAW AUTHORITIES (TRANSFER OF PROPERTY) BILL [H.L.].—[SECOND READING].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord Kenyon 1179

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Lord Kenyon.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

OUTDOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES) BILL—PETITIONS AGAINST.

The Earl of Northbrook 1180

Moved, "That the petition of Sir Wyndham Portal, Baronet, and others, be printed."—(*The Earl of Northbrook.*)

Lord James of Hereford 1183
The President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (*The Earl of Onslow*) 1184
The Earl of Northbrook 1186

On Question, Motion agreed to, and ordered accordingly. [No. 162.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Five o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS: TUESDAY, 26TH JULY, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Bill [LORDS]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments 1187

Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway Bill [LORDS] (King's Consent signified).—Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments .. 1187

Belfast and North East Ireland Electricity and Power-Gas Bill [LORDS] (by Order).—Read a second time, and committed 1187

Dundee, Broughty Ferry, and District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill.—Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to 1187

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.—That they have agreed to—Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill; Barnet District Gas and Water Bill; Thames River Steamboat Service Bill; Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill; Surrey Commercial Dock Bill; Torquay Tramways Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to—Bournemouth Corporation (Tramways) Bill [Lords], without Amendment 1187

July 26.]

Page

PETITIONS.

East India (Armed Expedition to Tibet).—Petition from Newcastle, for inquiry; to lie upon the Table 1133

Licensing Bill.—Petitions against; from Anerley; Avoch; Borough, S.E.; Braunton; Dulwich (two); Lower Weston; Lytham; Runcorn; and Sheffield; to lie upon the Table 1188

Licensing Bill.—Petition from Dulwich, for alteration, to lie upon the Table .. 1188

Parliamentary Franchise.—Petition from Dunfermline, for extension to Women; to lie upon the Table 1188

Valuation Bill.—Petition from Ravensthorpe, against; to lie upon the Table 1188

Voluntary Schools Act, 1897.—Petition from Harrogate, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 1188

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Sugar Duties.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th March; *Mr. Lough*]; to lie upon the Table 1188

Public Income and Expenditure.—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 18th May; *Sir Henry Fowler*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 277.] 1188

Superannuation Act, 1884.—Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 21st July, 1904, declaring that William Callow, Gauger, Royal Laboratory, War Office Department, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1188

Land Registry.—Account presented, of Receipts and Payments in respect of the Land Registry for the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 278.] 1189

High Court of Justice and Court of Appeal, etc.—Copy presented, of Account showing the Receipts and Expenditure in respect of the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal during the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 279.] 1189

Africa (No. 11, 1904).—Copy presented, of Final Report of the Uganda Railway Committee [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1189

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 3236 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 1189

Historical Manuscripts (Royal Commission).—Copy presented, of Calendar of the Stuart Papers belonging to His Majesty the King, preserved at Windsor Castle. Vol. II. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1189

Historical Manuscripts (Royal Commission).—Copy presented, of Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie, preserved at Alloa House, N.B. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1189

July 26.] Page

Charitable Donations and Bequests (Ireland).—Copy presented, of Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1189

Technical Education (Application of Funds by Local Authorities).—Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 4th August, 1903; *Sir William Anson*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 280.] 1189

Colonial Reports (Miscellaneous).—Copy presented, of Report No. 27 (Selections from Colonial Medical Reports for 1901 and 1902) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1190

Statistical Abstract (United Kingdom).—Copy presented, of Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom in each of the last fifteen years from 1889 to 1903, Fifty-first Number [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1190

Railway Returns.—Copy presented, of Returns of the Capital, Traffic Receipts, and Working Expenditure of the Railway Companies of the United Kingdom for the year 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1190

Local Taxation Licences, 1903–4.—Return ordered, "of the amount received in respect of each administrative county and county borough in England and Wales for Local Taxation Licence Duties and Penalties, under The Local Government Act, 1888, in the year ended 31st day of March, 1904 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 293, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Grant Lawson.*) 1190

Joint Stock Companies.—Return ordered, "(I.) of the Companies registered during the year ended the 31st day of December, 1903, which filed a prospectus and to which certificates to commence business have been granted, stating—

(1) The date of registration.
(2) The date of the prospectus.
(3) The amount of the nominal capital.
(4) The amount of each share.
(5) The amount issued or to be issued otherwise than for cash.
(6) The amount offered for subscription in cash.
(7) The amount underwritten.
(8) The commission for underwriting.
(9) The minimum subscription required.
(10) The amount allotted before commenceing business.
(11) The amounts per share payable on application and allotment.
(12) The total directors' share qualification, if any; and
(13) The date of the certificate to commence business.

(II.) Of the Companies registered during the year 1903, which filed a prospectus, but to which certificates to commence business have not been granted, stating the particulars specified in (I.) so far as they are applicable.

(III.) Of the Companies registered during the year 1903 which filed a declaration that the Company 'does not issue any invitation to the public to subscribe for its shares.'

(IV.) Of the Companies registered during the year 1903 which have not filed a prospectus or a declaration that the Company 'does not issue any invitation to the public to subscribe for its shares,' and stating the particulars specified in (I.) so far as they are applicable.

(V.) Of the Companies which were dissolved or struck off the register during the year 1903.

(VI.) Of the total number of Companies dissolved during the year 1903 (1) by order of the Court; (2) after voluntary liquidation; and (3) pursuant to the provisions of Section 7 of the Companies Act, 1880, and Section 26 of The Companies Act, 1900.

(VII.) Of the total number and nominal paid-up and considered as paid-up capital of the Companies registered during the year 1903 in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin respectively, distinguishing Limited Companies from unlimited, and Companies registered with a nominal capital from Companies registered without such capital.

(VIII.) Of the total number and paid-up capital, including the amounts considered as paid on vendors' and other shares, of all Companies having a share capital which were on the register on the 30th day of April, 1904, except such Companies as were in course of liquidation or removal from the register under the provisions of Section 7 of The Companies Act, 1880, and Section 26 of The Companies Act, 1900.

(IX.) Of the total number and nominal capital of the Companies registered in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, in every year since the commencement of The Companies Act, 1862, to 1903, inclusive.

(X.) Of the fees and capital duty paid in respect of Registered Companies during the year 1903 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 357 of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour*) 1190

REGISTRATION OF NURSES.—Reported from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence [Inquiry not completed].

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.. 1192

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

APPOINTMENTS TO CLERICAL STAFF OF CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD IN IRELAND. —Question, Mr. William Moore (Antrim, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1192

THE RETENTION OF IMMATURE RAW POTABLE SPIRITS IN BOND.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1193

REPORTS ON ART INSTRUCTION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.—Question, Mr. Lawrence (Liverpool, Abercromby); Answer, Sir William Anson 1193

CHARGES ON BRITISH VESSELS ENTERING UNITED STATES PORTS.—Question, Sir Thomas Dewar (Tower Hamlets, St. Georges); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1194

EXEMPTION OF ABSTRACTOR AND ASSISTANT CLERKS FROM RETIREMENT AT THE AGE LIMIT.—Question, Mr. Thornton (Clapham); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1195

INSTALLATION OF POST OFFICE TELEPHONES IN COUNTY CAVAN.—Question, Mr. Vincent Kennedy (Cavan, W.); Answer, Lord Stanley 1195

July 26.

Page

Fraudulent Wines.—Question, Mr. Alban Gibbs (London); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1197

Alcohol for Industrial Purposes.—Question, Colonel Denny (Kilmarnock Burghs); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1197

Retarded Promotion in the Indian Army.—Question, Sir Seymour King (Hull, Central); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1197

Water Storage in India.—Question, Mr. H. J. Wilson (Yorkshire, W.R., Holmfield); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1198

German Locomotives on East Indian Railway.—Question, Sir Alfred Hickman (Wolverhampton, W.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1198

Bicycle Riding on the Footpath at Kanturk.—Question, Mr. Flynn (Cork County, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1199

Net Fishing on the Bann.—Question, Colonel Saunderson (Armagh, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1199

Nationalist Band at Banbridge.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1199

Militia Reserve Men in the South African War.—Question, Dr. Thompson (Monaghan, N.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1200

Distribution of War Trophies.—Question, Mr. Whitmore (Chelsea); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1200

Volunteer Review in Hyde Park.—Question, Sir Thomas Dewar; Answer, Mr Arnold-Forster 1201

Parasitic Fevers in India.—Question, Sir Walter Foster (Derbyshire, Ilkeston); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1201

The Arrest of Captain Harry Lambert.—Question, Sir John Rolleston (Leicester); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1202

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Swimming Instruction for Boys in the Navy—Caning Inattentive Pupils.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answers, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) 1202

Military Occupation of South Africa—Expenditure.—Questions, Mr. Whitley (Halifax); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Mr. Bromley Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield) 1203

The "Tweeddale's" Cargo of Coolies—Treatment on Arrival in South Africa.—Question, Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.); Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington) 1204

Transvaal Estimates.—Questions, Mr. Whitley; Answers, Mr. Lyttelton .. 1206

July 26.] *Page*

Self-Government for the Transvaal.—Questions, Dr. Macnamara; Answers, Mr. Lyttelton 1206

Canada and Treaty Making Powers.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin (Galway); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1207

Rio Grande du Sol—British Consul and the Canadian Flag.—Question, Mr. Charles Devlin; Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1207

Immature Spirits.—Question, Mr. MacVeagh (Down, S.); Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) .. 1208

The "Ras Bera" — Wilful Disobedience of the Crew.—Question, Mr. Nannetti (Dublin, College Green); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 1208

Girls Public Day School Company and the Government Education Grant.—Question, Sir George Bartley (Islington, N.); Answer, The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education (Sir William Anson, Oxford University) 1209

Technical Instruction in England—Return of Officials Employed by County Boroughs.—Question, Mr. Joyce (Limerick); Answer, Sir William Anson 1210

Cahircivane to Coppal (Kerry) Road.—Question, Mr. Boland (Kerry, S.); Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) 1211

D. J. Burke's Estate.—Questions, Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.) and Mr. Kilbride (Kildare, S.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1211

Irish Land Purchase—Warden Estate, Sneem.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1213

Irish Board of Agriculture—Postal Veterinary Inspectors.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Longford, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1213

River Riffey Drainage—Edgeworthstown Floods.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1214

Edgeworthstown Loan Fund Society.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1214

Irish Loan Fund Board.—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1215

Gortnabinni and Tulloha Schools, Kerry—Instruction in Irish.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1215

Marlborough Street Training College.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1216

Mr. A. M'Guire's Estate, County Leitrim.—Question, Mr. Tully (Leitrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1217

Castlerea Rate Collector.—Question, Mr. Tully; Answer, Mr. Wyndham .. 1217

Irish Saltless Butter for England.—Question, Mr. Joyce; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1217

July 26.] Page

IRISH DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE—VETERINARY BRANCH.—Question, Mr. Delany (Queen's County, Ossory); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1218

LISNAGADE DISTURBANCES.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1219

PORTUMNA RAILWAY.—Question, Mr. Thornton (Clapham); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1219

AMERICAN MAIL SORTING AT QUEENSTOWN.—Question, Mr. Nannetti; Answer, The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) .. 1219

DUBLIN CASTLE TELEGRAPH OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, Lord Stanley 1220

IRISH POSTMASTERS AND THE IRISH LANGUAGE.—Question, Mr. Boland; Answer, Lord Stanley 1220

HARCOURT ROAD, DUBLIN, SUB-POSTMASTER.—Question, Mr. Nannetti; Answer, Lord Stanley 1221

RUSSIAN CRUISERS AND THE DARDANELLES AND BOSPHORUS PASSAGE.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1221

THE DARDANELLES AND BOSPHORUS—RUSSO-TURKISH CONVENTION.—Questions, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1222

PRIVATEERING—THE DECLARATION OF PARIS—RUSSIAN VOLUNTEER FLEETS—STATEMENT.—Questions, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1223

THE SINKING OF THE "KNIGHT COMMANDER."—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1224

EDUCATION ESTIMATES—PHYSICAL DETERIORATION COMMITTEE'S REPORT.—Question, Dr. Macnamara; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1224

SCOTTISH EDUCATION BILL.—Questions, Mr. Crombie (Kincardineshire) and Mr. Price (Aberdeen, N.); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1225

NAVY ESTIMATES—FLOGGING IN THE NAVY.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1225

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE—SUGGESTED RE-ARRANGEMENTS.—Questions, Mr. Broadhurst (Leicester); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1225

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs), Mr. John Redmond (Waterford) and Mr. Lonsdale (Armagh, Mid); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1227

Post Office Sites Bill.—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [1st July], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed. Debate resumed.

Question put, and agreed to. Bill read a second time, and committed to a Select Committee of five Members, three to be nominated by the House, and two by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented five clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee; that the petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel or Agents be heard against the Bill, and Counsel heard in support of the Bill.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That three be the Quorum—(*Lord Stanley*) 1228

POST OFFICE SITES [EXPENSES].—Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of all sums payable by the Postmaster-General under any Act of the present session to enable His Majesty's Postmaster-General to acquire lands in London, Southgate, Blackpool, Leeds, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne for the public service and for other purposes, and of all expenses incurred in carrying into effect the provisions of such Act (King's Recommendation signified), this day.—(*Lord Stanley*) 1229

Licensing Bill—[5TH ALLOTTED DAY].—As amended, considered.

Sir J. Fergusson (*Manchester, N.*) 1229

A clause. (Provision as to disqualification of justices.)

"A justice shall not be disqualified under Section 60 of the Licensing Act, 1872, from administering this Act by reason only of his holding shares in any such company as is mentioned in that section, unless he is also a director or otherwise directly concerned in the management of the company."—(*Sir J. Fergusson.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

The Solicitor-General (*Sir Edward Carson, Dublin University*) 1230
Mr. Broadhurst (*Leicester*) 1231
Mr. Whittaker (*Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley*) 1232
Mr. Groves (*Salford, S.*) 1233

Motion and Clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Lloyd-George (*Carnarvon Boroughs*) 1234

A clause. (Duration of Act.)

"This Act shall continue in operation until the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)
Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (*Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's*) 1235
Mr. Asquith (*Fifeshire, E.*) 1236
Mr. Cripps (*Lancashire, Stretford*) 1237
Mr. Bousfield (*Hackney, N.*) 1238

July 26.] Page

Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) 1240
Mr. Henry Hobhouse (*Somersetshire, E.*) 1242
Sir Edward Carson 1242
Sir Edward Grey (*Northumberland, Berwick*) 1244
Mr. Spear (*Devonshire, Tavistock*) 1246
Mr. Herbert Roberts (*Denbighshire, W.*) 1248
Mr. Theodore Taylor (*Lancashire, Radcliffe*) 1249
Mr. Barran (*Leeds, N.*) 1250
Mr. Brigg (*Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley*) 1252

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 138 ; Noes, 220. (Division List No. 277.)

Mr. Lawson Walton (*Leeds, S.*) 1255

A clause (Seven years licences).

"Upon the proposed grant to any person after the passing of this Act of a new licence, or upon the application by any licensed person for the renewal of an existing licence, such proposed grantee or applicant shall declare whether he elects to have such licence granted or renewed, as the case may be, for one year, or whether he prefers in lieu thereof to have issued to him a seven years licence. In the latter event, Sections 1, 3, and 4 of this Act shall not apply to such licence, and the same shall operate in all other respects as an annual licence save only that the duration thereof shall be seven years instead of one year, and that during the currency of such period the licensing justices may, if they think fit, forfeit such licence upon the ground that the licensed premises have been ill-conducted or are structurally deficient or unsuitable or upon grounds connected with the character or fitness of the holder of the licence, and upon the expiration of the said period and of each succeeding period of seven years the said justices may in their discretion grant the renewal of the said licence or may refuse the same without any obligation to pay or provide compensation, and in such manner as licences are now renewable subject only to forfeiture upon the grounds above stated."—(*Mr. Lawson Walton.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Sir Edward Carson 1258
Mr. Cripps 1259
Mr. Edmund Robertson (*Dundee*) 1261
Mr. Bousfield 1262

Motion and Clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Bousfield 1263
Mr. Worsley-Taylor (*Lancashire, Blackpool*) 1263

A clause (Provision as to Disqualification of justices)—

"No justice shall be disqualified under Section 60 of The Licensing Act, 1872, or otherwise, to act with reference to the imposition and levying of charges on licences in any area or district, or the division of

any area into districts, under this Act by reason of his being wholly or partly the owner of any licensed premises within such area or district."—(*Mr. Worsley-Taylor.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Sir Edward Carson 1264
Mr. Lawson Walton 1265
Mr. Whittaker 1265

Motion and clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. J. H. Lewis (*Flint Boroughs*) 1265

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 5, to leave out Clause 1."—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the words of Clause 1, to the word 'on,' in line 5, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Whitley (*Halifax*) 1268

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 232 ; Noes, 140. (Division List No. 278.)

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'an' to insert the word 'existing.'"—(*Mr. Akers Douglas.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'existing' be there inserted."

Mr. Disraeli (*Cheshire, Altrincham*) 1273

Question put and agreed to.

Mr. Groves 1275

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words 'or a licence for the sale of beer not to be consumed on the premises.'"—(*Mr. Groves.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Akers Douglas 1276

Question put, and negatived.

Mr. J. H. Lewis 1276

July 26.] *Page*

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> "In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words 'other than a licence the holder of which is subject to conditions requiring him to purchase the commodities or goods which he sells or uses from any particular person, firm, or company.'"—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Broadhurst	1277
Sir Edward Carson	1278
Mr. Rea (*Gloucester*)	1279
Mr. Lambert (*Devonshire, South Molton*)	1281

And it being half-past Seven of the Clock the debate stood adjourned till this evening's sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

Licensing Bill [5TH ALLOTTED DAY.].—Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [26th July] proposed to the Bill on Consideration, as amended—

Which Amendment was—

> "In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words 'other than a licence the holder of which is subject to conditions requiring him to purchase the commodities or goods which he sells or uses from any particular person, firm or company.'"—(*Mr. Herbert Lewis.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Lambert	1283
Mr. Herbert Robertson	1284
Mr. Joseph Walton (*Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley*)	1285
Mr. Renwick (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*)	1286
Mr. Harwood (*Bolton*)	1287

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 110 ; Noes, 199. (Division List No. 279.)

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> "In page 1, line 6, to leave out the words 'existing at the date of the passing of this Act.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. Herbert Roberts	1291

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

> "In page 1, line 6, to leave out from the word 'on' to the word 'shall,' in line 10, and insert the words 'the sole ground that the licensed premises are not required in the public interest.'"—(*Mr. Herbert Roberts.*)

Question proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Sir Edward Carson 1294
Mr. Ellis Griffith (Anglesey) 1295

Question put.

The House divided: Ayes, 217; Noes, 135. (Division List No. 280.)

Mr. Henry Hobhouse 1299

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 1, line 24, to leave out the word ' thereon ' and insert the words ' on any circumstances affecting the renewal or the value of the licence which they consider material.' "—(*Mr. Henry Hobhouse.*)

Question proposed:—" That the word ' thereon ' stand part of the Bill."

Sir Edward Carson 1300
Mr. Cripps 1301
Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman 1302

And it being Eleven of the Clock, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 5th July, to put the Amendment already proposed from the Chair.

Question put, " That the word ' thereon ' stand part of the Bill."

The House divided: Ayes, 229; Noes, 160. (Division List, No. 281.)

Mr. SPEAKER then proceeded successively to put forthwith the Question on any Amendments moved by the Government of which notice had been given, and on every Question necessary to dispose of the allotted business to be concluded on the 5th allotted Day.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 2, line 6, to leave out the words ' this Act had not passed,' and insert the words ' the licence were subject to the same conditions of renewal as were applicable immediately before the passing of this Act.' "—(*Mr. Solicitor-General.*)

Question, " That the Amendment be made, put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 2, line 15, after the word ' appeal,' to insert the words ' to the High Court.' "—(*Mr. Solicitor-General.*)

Question put, " That the Amendment be made."

The House divided: Ayes, 228; Noes, 149. (Division List, No. 282.)

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 2, line 19, to leave out the words ' having regard,' and insert the words ' provided that.' "—(*Mr. Akers Douglas.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 19, after the word 'holder,' to insert the words 'regard shall be had.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 22, after the second word 'licence,' to insert the words 'if a tenant.'"—(*Mr. Solicitor-General.*)

Question put, "That the Amendment be made."

The House divided: Ayes, 226; Noes, 147. (Division List No. 283.)

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 25, at end to add the words 'if on the division of the amount to be paid as compensation, any question arises which quarter sessions consider should be referred to the determination of a court, they may refer that quetsion to the county court in accordance with rules of court to be made for the purpose.'"—(*Mr. Solicitor-General.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 28, to leave out the words 'purpose for providing compensation under,' and insert the words 'purposes of.'"—(*Mr. Solicitor-General*).

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the further consideration of the Bill, as amended, be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Disraeli.*)

The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 1314

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Disraeli (*Cheshire, Altrincham*) 1314

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 26, to leave out from the word 'of,' to end of Subsection (1) of Clause 4, and insert the words 'confirming a new licence and of assenting to the conditions, if any, upon which such licence is granted, shall be exercised by quarter sessions after consultation with the justices of the licensing district where such licence is granted"'—(*Mr. Disraeli.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out up to the word 'new' in page 3, line 27, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Cripps 1315

And, it being Midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

Post Office Sites Bill [SECOND READING].—Order read for resuming adjourned debate on Question [1st July], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Mr. Whitley (Halifax) 1316
The Postmaster-General (Lord Stanley, Lancashire, Westhoughton) .. 1316
Mr. Dalziel (Kirkaldy Burghs) 1316

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed to a Select Committee of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House, and Two by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented Five clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard against the Bill, and Counsel in support of the Bill.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the Quorum.—(*Lord Stanley.*)

COUNTY OF SUFFOLK BILL.—Bill read the third time, and passed.

Adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve o'clock. 1316

HOUSE OF COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 27TH JULY, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill.—Read the third time, and passed 1317

Kirkcaldy Corporation Order Confirmation Bill.—Considered; to be read the third time upon Friday 1317

Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Orders Confirmation Bill [LORDS]; Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read a second time; to be considered upon Friday 1317

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [LORDS].—Read a second time, and committed 1317

July 27.] *Page*

Ilford Urban District Council Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1317

Barry Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill [Lords].—Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed 1317

Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill.—Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to 1317

Railways (Private Sidings(Bill.—Lords Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to 1317

Private Bills (Group M).—Sir James Woodhouse reported from the Committee on Group M of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned till Thursday, 4th August, at Twelve of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table. 1317

PETITIONS.

Licensing Bill.—Petitions against; from Hyde; Ripley; Stanhope; and Tow Law; to lie upon the Table 1318

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

Colonial Reports (Annual).—Copy presented, of Colonial Report, No. 421 (Hong-Kong, Annual Report for 1903) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1318

Joint Stock Companies.—Return presented, relative thereto; ordered 26th July *Mr. Gerald Balfour*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 282.] 1318

Prisons (Ireland).—Copy presented, of Twenty-sixth Report of the General Prisons Board (Ireland) for 1903–4, with an Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1318

Court of Probate Division (High Court of Justice) (Ireland).—Annual Account presented, of Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended 31st December, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1318

Ordnance Survey.—Copy presented, of Report of the Progress of the Ordnance Survey to the 31st Mach, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table .. 1318

Civil Service (Supplementary Estimates, 1904–5).—Estimate presented, of the Further Sums required to be voted for the Service of the year ending 31st March, 1905 [by Command]; Referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 283.] 1318

Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3237 and 3238 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1318

July 27.] *Page*

MERCHANT SHIPPING, 1903.—Copy ordered, "of Tables showing the progress of Merchant Shipping in the United Kingdom and the principal Maritime Countries."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) 1318

COAL TABLES, 1903.—Copy ordered, "of Statistical Tables relating to the production, consumption, and imports and exports of Coal in the British Empire and the principal foreign countries in each year from 1883 to 1903, as far as the particulars can be stated; together with Statements showing the production of Lignite and Petroleum in the principal producing countries for a series of years (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 312, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) 1319

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

ACCOUNTS OF GENERAL LIGHTHOUSE FUND.—Question, Mr. Charles McArthur (Liverpool Exchange); Answer, Mr. Gerald Balfour 1319

UNDERGROUND TELEGRAPHIC CABLES TO THE NORTH—PROGRESS OF WORK.—Question, Sir Thomas Dewar (Tower Hamlets, St. George's); Answer, Lord Stanley 1319

BRADFORD WAGES COMMITTEE REPORT AND STRATFORD POST OFFICE STAFF.—Question, Mr. Charles Shaw (Stafford); Answer, Lord Stanley 1320

CARRIAGE OF FISH FROM SCOTLAND.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 1320

FRANKING OF LETTERS FROM SCOTTISH OFFICE.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. A. Graham Murray 1320

PASSAGE OF THE DARDANELLES BY VESSELS OF RUSSIAN VOLUNTEER FLEET.—Question, Mr. Labouchere (Northampton); Answer, Earl Percy 1321

LIFTING OF HEAVY WEIGHTS BY FEMALES IN JAM FACTORIES.—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 1321

AUDIT OF CARDIFF CORPORATION ACCOUNTS.—Question, Mr. Reginald Lucas (Portsmouth); Answer, Mr. Walter Long 1321

RENEWAL OF EXCHEQUER BONDS EXPIRING ON 6TH AUGUST.—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1322

IRISH LAND ACT—NEGOTIATIONS UNDER SECTION 6, SUB-SECTION (4).—Question, Mr. Dillon (Mayo, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1322

DR. LESLIE AND THE VACANCY ON THE SENATE OF THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY.—Question, Mr. Charles Craig (Antrim, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1323

ARMY RE-ORGANISATION SCHEME—STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL RESULTS.—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1323

SUMMARY OF REPORT OF THE MOWATT COMMITTEE.—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1323

COMPENSATION FOR LUCY SCOTLAND FOR ILL-TREATMENT BY VENEZUELAN AUTHORITIES.—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde (Wexford, N.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1324

July 27.] **Page**

Report and Special Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 284.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 284.] 1347

Selection (Standing Committee).—Mr. Halsey reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures: Mr. Wyndham, Sir James Haslett, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Joseph Nolan, Mr. Seymour, Ormsby-Gore, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Condon, Mr. Farrell, Mr. O'Shee, Mr. Joseph Hoult, Mr. Lundon, Mr. McHugh, Mr. Edward Mitchell, and Lord Bingham; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Barrington Simeon, Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Baird, Dr. MacDonnell, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Runciman, Mr. Channing, Mr. William M'Killop, Mr. Hunter Craig, Mr. O'Mara, Sir Elliott Lees, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Lambert, and Mr. Wolff.

Report to lie upon the Table 1347

NEW BILL.

Railways and Steamships (Parliamentary Facilities) Bill.—" To secure travelling facilities for Members of Parliament in the discharge of their Parliamentary duties." presented by Mr. Crooks; supported by Mr. MacVeagh, Mr. James Bailey, Sir Christopher Furness, Mr. Rothschild, Sir John Brunner, Mr. Wolff, Mr. Schwann, Dr. Disraeli, Mr. Malcolm, and Sir Edward Sassoon; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 282.] 1348

Post Office Sites Bill.—Lord Stanley, Captain Clive, and Dr. Hutchinson were nominated members of the Select Committee on the Post Office Sites Bill.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*) 1348

Licensing Bill [6th Allotted Day].—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [26th July] proposed, to the Bill, on Consideration, as amended.

Which Amendment was—

" In page 3, line 26, to leave out the words from the word ' of,' to end of sub-section (1) of Clause 4, and insert the words ' confirming a new licence and of assenting to the conditions, if any, upon which such licence is granted, shall be exercised by quarter sessions after consultation with the justices of the licensing district where such licence is granted,' "—(*Mr. Disraeli*) instead thereof.

Question again proposed, " That the words proposed to be left out to the word ' new,' in page 3, line 27, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Cripps (*Lancashire, Stretford*) 1349
The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.*) 1350
Sir Robert Reid (*Dumfries Burghs*) 1351
Mr. Henry Hobhouse (*Somersetshire, E.*) 1351
Sir John Dorington (*Gloucestershire, Tewkesbury*) 1352

Mr. Whittaker (Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley) 1353
Mr. Bond (Nottingham, E.) 1353
Mr. Lambert (Devonshire, South Molton) 1354
Mr. Lloyd Wharton (Yorkshire, W.R., Ripon) 1354
Mr. Worsley Taylor (Lancashire, Blackpool) 1354
Mr. Lawson Walton (Leeds, S.) 1355
Mr. Peel (Manchester, S.) 1355
Mr. Lloyd-George (Carnarvon Boroughs) 1356
Mr. Bousfield (Hackney, N.) 1357
Mr. Spear (Devonshire, Tavistock) 1357

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 28, after the words 'quarter sessions,' to insert the words 'and the powers of quarter sessions shall include the power to confirm or, with the consent of the justices of the licensing district, vary any conditions attached to a new licence under the provisions of this section.' "—(*Mr. Henry Hobhouse.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Mr. Cripps 1358

Amendment proposed to the Bill.

"In page 3, line 30, to leave out from the word 'condition' to the second word 'as,' in line 32."—(*Mr. Cripps.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. A. J. Balfour 1359
Sir Robert Reid 1362
Mr. Lloyd-Wharton 1363
Mr. Whittaker 1363
The Solicitor-General (Sir Edward Carson, Dublin University) 1346
Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee) 1346
Mr. Brigg (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley) 1346

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 33, to leave out from the word 'public' to end of line 35, and to insert the words 'subject as follows—(a) Such conditions shall in any case be attached as, having regard to proper provision for good management, the justices think best adapted for securing to the public any monopoly value which is represented by the difference between the value which the premises will bear, in the opinion of the justices, as licensed premises, and the value of the same premises if they were not licensed. Provided that, in estimating the value as licensed premises of hotels or other premises where the profits are not wholly derived from the sale of intoxicating liquor, no increased value arising from profits not so derived shall be taken into consideration; (b) The amount of any payments imposed under conditions attached in pursuance of this section shall not exceed the amount thus required to secure the monopoly value,—(*Sir Edward Carson*)—instead thereof."

Mr. Duke (*Plymouth*) 1403
Mr. Whitley (*Halifax*) 1404
Sir Edward Carson 1405

Amendment to the proposed Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Proposed words inserted in the Bill.

Mr. Disraeli 1405

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 36, to leave out Sub-section (3) of Clause 4."—(*Mr. Disraeli.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out, to the word 'not,' in line 37, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Bousfield 1407
Mr. Gretton 1407
Mr. Bond 1408
Mr. Ellis Griffith 1409
Mr. Cripps 1410
Mr. Groves (*Salford, S.*) 1411
Mr. Corbett (*Glasgow, Tradeston*) 1411
Mr. A. J. Balfour 1412

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. Bond 1413

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 37, to leave out the word 'seven' and to insert the word 'fifteen'—(*Mr. Bond*)—instead thereof."

Question proposed, "That the word 'seven' stand part of the Bill."

Mr. A. J. Balfour 1414

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. Herbert Roberts (*Denbighshire, W.*) 1415

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 42, at the end, to add the words 'Provided that no new licence shall be granted where the premises are in the vicinity of any place of worship or school.'"—(*Mr. Herbert Roberts.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. A. J. Balfour 1416

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 121 ; Noes, 216. (Division List No. 285.)

And, it being after Eleven of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 5th July, successively to put forthwith the Question on any Amendments moved by the Government of which notice had been given, and on every Question necessary to dispose of the allotted Business to be concluded on the 6th allotted day.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 4, line 33, after the word ' number,' to insert the words ' and seven shall be substituted for three as the minimum number.' "—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Question, " That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 4, line 33, at the end, to insert the words, ' The justices of any borough, not being a county borough but having a separate commission of the peace, shall be entitled to appoint one of their number to act with reference to the determination of any question as to the refusal of the renewal of a licence under this Act, and any proceedings consequential thereon, on the committee appointed under this section by quarter sessions, and for these purposes any justice so appointed shall be deemed to be an additional member of the committee.' "—(*Sir Edward Carson.*)

Question, " That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 5, line 7, to leave out from the word ' for,' to the word ' committees,' in line 8, and insert the words ' constituting where requisite,'—(*Sir Edward Carson*)—instead thereof."

Question, " That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 5, line 8, to leave out from the word ' sessions,' to the word ' standing,' in line 10.' "—(*Sir Edward Carson.*)

Question put, " That the Amendment be made."

The House divided :—Ayes, 224 ; Noes, 135. (Division List No. 286.)

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 5, line 10, to leave out from the word ' and,' to the first word ' for,' in line 14.' "—(*Sir Edward Carson.*)

Question, " That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

" In page 5, line 35, after the word ' an,' to insert the word ' existing.' "—(*Mr. Secretary Akers Douglas.*)

Question, " That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

July 28.] *Page*

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill.—Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; to be printed; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, deemed to have been read 2^a (The Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*)), and reported from the Committee. [No. 166.] 1430

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill.

Moved, That the order made on the 14th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the above Bills be now read 2^a.—(*Lord Kenyon.*)

The Acting Chairman of Committees (*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*) 1431

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Bills read 2a accordingly, and committed.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ORDNANCE SURVEY.—Report of the progress of the Ordnance Survey, to the 31st March, 1904 1432

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—No. 3237. Spain (Barcelona); No. 3238. Guatemala; No. 3239. Italy (Central Italy) 1432

COLONIES (ANNUAL).—No. 421. Hong-Kong (Report for 1903) 1432

PRISONS (IRELAND).—Twenty-sixth Report of the General Prisons Board (Ireland), 1903–4 1432

ARMY.—Summary of the recommendations of the Inter-Departmental Committee, 1900, on the Reserve of Guns, Stores, etc., required for the Army; showing also to what extent these recommendations have been carried out .. 1432

BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES (ENGLAND AND WALES).—Sixty-sixth Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England and Wales (1903) 1432

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS (IRELAND).—Agricultural Statistics of Ireland; with detailed Report for the year 1903.

Presented (by Command); and ordered to lie on the Table 1432

LONDON CORPORATION.—Accounts of the Chamberlain of London for 1903 .. 1432

POLLING DISTRICTS (BOROUGH OF CAMBRIDGE).—Order made by the Council of the Borough of Cambridge altering certain polling districts in the borough .. 1432

COURT OF PROBATE DIVISION (HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, IRELAND).—Annual account of receipts and disbursements, for the year ended 31st December, 1903.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) and ordered to lie on the Table 1433

County of Suffolk Bill.—Read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 165) 1433

RUSSIAN SEIZURE OF BRITISH SHIPS.

Earl Spencer 1433
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 1433

Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment (St. Kilda Bill).—SECOND READING].—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh 1437

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

Dean Forest Bill.—Amendments reported (according to order).
The Earl of Chesterfield 1438

Amendments moved—

"In Clause 4, page 3, line 27, to leave out the words 'or tract of coal'";

"In Clause 5, page 3, line 38, to leave out the words 'or tract of coal'";

"In Clause 6, page 3, line 42, to leave out the words 'or tract of coal'";

"In Clause 9, page 6, lines 15 and 16, to leave out the words 'any tract of coal never galed before the passing of this Act and'";

"In Clause 10, page 6, line 21, to leave out from the word 'Act' to the end of paragraph (1)."—(*The Earl of Chesterfield.*)

The Lord Privy Seal (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) 1438

On Question, Amendments agreed to.

Bill to be read 3^a To-morrow.

The Finance Bill.

The Marquess of Lansdowne 1439
Earl Spencer 1439

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Standing Order No. XXXIX. to be considered To-morrow in order to its being suspended for that day's sitting 1439

House adjourned at five minutes before Five o'clock, till To-morrow half-past Ten o'clock.

July 28.] *Page*

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).—Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 3239 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1443

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS (IRELAND).—Copy presented, of Agricultural Statistics of Ireland, with detailed Report for the year 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1443

BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES (ENGLAND).—Copy presented, of Sixty-sixth Annual Report of the Registrar-General, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1443

LOCAL TAXATION RETURNS (ENGLAND).—Copy presented, of the Annual Local Taxation Returns for 1902–3 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 285.] 1443

BOARD OF TRADE (LABOUR DEPARTMENT, CHANGES IN WAGES, ETC).—Copy presented, of Report on Changes in Rates of Wages and Hours of Labour in the United Kingdom, 1903, with Comparative Statistics for 1894–1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1443

GREENWICH OBSERVATORY.—Copy presented, of Report of the Astronomer Royal to the Board of Visitors of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1443

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.—Chamber of London. Annual Accounts of the Chamberlain of London for the year 1903 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 286.] 1443

CALEDONIAN CANAL.—Copy of Ninety-ninth Report of the Commissioners [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 287.].. 1443

LUNACY.—Copy of Return to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made and the number of patients seen by the several Commissioners in Lunacy during the six months ending on the 30th June 1904, [by Act] 1443

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (CONTRACTS).—Return ordered, "of all Contracts made in the United Kingdom for manufactured articles by the several Government Departments in the year ending the 31st day of March, 1904, either with contractors outside the United Kingdom or with contractors or agents who obtain the articles from abroad (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 342, of Session 1903)."—(*Sir Howard Vincent*) 1443

INSPECTION OF MEAT.—Return ordered, "showing, as regards each of the following local authorities, viz., the Councils of the City of London, the Metropolitan Boroughs, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bolton Birkenhead, Bradford, Blackpool, Hull, Nottingham, Derby and Portsmouth, (1) the number of Sanitary Inspectors, Inspectors of Nuisances, or other officers appointed to act as Inspectors of Meat; (2) what special qualifications, if any, these officers possess for the discharge of the duties of Inspectors of Meat; (3) the amounts received by the Council during the year ended the 31st day of March, 1904, on account of fines and costs in connection with prosecutions relating to unsound or diseased meat; and (4) the law costs paid by the Council during that year in respect of any proceedings at quarter sessions or in the High Court arising out of the decisions of justices in connection with such prosecutions."—(*Mr. Field.*) 1444

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

ACCIDENTS CAUSED BY THE LEAKAGE OF GAS INTO TELEGRAPH INSPECTION CHAMBERS.—Question, Sir Thomas Dewar (Tower Hamlets, St. George's); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 1444

CLOSING OF VAUXHALL BRIDGE—OBSTRUCTION TO TRAFFIC.—Question, Mr. Fison (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster); Answer, Mr. Akers Douglas 1445

INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENT RELATIVE TO THE FRAITÉ DES BLANCHES.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, Earl Percy .. 1445

BRITISH PILOTS EMPLOYED BY THE SUEZ CANAL COMPANY.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answer, Earl Percy 1446

INCREASED PAY FOR STOKERS AND ENGINEMEN OF HOUSE OF COMMONS STAFF.—Question, Captain Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, Lord Balcarres .. 1446

FRAUDULENT TRUSTEES—PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT OF A PUBLIC TRUSTEE.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent; Answer, Sir Robert Finlay 1447

STORNOWAY MAIL DELAYS.—Question, Mr. Weir (Ross and Cromarty); Answer, Lord Stanley 1447

POSTAL SAVINGS BANK. WITHDRAWALS BY TELEGRAPH.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Lord Stanley 1447

EXTENSION OF TELEPHONE SYSTEM TO SOUTH OF IRELAND.—Question, Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien (Cork); Answer, Lord Stanley 1448

POST OFFICE WAGES—ADOPTION OF WAGES PROPOSED BY THE BRADFORD COMMITTEE.—Question, Mr. Bell (Derby); Answer, Lord Stanley 1449

EXTRA REMUNERATION FOR MATES AND ENGINEERS OF THE FLEET COALING SERVICE.—Question, Mr. Kearley (Devonport); Answer, Mr. Pretyman .. 1449

CUSTOMS STATISTICS AND SHIPS' FILES.—Question, Mr. Ernest Gray (West Ham, N.); Answer, Mr. Victor Cavendish 1449

INDIAN IRRIGATION WORKS.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Brodrick .. 1450

PUBLICATION OF REPORT ON POLICE IN INDIA.—Question, Mr. Weir; Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1450

VALUE OF BOOTS, SHOES, AND HOSIERY IMPORTED INTO INDIA.—Question, Sir John Rolleston (Leicester); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1450

REDRESS FOR MURDER OF CAPTAIN WARNEFORD.—Question, Sir Edward Sassoon, (Hythe); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1451

ALLEGED WRONGFUL DISMISSAL OF S. J. CARMICHAEL FROM MOUNTJOY PRISON.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1451

EPIZOOTIC LYMPHANGITIS IN ARMY HORSES.—Question, Mr. Hayes Fisher (Fulham); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1452

July 28.] *Page*

VOLUNTEER CAMPS—ORDERLY TENTS AND IMPROVED ACCOMMODATION FOR STAFF SERGEANTS.—Question, Mr. Tillett (Norwich); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1453

CONSTRUCTION OF SCREENED RIFLE RANGES.—Question, Mr. Tillett; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1454

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE STANDARD BANK OF SOUTH AFRICA—PROGRESS OF NEGOTIATIONS.—Question, Sir Ernest Flower (Bradford, W.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1455

INFANTRY SOLDIERS IN GREAT BRITAIN.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse, Bristol, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1456

REGULATIONS UNDER THE TRANSVAAL LABOUR IMMIGRATION ORDINANCE.—Question, Sir Henry Fowler (Wolverhampton, E.); Answer, Mr. Lyttelton 1456

LAW AS TO CONTRABAND GOODS.—Question, Sir Edward Sassoon; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1456

BELLIGERENT SHIPS COALING AT BRITISH PORTS.—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1457

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

DOCKYARD EMPLOYEES AND THE PRESS.—Question, Mr Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) 1457

BOYS IN THE NAVY—CANING CONDITIONS.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Mr. Pretyman 1458

VOLUNTEER FORCE—NORFOLK COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent (Sheffield, Central); Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.) 1458

WAR STORE SCANDALS IN SOUTH AFRICA.—Questions, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1458

DESERTIONS OF RECRUITS.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse (Bristol, E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1459

THE RESERVE.—Question, Mr. Charles Hobhouse; Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1460

INDIAN GARRISON—RE-ENGAGEMENT OF SOLDIERS.—Question, Sir J. Fergusson (Manchester, N.E.); Answer, Mr. Arnold-Forster 1460

THE CROWN AGENTS AND COMPANY DIRECTORSHIPS.—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington) 1461

RECRUITMENT OF CHINESE COOLIES.—Questions, Major Seely (Isle of Wight) and Mr. Sydney Buxton (Tower Hamlets, Poplar); Answers, Mr. Lyttelton .. 1462

CHINESE COOLIES FOR THE TRANSVAAL—DEPOTS IN CHINA.—Questions, Mr. Whitley (Halifax); Answers, Mr. Lyttelton 1463

July 28.]

Page

THE MISSION TO TIBET.—Question, Mr. Herbert Roberts (Denbighshire, W.); Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) 1463

ASSAM TEA PLANTATIONS—VERNACULAR EDUCATION FOR LABOURERS' CHILDREN—Question, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree (Bethnal Green, N.E.); Answer, Mr. Brodrick 1464

ACTION OF THE DUTCH IN ACHIN—PROTECTION OF EUROPEANS IN THE MALAY STATES.—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton (Canterbury); Answer, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Percy, Kensington, S.) .. 1464

MACEDONIAN GENDARMERIE.—Questions, Mr. Bryce (Aberdeen, S.). Answers, Earl Percy 1465

STATE AIDED AGRICULTURE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.—Question, Mr. A. K. Loyd (Berkshire, Abingdon); Answer, Earl Percy 1466

COLONEL FAIRHOLME'S REPORT ON MACEDONIA.—Question, Mr. Hugh Law (Donegal, W.); Earl Percy 1466

SLAVES FOR MACEDONIA.—Question, Mr. Hugh Law; Answer, Earl Percy .. 1466

TRANSVAAL WAR CONTRIBUTIONS.—Question, Mr. Whitley; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) 1467

REDUCTION OF NATIONAL DEBT.—Question, Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1467

PLAIN BRITISH SPIRIT.—Questions, Mr. Kilbride (Kildare, S.); Answers, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1467

SULPHURIC ACID IN POTENT SPIRIT.—Question, Mr. Kilbride; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1468

PRODUCTION OF THE BRITISH DISTILLERIES.—Question, Mr. Kilbride; Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1468

LICENSING BILL—COMPENSATION FOR GOODWILL.—Questions, Mr. Runciman; (Dewsbury); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Akers Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) 1469

DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON THE SYSTEM OF LEVYING HARBOUR AND DOCK DUES.—Question, Mr. Runciman; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gerald Balfour, Leeds, Central) 1469

BRITISH FORESTRY.—Question, Mr. A. K. Loyd; Answer, Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey) 1470

MOTOR CAR SPEED REGULATIONS AT BLACKROCK.—Questions, Captain Donelan (Cork County, E.); Answers, Mr. Wyndham.. 1471

MAHON'S ESTATE, COUNTY GALWAY.—Question, Mr. Roche (Galway, E.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1471

DRAINAGE OF OWENMORE RIVER.—Question, Mr. O'Dowd (Sligo, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1472

July 28.]

Page

IRISH POULTRY REARING INDUSTRY—RAILWAY RATES.—Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy (Limerick, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1472

COMMITMENT OF A CATHOLIC CHILD TO A PROTESTANT INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.—Question, Captain Donelan; Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1473

NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND.—Question, Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1474

DUBLIN CASTLE TELEGRAPH OFFICE—APPOINTMENT OF CONSTABLE WOULFE.—Question, Mr. Sloan (Belfast, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1474

TRINITY COLLEGE ESTATE COMMISSION.—Questions, Mr. Flavin and Mr. Kilbride; Answers, Mr. Wyndham 1475

IRISH DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE—SUPERINTENDENT OF THE STATISTICAL SECTION.—Question, Mr. Hayden (Roscommon, S.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1475

PORTUMNA RAILWAY.—Question, Mr. Thornton (Clapham); Answer, Mr. Wyndham 1476

LISNAGADE DISTURBANCE.—Question, Mr. Sloan; Answer, The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) 1477

IRISH TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.—Question, Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.); Answer, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1477

COMMERCIAL GAMBLING.—Question, Captain Donelan; Answer, The Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) 1478

MILITARY PROTECTION AGAINST INVASION.—Question, Sir Howard Vincent; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1478

IMPERIAL SERVICE MEDAL.—Question, Mr Ernest Gray (West Ham, N.); Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1479

RUSSIAN SEIZURES OF BRITISH SHIPS.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. Mr. Runciman, and Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil); Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1479

IRISH ESTIMATES.—Questions, Mr. John Redmond, and Mr. Lonsdale; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1482

THE INDIAN BUDGET.—Questions, Mr. Herbert Roberts and Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour 1483

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Gibson Bowles (Lynn Regis); Answers, Mr. Austen Chamberlain 1484

Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill.—Lords Amendments to be considered To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 285.] 1485

Reserve Forces Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 286.] 1485

Light Railways Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 284.] 1485

July 28.] *Page*

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.—Third Report, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 288.] 1485

Public Health Bill [LORDS].—Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 287.] 1485

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).—Ordered, That the proceedings on the Third Reading of the Finance Bill have precedence over the Business of Supply this day.—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) 1485

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).—Ordered, That Three additional days be allotted to the Business of Supply.—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) 1485

Finance Bill [THIRD READING].—Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

Mr. Thomas Shaw (*Hawick Burghs*) 1485
Mr. Whitley (*Halifax*) 1491

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question.

Mr. Spear (*Devonshire, Tavistock*) 1498
Sir William Holland (*Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham*) 1498
Mr. Fenwick (*Northumberland, Wansbeck*) 1500
Sir Edgar Vincent (*Exeter*) 1502
Mr. Lough (*Islington, W.*) 1505
Mr. Gibson Bowles (*Lynn Regis*) 1509
Mr. Sydney Buxton (*Tower Hamlets, Poplar*) 1511
The Secretary of State for India (*Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford*) .. 1516
Mr. Tomkinson (*Cheshire, Crewe*) 1523
Mr. Coghill (*Stoke-upon-Trent*) 1525
Mr. Joseph Walton (*Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley*) 1526
Sir John Colomb (*Great Yarmouth*) 1532

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

Finance Bill.—Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment to Question [28th July], "That the Bill be now read the third time."

Which Amendment was—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

July 28.] *Page*

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. Helme (*Lancashire, Lancaster*) 1535
Sir Carne Rasch (*Essex, Chelmsford*) 1536
Sir Walter Foster (*Derbyshire, Ilkeston*) 1537
Mr. Robson (*South Shields*) 1542
Sir Frederick Wills (*Bristol, N.*) 1546
Mr. Edmund Robertson (*Dundee*) 1550
The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.*) 1553
Mr. McKenna (*Monmouthshire, N.*) 1563

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 206; Noes 129. (Division List No. 288.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Adjourned at sixteen minutes after Twelve o'clock.

END OF TABLE OF CONTENTS TO VOL. CXXXVIII.

THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION)

IN THE

FIFTH SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, IN THE
FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

TENTH VOLUME OF SESSION.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 14th July, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Leyton Urban District Council Bill. Supplemental Report from His Majesty's Attorney-General received, and ordered to lie on the Table.

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Report from, That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the London County Council (General Powers) Bill ought to be dispensed with and the Bill allowed to proceed. Read, and agreed to.

Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways Bill. The meeting of the Standing Orders Committee (which stands appointed for this day), put off to Monday next.

Tottenham Improvement Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Carlisle Corporation Bill; Middlesbrough, Stockton-on-Tees, and Thornaby Tramways Bill; Clyde Navigation (Works) Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Earl of Romney and the Lord Brougham and Vaux be proposed to the House as members of the Select Committee in the place of the Earl of Craven and the Viscount Hampden; and that the Lord Brougham and Vaux be Chairman of the said Committee; read, and agreed to.

Selby Urban District Council Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 14th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2ª; agreed to. Bill read 2ª accordingly and committed. The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill; Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. Brought from the Commons.

Richard Jaeger's Patent Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. To be read 2ª To-morrow.

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 14th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time fter the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2ª; agreed to. Bill read 2ª accordingly and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 14th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2ª; agreed to. Bills read 2ª accordingly and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Monday next.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]. House in Committee (according to order). The Amendments proposed by the Select Committee made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow; and Standing Order No. XXXIX. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill. Read 3ª (according to order), and passed.

Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3ª (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill. Read 3ª (according to order); Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Doncaster Corporation Bill; Skipton Water and Improvement Bill; Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Barnet District Gas and Water Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. Read 1ª; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 145.)

PETITION.

OUTDOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES) BILL [H.L.].

Petition in favour of; of Guardians of the Poor of the Ecclesall-Bierlow Union; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3213. Italy (Sicily); No. 3214. United States (Hawai); No. 3215. Sweden; No. 3216. France (Dunkirk).

COLONIES (ANNUAL).

No. 420. St. Helena (Report for 1903).

COLONIES (IMMIGRATION).

Papers relative to the laws and regulations in force in the Colonies under responsible Government respecting the admission of immigrants.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury Minute, dated 9th July, 1904, declaring that George J. Stuck, skilled labourer, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a civil service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his department.

GAS AND WATER WORKS FACILITIES ACT, 1870.

Reports by the Board of Trade as to dispensing—

With the consent of the Little Stambridge parish meeting in the case of the Rochford Gas Provisional Order.

With the consent of the Cheshunt Urban District Council in the case of the Waltham Abbey and Cheshunt Gas Provisional Order.

With the consents of the Melbourn Rural District Council and the Meldreth and Shepreth Parish Councils in the case of the Meldreth and Melbourn District Gas and Water Provisional Order.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

HALL-MARKING OF FOREIGN PLATE BILL.

Read 3ª, and passed.

PUBLIC HEALTH BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, the circumstances under which I present this Bill to your Lordships are as follow. In 1897, an International Sanitary Convention was signed by several Powers, among them by this country, at Venice. That convention contemplated that measures would be prescribed by any of the adhering countries, should those countries be infected with plague, to regulate the departure of ships, and the export of articles susceptible of infection. Some time afterwards a slight outbreak of plague took place in this country, and we were asked whether we were prepared, in accordance with the terms of the convention, to issue regulations dealing with the matter. The question was examined by our legal advisers, and it proved to be the case that there was no statutory authority for issuing regulations of the kind. Lately another conference has been held at Paris and another convention made which also contemplates that measures of the kind which I have described should be prescribed to regulate the departure of ships and the export of articles capable of carrying infection. It follows, from the opinion of the law officers to which I have already referred, that we are still without the statutory authority necessary to enable us to issue regulations of this kind. This Bill accordingly proposes to give the powers required. It enables the Local Government Board to make regulations authorising measures to be taken for the prevention of the conveyance of infection by means of vessels arriving at or sailing from any port, so far as may be necessary for carrying out any treaty or convention with a foreign country. This Bill is necessary both as a measure of precaution for the public health and also in order to enable us to fulfil obligations which we have contracted as regards other countries who joined us in adhering to the conventions to which I have referred. I beg to move that the Bill be read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

DEAN FOREST BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, the Bill of which I have now the honour to move the Second Reading arises out of the peculiar conditions under which the mines in the Forest of Dean are worked. They are, as your Lordships are aware, the property of the Crown, and the Crown is represented there by an official who rejoices in the remarkable name of the Gaveller. The coal field is divided into areas which are called gales, and these areas are granted to the free miners of the district in fee but subject to certain conditions, the failure to perform which entails forfeiture and brings them back into the hands of the Crown. The free miners consist of all the miners of the district who have worked for a year and a day in the mines, and they have certain very remarkable rights. Whenever a gale is in hand the free miners have the right to apply for it, and it must be granted, if he fulfils the conditions, to the first applicant. A considerable difficulty, however, arises when a great many miners apply on the same day, which appears to be continually the case. This coal field is a very large one and very productive, but owing to the conditions which at present exist there is a prospective lack of employment. The conditions were sufficient in order to work the shallow-seam mines, but a large part of the coal—it is estimated to the extent of 100,000,000 tons—lies very deep. The present conditions hamper the working of that deep-level coal, and it is in order to make these conditions easier that this Bill has been submitted to Parliament. There are two difficulties. In the first place, in order to repay the capital which it is necessary to invest in the case of the deep-seam mines the areas are too small; and, secondly, the period of revision of the conditions as to rents and royalties, which under the existing law is twenty-one years, is too short to permit of the investment of capital, and this Bill seeks to extend the period.

I have told your Lordships, in a very few words, the condition of this coal field and the reasons why both the miners themselves and the Crown are anxious for a revision of the conditions under which it is worked. Indeed, I may say that this Bill is an agreed Bill so far as both parties are concerned. I will now explain its precise provisions. There is, in the first place, a power to amalgamate these areas. That involves, necessarily, that the power of applying for a vacant gale should not be allowed, as it does now, to arrest any action on the part of the Crown officials in carrying out these amalgamations. Your Lordships will realise that the amalgamation of two vacant gales cannot be effected in a moment, and, while the process was actually proceeding, if a free miner made application, he would have, under the old procedure, a perfect right to enter into the area of this coal field and the amalgamation would become impossible. There is a clause in this Bill which gets over that difficulty, and it is protected by arbitration provisions, so that no injustice shall be done. Then, as regards the period during which the existing rents and royalties run, which under the existing law is twenty-one years, it is provided in another clause that it shall be extended to a maximum of sixty-three years. That is the main part of the Bill, and the main part only applies to the deep-level seam.

The Marquess of Salisbury

There is also one clause of general application to all these mines, and it deals with that very peculiar right which I have explained to your Lordships—the right of a free miner to make application for a vacant gale. I said just now that where a great number of miners apply on the same day considerable difficulty arises. Under the existing law, when that happens the fortunate miner is determined by lot, but in these days that is held to be rather a rough-and-ready method of arriving at a decision; and consequently what is now proposed, with the consent of the miners themselves and of the Crown, is that the body of miners who apply on the same day shall be treated as a sort of association, shall be represented by a committee, and that the mine shall be granted to the committee in trust for the miners who are applicants. In that way the difficulty to which I have called your Lordships' attention is got over and substantial justice is done. That, my Lords, is the whole of the Bill, and I ask your Lordships to read it a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House to-morrow.

THE NEW SERVICE RIFLE.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I rise to ask the Under-Secretary for War what have been the reports received as to the shooting of the new service rifle so far as issued to His Majesty's troops; and why have not greater opportunities for its use been afforded at the present Bisley meeting; whether experiments are now being conducted with (a) a new pattern of barrel, and (b) with a new explosive; and what was the extent of the orders placed respectively at Enfield, at Birmingham, and with the London Small Arms Company for the manufacture of the new rifle, how far have those orders been completed, what deliveries have been made from each place, and what is the reason for the difference between the amount of the order and the amount of the delivery in each case; and to move for Papers.

To none of your Lordships is vain repetition more distasteful than to myself, and having had the opportunity about a month ago of making some remarks on the new service rifle I certainly do not intend to-day to go over that ground again. I will only say, with regard to my remarks on that occasion, that I do not think that either the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War or the noble and gallant Earl the late Commander-in-Chief at all met my criticisms or disposed of them. I also think I am justified in saying, on my own behalf, that I really have been astonished at the number of letters I have received, since the day on which that short discussion took place in this House, from men of all sorts — from soldiers, gun-makers, and others, who state that they were very much in agreement with my criticisms and that on the whole they supported entirely the position I had taken up. I do not, of course, mean to say that they agreed with every detail, for this is a subject in connection with which there is much room for controversy.

In the Questions I have placed on the Paper to-night I ask for information, and I hold that Parliament and the country have a right to ask for full information with regard to the new small arm with which our troops have now commenced to be supplied. I may be met by the ordinary official answer, that it is not in the interest of the public service that the experiments with the new rifle or the results that have been obtained from it should be made public; that it would do harm, and would be supplying information to foreign nations. Well, my Lords, that is an argument that might, perhaps, fairly be used supposing the new weapon had not been adopted and had not been issued. But the situation now is that it has been adopted, that cavalry regiments have been supplied with the weapon, and that it is in the hands of many people; and, let me assure the noble Earl the Under-Secretary that they probably know quite as much about the new rifle in France, and certainly in Germany, as is known here. I am certain that there is no concealment necessary in the interests of the country.

My contention is that we have a right to be anxious about the new rifle from what we know of it so far, and from our former experience of the War Office and War Office methods. I do not think the past history of the Small Arms Department is one that commands a very great deal of confidence. In that department there are able men, no doubt, but able men who have inventions of their own, and again and again have pressed the Department in every way they could to stick to the old plan, to hang on to the suggestions that they themselves had made, and, indeed in some cases, as we know very well, for which they had taken out patents. In the short discussion that took place last week on the debate raised by my noble friend Lord Ashburton with regard to the armament of mounted troops it was pointed out that the new rifle had been designed for one very particular purpose—namely, that of being convenient for mounted troops. That was not denied. It was not denied, either, that up to this moment no method for carrying it on horseback has been devised or decided upon. It certainly does seem to me that that was an extraordinary admission for the Government to make, and an extraordinary condition of things to find in existence.

The noble and gallant Earl, our most distinguished soldier, when he came to deal with the question, did not attempt to disguise the difficulty of it, and he suggested—what?—that one method of carrying this weapon should be used in time of peace, namely, the bucket, and another in time of war, when it should be carried across the back of the soldier. That did seem to me a most amazing suggestion to come from so high an authority. If a man is going to carry a rifle on horseback it must be somewhat inconvenient, and it is desirable, therefore, that he should be trained in peace time in the way he is to carry it in war, so as to accustom himself to the strain which must be thrown upon him and to enable the authorities to see that all the attachments to the saddle are well-devised. It is not as if, even now, there was any method decided upon. Two days ago I saw what is called the Patterson equipment, which has, I understand, been to some extent adopted by Lord Kitchener in India, and which certainly seems to me to have many advantages. I have tested it thoroughly. A soldier with this equipment fixed on to him mounted and dismounted on the right side and the wrong side, and then rolled off in order to show that there is no danger of the rifle hanging up on the saddle. I do not say that this equipment was perfect, but it is one that may very well be made a basis for an equipment. That is one deficiency which, I say, gives us a right to have some anxiety with regard to the new rifle.

But I have yet one more argument to bring forward. One of the great contentions in favour of this new rifle is that though it has been shortened, and though various things have been done to it, yet after all there has been no great damage done because the same muzzle velocity has been obtained in the shortened rifle as in the old long rifle adopted twelve or fourteen years ago. Is not that in itself an extraordinary admission to make? Here you are going to solemnly take on a new rifle which only has the muzzle velocity which was usual, and which was thought to be the best, twelve or fourteen years ago. Both in France and in Germany, so far from sticking to a muzzle velocity of 2,000 foot-seconds, they are obtaining a muzzle velocity of 2,800 foot-seconds. I cannot give your Lordships any absolute details as to what has been obtained in France, but I can give absolute details in regard to Germany. I have here a trajectory table showing the velocities obtained with British cordite ammunition. These were experiments carried on at the central place for technical and scientific examinations. At 1,200 yards, with British cordite ammunition, the highest point of the trajectory is forty-two feet; with the new ammunition—a new explosive and new bullet—the highest point at 1,200 yards is about twenty-nine feet. Then, going to a much closer range, at 600 yards the result of the new ammunition is to give the highest point in trajectory two-and-a-half feet, as against a trajectory of nearly six feet with the present British cordite ammunition.

Lord Tweedmouth.

One hears a great deal about the results obtained by long-range shooting. I do not believe you are ever going to win battles by shots fired at 1,500 and 2,000 yards. What you want is to get the lowest possible trajectory for the shortest ranges; and with a two-and-a-half feet height of trajectory at 700 yards you will get an absolute danger zone the whole way; that is to say, if you were to fire at a man standing 700 yards away and aimed at his head, with this ammunition you would hit him somewhere in the lower part of the body without shifting your sight at all. I need hardly tell your Lordship's that that is a very important consideration and of enormous advantage. I will hand these tables—there is no secret about them— to the noble Earl the Under-Secretary.

I will give the result of another experiment carried on in the presence of a friend of my own who is a prominent man in the English steel trade. I have here three pieces of steel plate 16·7 millimetres in thickness. This experiment was carried on, not at an official range, but at a private workshop—at the great German workshop of Mauser. Three different ammunitions were used, the British cordite, the German ammunition of 1888, which is about the same date as the British cordite ammunition, and a new explosive and new bullet of the present date which has been adopted or tried by Messrs. Mauser. The shots were fired at fifty yards, the experiment taking place on 20th May of this year. The British bullet penetrated the steel plate 2·6 millimetres; the German one of 1888 penetrated the steel plate 3·8 millimetres, while the new German bullet went right through the plate. I think that shows that there is a considerable possibility of an improvement in ammunition over what we have at present. I will put these experiments at the disposal of the noble Earl the Under-Secretary in order that he may have them examined by his experts. So far as I am concerned I court all inquiry with regard to them.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: What is the muzzle velocity of the Japanese rifle?

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: The Japanese rifle has, I think, a muzzle velocity of 2,400 foot-seconds. I do not pretend that I cover all possible ground in the Questions I have on the Paper. I have only suggested headings for information. I ask for as much and as complete information as possible. I want to know why greater opportunities for the use of the rifle have not been afforded at the present Bisley meeting. It does seem a pity that you should have gathered together at Bisley all the most competent shots, and it should not be arranged that this new rifle should have a good trial there against, and in competition with, other rifles. The great difficulty at Bisley is that in almost all the competitions anything in the shape of a movable backsight to be used as a wind gauge is forbidden. That cuts the new service rifle out of practically all the more important competitions. There are three or four competitions in which the new service rifle is admissible, but they are not competitions which can be claimed as very great tests; they are almost all of them, I think, at comparatively short range, and competitions in which you have to ride a distance, and then fire, or run a distance and then fire, and the range does not go to much more than 300 yards. They are not competitions in which a real test of accuracy can be arrived at. I hope His Majesty's Government will consent to give me the information that I ask for, and that they will give it in such a form that it will be quite clear and serviceable to those who are anxious to make further inquiries into the weapon when it gets into their hands.

Moved, "for Papers with regard to the new service rifle."—(*Lord Tweedmouth.*)

THE UNDER - SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): My Lords, the noble Lord made a remark at the commencement of his speech to which I naturally take some exception, not to the sense in which the noble Lord intended it to be made, but rather to the construction that might be put upon it in other quarters. He suggested that members of the Small Arms Department—I presume he meant by that the Small Arms Committee—of the War Office are interested in inventions.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I beg the noble Earl's pardon. I was referring to the people in charge at Enfield, and to the time when the Lee-Enfield rifle was introduced.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I imagine they would have nothing whatever to do with any decision as to what rifle we adopted for the Army. Therefore, I do not see how their position can in any way influence the adoption of any rifle that may be decided upon. I am sure the noble Lord did not mean to cast any slur on the officials at the War Office who deal with these matters. The noble Lord has made a number of detailed criticisms which I will deal with as best I can, but I honestly confess I have not been able to go into this subject as thoroughly as I should have liked, as I only got notice of the Question yesterday, and the official at the War Office who generally deals with this subject is away. Whether we shall be able to publish the reports that we have received from various parts of the world, I am not prepared at the present moment to say. Many of the reports concern the Admiralty as well as the War Office, and I should like to consult them before giving any definite answer. We have had a large number of reports, and while I shall be prepared to tell the noble Lord the source from which a great many of them come, I am not prepared at present to lay them on the Table. Although it may be possible that foreign Powers are aware what our rifle is, I do not know that they are aware of the experiments that we conducted in order to arrive at that rifle, and I am not prepared now to say that it would not be detrimental to the public service to publish these experiments. I will, however, consult the Admiralty and my colleagues further upon that. I can certainly promise that we will publish as much as we can. As regards the criticism as to the method of carrying the rifl , that is not quite germane to the subject, because the people who would decide how to carry the rifle would have nothing to do with the Small Arms Committee who invented the rifle. It is true that in the recent discussion the noble and gallant Earl (Lord Roberts) expressed some opinions on that point, but, if I remember rightly, no member of the Government spoke after the noble and gallant Earl.

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: Perhaps the noble Earl can now tell us how they are to carry the rifle.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: No, I cannot, but experiments are proceeding at Aldershot, I think. It was suggested the other night that the rifle should be carried on the man, and the sword on the horse, but I would remind the noble Lord that there are equally strong advocates for carrying the rifle on the horse and the sword on the man. I only mention this to show that there is a wide divergence of opinion on this subject, to which is attributable the fact that a decision has not been arrived at earlier. The noble Lord gave us some most interesting figures as to the trajectory of the German rifle and the English rifle—figures which, I understand, are included in this bundle of papers he has given me, and which I shall be glad to send to the proper authorities, so that they may be considered. The fact remains that in our experiments the figure of merit reached by the new rifle, as compared with the German rifle, was very satisfactory. I will not go fully into the figures; but at 500 yards, for instance, we find that our rifle has 1¼ inches better figure of merit. As regards the definite Question asked by my noble friend, I can assure him that we have received satisfactory reports from the School of Musketry at Hythe, from the first three Army Corps, and also from Somaliland. We have had a further report from Hythe, where repeated trials are going on with the new rifle, and that report is, if possible, more satisfactory than the previous ones. There have been exhaustive trials at two naval gunnery schools, and exhaustive experiments have been carried out by the Small Arms Committee themselves.

The Bisley meeting, as the noble Lord knows, has nothing whatever to do with the War Office. It is under the control of the National Rifle Association, but I understand they have permitted any soldier in possession of the new rifle to use it in competitions in which the service rifle is used. As to whether we are experimenting with a new pattern of barrel and a new explosive, the answer is in the affirmative. The noble Lord next asked me the extent of the orders placed respectively at Enfield, at Birmingham, and with the London Small Arms Company. The answer is as follows:—117,000 rifles have been allocated to the Ordnance Factories, 70,000 to the Birmingham Small Arms Factory, and 35,000 to the London Small Arms Factory, making 222,000 rifles in all. These orders are to be delivered by the last day of March next year. We have already had 8,476 rifles from the Ordnance Factories, 2,720 from Birmingham, and 400 from the London Small Arms Company. That is not as many as we had anticipated, but there was a delay in the making of the gauges in the Ordnance Factories, and the firms are not in any way to blame. We anticipate that by the appointed day the whole of the orders will have been carried out.

The Earl of ERROLL: My Lords, I had not intended to take part in this debate, and I only rise to say a few words. The choice of the rifle was, I believe, entirely in the hands of the Small Arms Committee on which I myself had the honour to serve, and therefore I feel that I have some title to reply to one or two of the points mentioned by the noble Lord opposite. In the first instance, I was rather surprised to hear that he objected to the range of the new rifle. He read a letter the other day from a cavalry officer, who said he would like to go back to the old carbine, and——

Lord TWEEDMOUTH: That was not my view. I did not accept that view.

The Earl of ERROLL: Then I beg the noble Lord's pardon. I thought he accepted it, and considered that the best thing to do would be to put new sights on the old carbine. I entirely differ from that view. In the first place, the reason why the carbine was given up in South Africa was, that the cavalry found they were enormously outranged by the Boers. That was the genesis of the new rifle. I do not agree with the noble Lord that it cannot be made uncomfortable for troops at 1,500 yards. On frequent occasions in South Africa the Boers made extremely good shooting at over 1,700 yards, and the cavalry with their carbines were not able to reply to them. It is perfectly easy to hit, say, a convoy at 1,500 yards, and it is important that the cavalry should have this long-range rifle. With regard to the carrying of the rifle, I quite agree that it is time we had some way of carrying it. When this new rifle was suggested, the Inspector-General of Cavalry stated that a rifle four inches longer than the carbine could be carried in the bucket without touching the ground. Personally, I think that the best way to carry it is in the old carbine bucket, although it is rather heavy. I also agree, to a certain extent, with what was said the other day by the noble and gallant Earl the late Commander-in-Chief, as to carrying the rifle in peace time in the bucket and in war time on the man's back. But I go further. In all campaigns there is a great deal more marching than fighting, and I would suggest that the rifle might be carried not only in peace time in the bucket, but might be carried on service in the bucket when not actually in the presence of the enemy. When soldiers are near the enemy I think the rifle ought to be on their backs. Personally, I think the wind-gauge absolutely useless on service. I do not think soldiers would ever use it. I am not quite certain whether it is on this rifle.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: Yes, it is.

THE EARL OF ERROLL: Then it has been added since I was on the Small Arms Committee. A wind-gauge is all very good for match shooting, but what we want for the Army is not a match weapon, but a weapon which will be handy and useful in war.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: I understand that the noble Earl the Under-Secretary will give me what information he can, and will lay on the Table all the Papers that it may be convenient to publish?

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: I will certainly lay on the Table all the Papers I can.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: In those circumstances it is not necessary for me to press the Motion. But I think I ought to say, in answer to the Earl of Erroll, that I did not commit myself in any way to the opinion that the old carbine was a sufficiently good weapon for the cavalry in the future. In the letter from which I read an extract to your Lordships, my correspondent was simply referring to the convenience of carrying the weapon, and his point was that if it was to be carried comfortably in the bucket, the old carbine with new sights on it would be the best in the circumstances. As to the statement of the Under-Secretary, the only thing I have to say is that the figure of merit was not the particular point that I was raising. My great point was to get as low a trajectory as possible, and I think the noble Earl himself would prefer a very much reduced trajectory, even to a somewhat increased amount of absolute accuracy. A low trajectory I put before anything for a practical service weapon. I withdraw my Motion.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: My Lords, I do not rise to take part in this discussion further than to say this, that next Monday I have a Notice on the Paper which will raise this Question, and as my noble friend Lord Tweedmouth has shown to-day the effect of the German bullet on steel plate, I shall produce a photograph which will be of interest as to the manner of carrying the rifle.

House adjourned at twenty minutes past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 14th July, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Great Eastern Railway Bill; North-Western Electricity and Power Gas Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Llanelly Harbour Bill [Lords]. Verbal Amendments made (King's Consent signified); Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Tynemouth Corporation Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Govan Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 10.) BILL.

As amended, considered; to be read the third time to-morrow.

PIER AND HARBOUR PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 2) BILL.

As amended, considered; Bill read the third time, and passed.

SELECTION (UNOPPOSED BILL COMMITTEES) (PANEL).

Mr. Halsey reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had selected the following Member to serve on Unopposed Bill Committees under Standing Order No. 109:—Mr. Crombie.

Report to lie upon the Table.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892, relating to Hamilton Gas." [Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water." [Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station." [Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; Referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 271.]

Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. To be considered upon Monday next.

Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. To be considered upon Monday next.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 13) BILL.

Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 272.]

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP L).

Mr. Agg-Gardner reported from the Committee on Group L of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned till Monday next, at Twelve of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Rothesay, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

LAND VALUES (ASSESSMENT AND RATING) BILL.

Petition from Glamorgan, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against: from Amble; Arfon; Banff; Beeston; Birstwith; Bouthwaite; Brown Bank; Caerphilly; Crowcrook; Darlington; Dunston; Fewston; Garthmyl; Gourock; Glasshouses; Hafod; Hardisty Hill; Haslingden; Horfield; Ilford; Ipswich; Kingston on Thames; Kirkintilloch; Langford; Langley Mill; Llandudno (ten); Llanfairpwllgyn; Lofthouse; Malton; Menai Bridge; Middletown; Montgomery (two); Morpeth; Newcastle Town Moor (two); Paisley; Pateley Bridge; Pelton Fell; Pencaerneisiog; Peterhead; Pontypridd; Pudsey;

Rhondda Valleys; Shaw Mills; Summerbridge; Theddlethorpe; Thornthwaite; Welshpool; Wilsill; Winlaton on Tyne; and, Woodmamoray; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petitions for alteration: from Hawarden; Holyhead; and, Pwllheli; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS ETC.

PUBLIC REVENUE (INTERCEPTION).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 27th April; *Mr. Gibson Bowles*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 253.]

PACIFIC CABLE ACT, 1901.

Account presented, showing the money issued from the Consolidated Fund under the provisions of The Pacific Cable Act, 1901, and of the Money received, expended, and borrowed, and Securities created under the said Act to the 31st March, 1904, together with a copy of the Report of the Chairman of the Pacific Cable Board [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 254.]

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3216 to 3219 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COLONIES (IMMIGRATION).

Copy presented, of Papers relative to the Laws and Regulations in Force in the Colonies under Responsible Government respecting the Admission of Immigrants [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

GAS ORDERS CONFIRMATION (No. 2) BILL [Lords].

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 255.]

GAS ORDERS CONFIRMATION (No. 3) BILL [Lords].

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 256.]

GAS AND WATER ORDERS CONFIRMATION BILL [Lords].

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 257.]

WATER ORDERS CONFIRMATION BILL [Lords].

Returned presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 258.]

ELECTRIC POWER UNDERTAKINGS.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 12th July; *Mr. Gerald Balfour*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 259.]

TRAMWAYS ORDERS CONFIRMATION (No. 2) BILL [Lords].

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 12th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 260.]

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 2) BILL [Lords].

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 261.]

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 4) BILL [Lords].

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 262.]

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 6) BILL [Lords].

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 13th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 263.]

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Divorce and Matrimonial Causes (Rule). Copy of Draft Additional Rule and Order in Divorce and Matrimonial Causes made under The Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857 [by Act].

LOCAL TAXATION ACCOUNT, 1903-4.

Return ordered, "Showing, in respect of the financial year ended the 31st day of March, 1904, the distribution of the proceeds of the Local Taxation Licence Duties, Estate Duty, and Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Duties paid into the Local Taxation Account in pursuance of the provisions of The Local Government Act, 1888, The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, and The Finance Act, 1894 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 353, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Grant Lawson.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Value of Prison-made Foreign Goods not admitted to this Country.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state the value of the prison-made foreign goods excluded up to the latest available date by the action of the Foreign Prison-made Goods Act.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) £183 4s.

Naval Regulations.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, in view of the fact that the captains of His Majesty's ships are required by Articl 828 of the King's Regulations when at sea, as well in time of peace as of war, every evening before dark, to cause the quarters to be cleared and every other arrangement made for night battle, and are further required by Article 829, when at anchor in a harbour or roadstead, to be constantly prepared to repel any attempts of an enemy to board the ship, he will state what steps are, in practice, taken to carry out these regulations.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The actual terms of these articles, which are of very old standing and not exactly suited to modern conditions, are not strictly complied with. But officers in command are responsible that their ships should at all times be ready to meet any contingency, and it rests with them to take whatever steps are required to act up to the spirit of the articles.

Juvenile Cases in Metropolitan Police Courts—Children in Industrial Schools.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will state the number of children under twelve years of age dealt with per annum in the twenty-two Police Courts of the Metropolis during the last three years; the number of industrial schools under his control for boys and girls respectively; the numbers of boys and girls respectively who can be accommodated in them; and the total numbers of boys and girls respectively at present committed to industrial schools.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) Figures can be given only as to children dealt with on arrest; persons dealt with on summons are not classified according to age. The numbers of children under twelve dealt with on arrest in the Metropolitan Police District have been as follows:—

	Summarily convicted, held to bail, etc., or committed for trial.	Discharged.
1901	409	298
1902	397	312
1903	405	263

There are eighty-one industrial schools for boys, fifty-four for girls, and four for boys and girls. The number of children which can be accommodated is 13,930 boys and 4,656 girls. 13,513 boys and 4,281 girls are now under sentence of detention, but some of these are out on licence or in auxiliary homes, the number actually in the schools being 12,520 boys and 4,059 girls.

Licences issued to Motor-Cars—Amount of Revenue.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will state the number of motor-cars that have been licensed under the new Act; and what is the amount of revenue derived from these licences to date.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) A Return has been ordered and is in preparation showing the numbers of motor-cars registered under the Act of last session up to the 1st April of this year. When the numbers are known, the total amount of fees taken (at 20s. for each motor-car and 5s. for each motor-cycle) will be readily ascertained.

Shipment of Worn-out Horses to the Continent.

Mr. BUTCHER (York): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in view of the large numbers of worn-out horses, under £5 in value, which are shipped from this country to Holland, Belgium, and Germany, His Majesty's Government will cause inquiries to be made of His Majesty's Consuls as to whether these horses, although in a state in which the law of this country would not permit of their being worked, are worked on arrival abroad; and whether, if such inquiries should show that this is being done, His Majesty's Government will consider the desirability of introducing legislation on the subject.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) If the hon. Member will place me in possession of any information he may have received on the subject, the Board of Agriculture will be consulted as to whether any steps can be taken by legislation or otherwise. It would be difficult to base any general conclusions on the results of an inquiry of the kind suggested in the Question.

Proposed Tithe Schemes for Villages in European Turkey.

Mr. MOON (St. Pancras, N.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can give particulars or epitomes of the two tithe schemes stated to be about to be introduced in two groups of villages in European Turkey; the geographical position of each group; and what report Colonel Fairholme has made as to the restrictions stated to have been imposed by the Porte upon the authority of the *Gendarmerie* officers appointed by the Six Powers.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) Two schemes of tithe reform have been under consideration, but we are not aware that either has yet been introduced. Colonel Fairholme has not reported that any restrictions have been imposed by the Porte upon the authority of the *Gendarmerie* officers.

Appeal Case of the Freed Slave Mshangama at Pemba.

Mr. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will lay upon the Table of the House a copy of the judgment recently delivered in Pemba by Assistant Judge Skinner Turner, who held the inquiry into the appeal of the freed slave Mshangama against the judgment of Mr. J. P. Farler; and will he say whether the evidence taken on the appeal was taken on oath.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) A copy of the judgment has appeared in the Press (see *African Standard*, Saturday, 18th June), and it, therefore, seems unnecessary to incur the expense of publication for Parliament. Presumably the evidence referred to was taken on oath, but if the hon. Member can supply me with any reasons for supposing the contrary there will be no objection to ascertaining the facts.

Passage of the Bosphorus by armed Russian Cruiser—British Ships stopped in the Red Sea.

Mr. BROTHERTON (Wakefield): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has any official information showing that an armed Russian cruiser passed through the Bosphorus under the commercial flag, and that this cruiser stopped two British vessels in the Red Sea; and, if so, whether the Government purpose communicating with the Russian Government on the subject.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) His Majesty's Government have no official information of the passage of an armed Russian cruiser through the Bosphorus under the commercial flag. They learn, however, that two British steamers have been stopped in the Red Sea. Inquiries are being made.

Sunday Post from Gorey to Kilanevin (County Wexford).

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will consider the question of establishing a Sunday post from Gorey to Kilanevin, in county Wexford.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I have considered this question, and I find that, according to the information at present in the Department, the additional expense which would be involved by the establishment of a Sunday post from Gorey to Kilanevin would not be warranted. As, however, this information was obtained some months ago, I will have further inquiry made with the view of ascertaining whether the circumstances have since altered, and I will acquaint the hon. Member with the result.

Postmen's Pensions—Consideration of Sunday Pay in the Calculation.

CAPTAIN FREEMAN-THOMAS (Hastings): To ask the Postmaster-General whether the postmen's Sunday pay is taken into consideration in calculating their pensions; and whether the loss of regular Sunday duty involves not only a reduction in their average weekly wages, but also a reduction in their pensions when they become due.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The average annual amount of Sunday duty pay received during the three years immediately preceding the date of retirement is taken into consideration in calculating the pensions of postmen, provided that the Sunday duty performed has been fairly regular, and that the pay received annually has not been less than the equivalent of one week's wages. If an officer has not performed Sunday duty in accordance with these conditions, the pay is not reckoned for pension.

The Royal Hibernian Academy.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will inquire into the position and circumstances of the Royal Hibernian Academy, with a view to changing it to a more suitable situation in Dublin.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) I am afraid that I can hold out no hope of re-housing the Royal Hibernian Academy. There does not seem to be any necessity for further inquiry.

Naval Gun Sights.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether any representations have been made by expert naval gunnery officers as to the unreliability of the present system of sighting naval guns; whether any estimate has been arrived at as to the expenditure necessary to make the sighting efficient; and whether it is in contemplation to make good all defects without delay.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The various designs of sights and fittings now afloat are not defective and were considered the best at the different dates they were introduced into the service, but they are not as good as those with which a ship would now be fitted, otherwise it is obvious that no progress in sighting would have been made. The Admiralty frequently receive suggestions from naval officers and others as to improving the sights now afloat and bringing them more up to date, and all these are carefully considered. Estimates are prepared for supplying new sights and fittings to ships as opportunity arises, but it is impossible to give a final estimate of the cost of work which is and always must be continuously in progress.

Naval Promotions—Delay in filling Vacancies.

MR. KEARLEY: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is aware that from fourteen to twenty-one days elapse before vacancies caused by the retirement of lieutenants promoted from the chief warrant officer's list are filled by the promotion of other chief warrant officers; and, if so, whether steps can be taken in advance to ascertain the fitness of officers to fill these vacancies and so obviate this delay as in the case of senior officers of the Fleet.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) It generally takes a few days to make inquiries before an officer is selected for promotion to the rank of lieutenant; but it should be pointed out that as the seniority of the officer promoted is dated from the day on which the vacancy occurs he is not under any pecuniary disadvantage. An effort will, however, be made to shorten the interval as much as possible.

Stores of Seagoing Ships—Allowances to Members of Committee of Inquiry.

MR. KEARLEY: To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether any Report has been presented by the Committee of naval officers appointed to inquire into and revise the amount of stores allowed to seagoing ships, indicating the possibility of effecting considerable saving in the future; whether these officers will receive the usual Committee allowances; or whether their services will be recognised in some special manner.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) Interim Reports have been received from this Committee, and further Reports are still to come. Officers not on full pay serving on the Committee are receiving the usual allowances. The Answer to the third part of the Question is in the negative.

London Government Act Commissioners—Appeals.

MR. W. F. D. SMITH (Strand, Westminster): To ask the President of the Local Government Board who are at present the London Government Act Commissioners appointed by the Committee of the Privy Council under Section 15 of The London Government Act, 1899; whether there is any appeal from their decisions; and, if so, to what authority.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The Commissioners are the same as those appointed by the Committee of Council on the passing of the Act in 1899, viz., Sir Hugh Owen, G. C. B., Sir Samuel Johnson, and Mr. A. T. Lawrence, K.C. Any appeal from the decisions of the Commissioners would lie to the Committee of Council.

Sherlock Estate—Opportunity for Tenants to Purchase their Holdings.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork County, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the tenants on the Sherlock Estate, Ballyrobin, Cloyne, county Cork, which is at present in the Land Judge's Court, will be afforded an opportunity of purchasing their holdings.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The case of this estate has been placed in the Land Judge's list, and the solicitors having carriage of the sale have been called upon to explain the reasons for the delay in the proceedings.

Aughnamullen East Band—Action of Constable Creaghan.

MR. MCKEAN (Monaghan, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been called to the action of Constable Creaghan, of Shantonagh, who on the evening of the 26th June last followed the Aughnamullen East band into the private grounds of Mr. Peter M'Gough, a former member of the band; will he state what reason or authority Constable Creaghan had for this act of trepass; whether it is the practice of the police to follow the local Orange band to their lodge or into private grounds under similar circumstances; and will he cause an inquiry to be held in this case.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I am informed that the constable entered the private grounds of Mr. Peter M'Gough at the invitation of the latter.

Government Provision of Robes and Vestments for Irish Chaplains.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Government provide vestments or robes for chaplains of all the denominations officiating in Dublin at the Royal Hospital, Royal Hibernian School, Mountjoy Prison, Kilmainham Prison, and to the Protestant and Presbyterian chaplains at Arbor Hill Military Prison; whether the vestments in use by the Catholic priest in Arbor Hill Prison have been in use for over fifty years, and were condemned by the Board of Inspection two years ago; and, if so, when will the Catholic chaplains be placed on the same footing as the chaplains of other denominations as to the supply of necessaries for conducting religious worship, seeing that the expense involved would not be much more than £10.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) Under existing regulations vestments are only supplied to Protestant commissioned chaplains in the shape of surplices; they are not supplied to Roman Catholic priests, as owing to the religious consecration connected with them, they cannot be treated as Government stores; but in all the cases mentioned in the Question the necessary Roman Catholic garments are already in existence. Under no circumstances would vestments of any description be now supplied to a clergyman other than a commissioned chaplain. The vestments in Arbor Hill Military Prison have been there for over fifty years, and have been condemned by the Board of Inspection. There is no record to show from what source they were originally provided. I am, however, making further inquiries into this matter.

Delay in Distribution of War Medals to Scottish Horse.

Mr. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state the reason for the delay in distributing the war medals to the troopers of the Scottish Horse.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The examination of the claims for medals of men of the Scottish Horse has been a matter of considerable difficulty as a large proportion of them served in other corps prior to the formation of this body. One roll containing 1,870 names was sent to Woolwich on the 10th ultimo, and the other roll, containing about the same number, is now in hand and will go to Woolwich shortly.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Pay of Army Lieutenants.

Mr. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the total pay of a second lieutenant in this country is 5s. 3d. per day; and whether, seeing that it is impossible for an officer of this rank to live on his pay without assistance, after paying his soldier servant, providing clothes for this servant, subscriptions, messing, and washing, can he say the lowest sum on which an officer is expected to be able to live in the Army; and, whether, in the reorganisation of the Army, he will raise the pay sufficiently to enable the sons of rich or poor men an equal opportunity of entering the Army.

*The FINANCIAL SECRETARY to the WAR OFFICE (Mr. Bromley Davenport, Cheshire, Macclesfield): The pay of a second lieutenant of infantry is 5s. 3d. a day without allowances. It was estimated by the Committee on Officers' Expenses, whose Report was published in 1903, that by the adoption of their recommendations, an infantry subaltern's pay would cover the cost of the necessities of military service, but that he would require about £60 a year from private sources to meet the expenses of ordinary life, such as plain clothes, tobacco, stimulants, etc. In the junior ranks of the Army, as in most other professions, it is not expected that it will be possible for officers to live entirely on their pay, though steps have recently been taken to reduce the expenses. It is not, therefore, proposed to make any increase in the pay of these officers.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Is the hon. Gentleman not aware that naval lieutenants are expected to, and do, in fact, live on their pay?

Lieutenant Witton's Case.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been lately called to the case of the convict Witton, formerly Lieutenant Witton of the Bushveld Carbineers; whether he has considered, among other circumstances, the resolutions in favour of some mitigation of his sentence, passed unanimously by the Legislatures of Natal and Cape Colony; and what he has decided to advise His Majesty thereupon.

*Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: The Resolutions referred to in the Question are now receiving consideration.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL: Can the hon. Gentleman give no information at all as to the position taken up by the Government?

*Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: I can only say that the Government are considering the matter.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): Has not the time arrived for revising all the sentences passed on soldiers in South Africa?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Chinese Deserters from the Rand Mines.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will, before the Colonial Office Vote comes under discussion, be in a position by means of a telegraphic communication with Lord Milner, or otherwise, to place the House of Commons in possession of the circumstances under which Chinese indentured labourers deserted from the Rand mines and were captured, and the punishment inflicted on these indentured labourers and the persons who subsequently employed them or who aided and abetted them in their flight.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I am not in a position to say when the information will reach us.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will refer to this matter in his speech to-day to the Chamberlain Club.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has yet received any communication from Lord Milner or the Transvaal Colony with reference to the desertions of Chinese indentured labourers from the mines of the Rand; and, if so, will he put the House of Commons in possession of any such communication.

MR. LYTTELTON: I have not yet received any communication.

The Crown Agents.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, E. Toxteth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will now cause to be laid upon the Table the Return in regard to Crown Agents business promised at an early period of the session.

MR. LYTTELTON: I think I informed my hon. friend that the preparation of the Return involved heavy labour. It is, however, now in the hands of the printers and I hope that it may be ready for delivery in a few days.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR: Will the right hon. Gentleman guarantee we shall have it before the Vote for his salary is discussed?

MR. LYTTELTON: I will guarantee that every effort will be made to expedite the printers in their task.

Kaffirs as Mine Overseers in the Transvaal.

MR. MARKHAM: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies will he say if before or since the war Kaffirs have been employed as overseers in the Transvaal gold mines.

MR. LYTTELTON: My information is that Kaffirs have not been overseers in the Transvaal mines either before or after the war. But I find in the Blue-books some expressions which lead me to infer that on some occasions, at any rate, Kaffirs have held positions involving some authority over their fellows.

German Sanatorium Syndicate at Funchal.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Foreign Office has received any communication from Funchal, Madeira, as to the disquiet produced among British traders and residents by the concessions granted to the German Sanatorium Syndicate; and whether, in view of the fact that the reputation of Madeira as a health resort has been mainly built up by British capital and energy, he will take steps to secure for British interests equality of treatment in any matter of exemption or preference acquired by subjects of another Power.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): Yes, Sir. The whole question is engaging the careful attention of His Majesty's Government, and His Majesty's Minister at Lisbon has been verbally assured that no vested interests would be injuriously affected.

Sir WALTER FOSTER: Can the noble Lord state the terms of the concession?

Earl PERCY: No. I do not think it has yet been signed.

Electricity in Mines.

Mr. MARKHAM: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has any information that all His Majesty's inspectors of mines have a practical knowledge of the application of electricity, and whether electricity was a subject of examination when they obtained their certificates; and whether, seeing that the application of highly technical rules recommended by the Electricity in Mines Departmental Committee is proposed to be left with the inspectors of mines, most of whom have had no experience in electrical work, will he say if any evidence whatever was taken by this Departmental Committee on this point, and how the Committee arrived at this decision; further, that some of the chief inspectors of districts, owing to their many onerous duties, are unable to inspect the underground workings of some of the collieries in their respective districts more than once in ten years.

*__The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT__ (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's): Candidates for the post of inspector of mines are required to have a theoretical and practical acquaintance with coal mines and mining—but electricity has not hitherto been specially mentioned as a subject of examination. I am prepared to consider whether this subject should not be added to the syllabus of examination for any future vacancy. As regards the recommendation of the Committee, I am not aware that they took, or that it was necessary for them to take, any special evidence on the point; as representing all the interests involved, owners, men, inspectors and the electrical profession, they were fully competent to come to a decision themselves. I can only add, as I have already said, that I shall be prepared, if necessary, to consider the question of giving the inspectors the assistance of expert advice. As regards the last part of the Question, I know no case of a mine remaining unvisited by the inspector in charge of the district for a period of ten years.

Mr. MARKHAM: The right hon. Gentleman will see my Question referred to the chief inspectors. I will forward him some cases.

Mr. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): May I ask whether the Special Rules recommended by the Departmental Committee have been approved by the right hon. Gentleman, or what progress has been made with a view to their adoption?

*__Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS__: This is an important point, and I should like the hon. Member to put the Question down.

Lambeth Guardians and Catholic Nurse.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to a meeting of the Lambeth Guardians, recently held, at which a report was adopted stating that the services of a trained nurse, who was temporarily engaged by the master, should be dispensed with on the ground that she was a Catholic; whether he is aware that the report of the committee declared that she had discharged her duties in a very satisfactory manner; and that, notwithstanding this, her dismissal, because of her religion, was carried with practical unanimity; and, if so, whether he will state what action he proposes to take in the matter.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Walter Long, Bristol, S.): I have made inquiry as to the case referred to. It appears from the report of the schools committee of the guardians that the officer was temporarily engaged by the master, that he was not aware at the time that she was a Roman Catholic, and that her duties were discharged in a very satisfactory manner. The committee, however, reported that as nearly all the children in the schools belong to the Church of England, and the Roman Catholic children are cared for in separate institutions, they did not deem it advisable that the engagement of the officer should be confirmed. The report was adopted by the guardians. It rested entirely with them to decide whether or not they would appoint the person in question as nurse, and I have no authority to interfere with their decision.

Ordnance Survey Officer's Grievance.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he is aware that a temporary civil assistant in the Ordnance Survey Department has been reduced by the sum of 3d. per day by the divisional officer for visiting, without permission, his wife, who was dangerously ill; and whether, under the circumstances, he will take the case into his consideration, and restore to this man his position and pay.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): The case referred to by the hon. Member is, I think, that of a temporary civil assistant at Coolboy, county Donegal, who, whilst on the sick list, absented himself from his station without leave for two days. On being called upon for an explanation he stated that he had been called away to see his wife who was dangerously ill, but although specifically asked to do so, he took no steps, either at the time or subsequently, to produce any statement or certificate from a doctor in support of his statement. The case was, therefore, referred to the executive officer of the Survey at Southampton who ordered the reduction of pay referred to in the Question. In these circumstances the Board see no reason for the reversal of the decision thus given.

MR. NANNETTI: If he produces a certificate of his wife's illness, will his case be reconsidered?

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES: Certainly; the whole difficulty arose from the fact that he never sent in any medical certificate. Otherwise he would have received leave as others do.

Merchant Seamen and Margarine.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork County, W.): I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntindonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he is aware that merchant seamen who contract for pure butter in lieu of beef are frequently supplied with margarine; and, if so, what action does he propose to take in the matter

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES: I am afraid that the powers of the Board under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899, do not extend to practices such as that referred to by the hon. Member. The Board, however, are instituting inquiry into the matter to ascertain whether any steps can be advantageously taken, and in the meantime perhaps the hon. Member would place me in possession of any specific information which he may have received on the subject.

Cusack Estate, County Longford.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that there are seven occupiers of land on the Cusack Estate in the county of Longford who have, during the last ten years, with the exception of 1903, held same for grazing; that these tenants in last October signed agreements for tenancies, and have subsequently signed proposals to purchase under the Act of 1903, with the concurrence of the solicitors having carriage of the sale; and whether he can inform the House how soon the Estates Commissioners will be in a position to approve of the sale of these interests to the said occupiers.

MR. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers the Question, may I ask if he will advise the Commissioners not to approve this purchase, but to acquire the land themselves.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): I think the Estates Commissioners are competent to administer the Act without any intervention on my part. I understand that portions of this property which were let for some years on agistment contracts were in February last let to the grazing tenants under Land Court tenancies, and that prices for sale to them were provisionally agreed upon. The Estates Commissioners have since issued a request to the Land Judge with a view to the purchase of the entire estate under the provisions of Section 7 of the Act. When the necessary documents have been lodged wth the Commissioners, they will cause the estate to be inspected, and will consider the terms of an offer for the property.

Mahony Estate, Gap of Dunloe.

Mr. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that an application for reinstatement has been lodged with the Estates Commissioners by Mr. Florence Doherty, with reference to a farm on the Mahony Estate, situate at the Gap of Dunloe, from which he was evicted in 1893; and can he state whether his application has now been considered by the Estates Commissioners.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir; the application has been received. It will be investigated by the inspector, who will shortly make an inspection of the estate.

Spraying Machines for Kerry Farmers.

Mr. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Congested Districts Board were in the habit of supplying spraying machines at reduced prices to farmers in the congested districts; and whether, seeing that the Department of Agriculture has now taken over the agricultural portion of the Congested Districts Board's work, he can state why these facilities have not been continued; and whether arrangements can be made whereby the farmers in the parish of Bonane, county Kerry, can now be supplied with these machines at reduced prices.

Mr. WYNDHAM: No provision is made in any of the Department's schemes for supplying farmers in congested districts or elsewhere with potato-spraying machines at reduced prices, as such action would not be in accordance with the principle on which the schemes are based. Where a farmer in any locality is not able to purchase a spraying machine for his sole use, he might combine with his neighbours for its purchase at a reduced cost per head.

Irish National School Teachers.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state the number of national school teachers who, during the three years ending 1903, have either been fined, reprimanded, dismissed, or had their increments and promotion stopped on the statement of a school manager, and without any opportunity being given to the teachers to disprove or explain charges made against them.

Mr. SLOAN: I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that it is the practice of the Commissioners of National Education to fine, dismiss, or have the increments and promotion stopped of teachers on the statement of a school manager, though the Board's inspectors may for the three previous years have commended such teachers as diligent and efficient, and reported the state of their schools as most satisfactory; and, if so, will he explain why these punishments are inflicted without the teacher being called upon to explain or disprove the charges made against him.

Mr. WYNDHAM: It is not the practice of the Commissioners to fine, dismiss, or otherwise punish a teacher on the mere statement of a school manager. They invariably call upon the inspector to make a report to them on all the circumstances. A teacher who has a well-grounded cause of complaint against a manager is at liberty to make a statement of the case to the inspector, who is instructed to refer it to the Commissioners. If the hon. Member will communicate to me the facts of any individual case which he may have in view I will cause further inquiry to be made.

Kerry County Court Land Valuer.

Mr. MURPHY (Kerry, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Major Kiggel, who acts as the valuer in land cases for the County Court in Kerry, is acting as land agent on the property of Mrs. Frances Rowland, at Mourne Abbey, county Cork, and on other estates, and that Major Kiggel has written to the tenants on the Rowland

Estate, dated the 28th May, 1904, with the object of deterring them from entering the Land Court, and inducing them to agree to certain purchase prices; and, if so, whether such action is permissible in the case of a person in receipt of salary from the Land Commission.

MR. WYNDHAM: Major Kiggel states he has never deterred tenants from entering the Land Court. He wrote to them suggesting that before entering Court a second time to have fair rents fixed they might consider an offer which he made, to sell at twenty-three years purchase. The tenants rejected the offer and stated they would prefer to enter the Court, but that before doing so they would offer twenty years purchase. Major Kiggel is not in receipt of salary from the Land Commission. Any payments to him as County Court valuer are made from the County Court officers' Vote.

MR. MURPHY: I think it a public scandal. This man is in receipt of a salary from the Government and is a land agent as well.

Rev. S. L. Malone's Estate, King's County.

MR. REDDY (King's County, Birr): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the tenants on the estate of the Rev. S. L. Malone, Near Cadamstown, King's county, have agreed to purchase their holdings; and, if so, can he state what steps, if any, have been taken to reinstate Patrick O'Brien, of Lisken, who was evicted off the property within the past five years.

MR. WYNDHAM: This estate has not yet come before the Estates Commissioners to be dealt with. The application of the evicted tenant has been received and will be duly considered.

MR. REDDY: When will it be reached?

MR. WYNDHAM: In view of the enormous number of cases to be dealt with it is impossible for me to fix any date at which a particular case will be taken.

Armagh, Keady, and Castleblayney Railway.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL (Armagh, S.) I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that dissatisfaction exists at the rate of progress of the construction of the Armagh, Keady, and Castleblayney Railway; and whether he will take steps to expedite the completion of the railway.

MR. WYNDHAM: This is a private undertaking authorised by private Act, and I have no power whatever to intervene in respect of its construction.

Henrietta De Burgh's Estate, County Cavan.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that tenants on the estate of Henrietta De Burgh, in the townland of Drumcrow and county of Cavan, have been served with writs for the half year's rent due on the 1st May last; and whether, in view of the fact that negotiations for the sale of this estate are pending, he will introduce any measure—administrative or legislative—to prevent the landlord forcing tenants into undesirable bargains.

MR. WYNDHAM: Three tenants were served with writs for a half-year's rent; they have since paid rents and costs. I am not aware there is any ground for the suggestion that the landlord is endeavouring to compel the tenants to buy at prices which the latter consider undesirable, nor have I reason to believe that the action of some of the tenants in withholding rent can be construed as an attempt to compel sales at prices which the landlord would consider undesirable. But in any case, the provisions of the existing law are adequate to safeguard both parties against bargains induced by duress.

King's County Evicted Tenant.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received an application for an advance from John Langford, Ballymacrossin, King's county (estate of Major Fox), who is in possession of the farm from which Miss Masterson was evicted in 1884; and as the evicted tenant is living in a wooden hut, and claims reinstatement, can he state what course the Commissioners propose taking in the matter.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The estate containing this holding will shortly be inspected. The inspector will report what arrangements can be made to provide the evicted tenant with a holding. John Langford is a leasehold tenant and has lodged an agreement to purchase his holding.

Proposal of Roscommon District Council.

Mr. JAMES O'KELLY (Roscommon, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Local Government Board for Ireland have refused to permit the Roscommon District Council to give a small weekly allowance of tobacco to certain deserving and aged inmates of the workhouse, and to recompense certain occupants of labourers' cottages for work performed by them; and, if so, whether he will take any steps to allow the decision of the district council to be carried out.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The proposal made by the Guardians was to grant a weekly allowance of tobacco to able-bodied inmates, and also to make an allowance to the occupants of labourers' cottages for tilling their own plots. The Board pointed out that payment out of the rates for either purpose would be contrary to the law.

Newry Guardians and Deportation of Paupers.

Mr. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to a resolution adopted by the Newry Board of Guardians, urging the necessity for remedial legislation with reference to the importation of paupers from English and Scotch unions to Irish workhouses, whilst Irish boards of guardians are powerless as to the deportation of non-domiciled destitute persons who may become chargeable on the rates; and whether he will give the matter his consideration during the approaching recess.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir; a resolution to the effect stated has been received. Subject to the restrictions imposed by the Poor Removal Act, 1900, Irish-born paupers may be removed from England to Ireland, but there is no corresponding enactment enabling the removal of English and Scotch paupers from Ireland. The matter is being investigated and will be duly reported on by the Poor Law Reform Commission.

Holdings for Herds on Grazing Lands.

Mr. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have, in the case of the division of grazing lands or untenanted lands, made any provision for economic holdings for the herds, or members of the families of the herds, who worked on those grazing lands; and, if so, if he can state in how many cases such provision has been made since the passing of the Irish Land Act, 1903, up to the 30th June last.

Mr. WYNDHAM: I hope to be in a position to give this information on Monday next, if the hon. Member will repeat the Question on that date.

Labourers' Cottages in Ireland.

Mr. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Local Government Board have received complaints from their auditors or other persons as to houses erected under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts being occupied by persons who are not *bona fide* labourers or agricultural workers as defined by Section 93 of the Irish Land Act, 1903; and what steps have the Local Government Board taken to remove these parties and restore the houses to the members of the class for whose benefit the Labourers (Ireland) Acts were passed.

Mr. WYNDHAM: Such complaints, when made, have always been brought under the notice of the local authorities. The Local Government Board has power to refuse its sanction to the erection of additional cottages in districts where abuses of this character are allowed by the district council to prevail; but the Board is not empowered otherwise to control the local authority in respect of the tenancy of cottages.

MR. TULLY: Has the Local Government Board itself done anything to deal with this grievance?

[No Answer was returned.]

Jones Lloyd Estate.

MR. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners are aware that notice to quit has been served by a landlord named Robert Jones Lloyd, of London, on his tenant, John Hanly, of Gunthill, Elphin, because he refused to give twenty-three years purchase for his farm held at the yearly rent of £22 10s.; and whether, in view of these proceedings, the Estates Commissioners will sanction without inquiry or inspection any sale of a portion of the Jones Lloyd Estate in Leitrim or Roscommon.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have no information that the facts are as alleged. In respect of the second part of the Question I would refer to my statement in answer to similar inquiries addressed to me on the 30th June.†

Phoenix Park Dublin—Traders' Passes.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether inquiry has been made as to the number of their customers within Phœnix Park, Dublin, of all traders, as well as of Mr. Henry Baggot, who has been refused a pass for his van through the park ostensibly because of the insufficient number of his customers in that locality.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): No, Sir. Such inquiry is only made when the use made of the permit or other evidence in the possession of the Commissioners of Public Works raises a presumption that the permit is no longer required.

MR. CLANCY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury what is the date of the regulation made by the Board of Works in Dublin providing for passes for tradesmen's vans passing through Phœnix Park; and whether a copy of it will be laid upon the Table of the House.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: There is no such formal regulation as the hon. Member suggests. The management of the Park is vested by statute in the Commissioners of Public Works, and it has always been their practice to exclude tradesmen's vans unless some special justification was proved to exist.

MR. CLANCY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that, in the case of Mr. Henry Baggot, the pass asked for by him and refused for the entry of his vans into Phœnix Park, Dublin, would enable those vans to enter by a public entrance within a few yards of his establishment, and that either of the alternative entrances would mean an additional journey for his horses and vans of nearly three miles; and, if so, whether he can reconsider the decision in Mr. Baggot's case.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: As I have already stated, tradesmen's vans are excluded from the Park, in the absence of some special justification for using it. It is not desirable that the Park roads should be used as thoroughfares for trade purposes; but if Mr. Baggot can show that he has customers in the Park requiring the use of a van a permit will be given to him.

MR. CLANCY: Am I to take it then that if Mr. Baggot gives the names of his customers in the Park he will get the permit from the Board of Works.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: Yes, if it is shown he has business there the per mit will be issued to him.

Irish Revenue and Expenditure Return.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the Return of Irish Revenue and Expenditure, ordered this session, is yet ready; and whether copies will be in the hands of the Members before discussion on the Finance Bill is resumed.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvii., 167.

Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH: The Return is in the printer's hands and will be circulated to-morrow.

Roscrea Income-Tax Appeals.

Mr. TULLY: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can give the names of the special Commissioners of Income-Tax who dealt with income-tax appeals at Roscrea, on the 26th September, 1903.

Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH: The Special Commissioners who sat on the occasion named were Mr. H. W. Page-Phillips and Mr. S. P. Foster.

Irish Militia.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has asked or has received from Lord Wolseley any explanation of his Official Minute, dated 3rd November, 1897, contained in the Appendices to the Report Volume of the War Commission, page 245, in which he stated that the War Office could not explain in Parliament or make otherwise public the fact that the Irish Militia are brought to England to draw the teeth of possible rebellion.

Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: The reply to both Questions is in the negative.

Cut Road, Clonaslee, Queen's County.

Mr. DELANY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the fact that the Cut Road, Clonaslee, Queen's county, was closed in contravention of the provisions of the Military Lands Acts, compensation will be made to the residents in the locality for loss and inconvenience sustained by reason ot the traffic having been illegally interrupted by the local military authorities closing the road for five days at a period when the inhabitants were engaged in the removal of peat fuel from the adjoining bogs.

Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: As the hon. Member has been already informed, no complaints whatever were received, and no loss or inconvenience would appear to have been sustained by the inhabitants through the temporary closing of the road.

The Seizure of the "Allanton."

Mr. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government has yet received the detailed reasons given by the Prize Court at Vladivostock for the seizure by a Russian cruiser and the condemnation by the Prize Court of the British steamship "Allanton," which was recently on passage from Muroran to Singapore with a cargo of Japanese coal consigned to a neutral; if not, whether the Government is aware that the owner of the "Allanton" has received from the master of the vessel the reasons given to him in writing by the Court, namely, that the vessel was steaming throught the Japanese Sea instead of through the Pacific; that her cabin boy was Japanese: that there was an absence of proof that the cargo had been sold to a neutral purchaser; and that the Judge was convinced that the vessel was bound to a Japanese or Korean port; whether the Government is aware that the "Allanton" was carrying a copy of her charter party and a copy of her bill of lading consigning the cargo to Messrs. Paterson, Simons, and Company, a British firm at Singapore; that the route from Muroran to Singapore through the Japanese Sea is 200 miles shorter than by the Pacific, and is therefore that usually followed by merchant vessels on this voyage; whether, even if her cargo is held to be contraband and therefore seizable, the Government has protested or will protest against the condemnation of the vessel in addition to the cargo; or, in view of all the circumstrnces, what other steps the Government is now prepared to take.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): His Majesty's Government have been made aware, through the owner and other parties interested in this vessel, of the statements contained in the hon. Gentleman's Question with regard to the seizure of the "Allanton." His Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg has pressed the Russian Government for an official statement of the grounds on which the vessel was condemned by the Prize Court at Vladivostock and has been promised a definite reply. On the 7th inst., His Majesty's Ambassador was informed that a further telegram had been sent to Vladivostock pressing for the information required.

One month is allowed in which to lodge an appeal from the Prize Court in the first instance to the Admiralty Council at St. Petersburg, and His Majesty's Ambassador has been requested to be informed of the date on which such appeal will be heard. He has been further instructed to represent to the Russian Government the loss to which the owner is exposed by the continued detention of the vessel and to represent that there should be no delay in dealing with the case.

Valuation Bill.

MR. DUNCAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Otley): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if the Government intends proceeding further with the Valuation Bill this session.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no statement to make with regard to this Bill at present. It is, of course, quite evident that it cannot be proceeded with in the immediate future.

Consolidated Fund.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury what amount of the money authorised to be issued from the Consolidated Fund for the Supply services for the current year remains unissued; and what is the latest date to which the introduction of another Consolidated Fund Bill can be postponed.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The amount of Ways and Means remaining unissued is about £10,000,000, and it is hoped that it will not be necessary to introduce another Consolidated Fund Bill before the Appropriation Bill.

The Labourers (Ireland) Bill.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) asked the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division, as Chairman of the Standing Committee to which the Irish Labourers Bill had been committed, the reason why that Committee had been adjourned till next Wednesday.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) explained that the meeting of the Grand Committee on Trade which had been summoned for to-day to proceed with the consideration of the Labourers (Ireland) Bill had been adjourned by him, as Chairman, in consequence of a communication he had received from the Chief Secretary for Ireland that it was his desire to communicate with hon. Members with a view to placing some Amendments on the Paper which he thought might possibly meet the views of hon. Gentlemen on both sides, and that there was not time this week for him to do that.

MR. JOHN REDMOND, addressing the Chief Secretary, said that so far no communication whatever in relation to the Bill had been received by the Irish Party from the right hon. Gentleman. In view of the period of the session and the great danger arising from any postponement of the consideration of this question, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman could give them some explanation of the action he had taken.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked whether there was any precedent for an opposed Bill being sent to a Grand Committee on 20th July.

MR. WYNDHAM said he could not answer that. In reply to the hon. and learned Member for Waterford, he had to say that the Government had had to consider, in view of Amendments on the Paper from both sides of the House, whether they could not submit an Amendment or Amendments which would be likely to mitigate the criticism to which the measure was likely to be subjected. He had been in constant conference with the Vice-President on the matter, but, under the existing pressure of business, it had not been possible to come to a final decision on the subject. If there had been an error of judgment in asking for a postponement of the Grand Committee, it was he who committed it.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said that if the Bill was lost through this postponement the responsibility must rest on the Government.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Has the Leader of the House any statement to make as to business?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said that immediately after the finish of the stage of the Budget down for discussion, which he trusted might be Monday, they would proceed with the Licensing Bill.

QUESTIONS.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES asked the ruling of the Speaker on a point arising under Standing Order 9. He was, he explained, absent at Question time the previous day and consequently could not put a starred Question which stood in his name. He had expected the answer to be circulated with the Votes this morning and had been disappointed, and he desired to ask if it was not the duty of the Minister to have had it printed.

***Mr. SPEAKER** said the hon. Member asked a similar Question three or four days ago and he could only repeat the Answer he then gave. The Standing Order said that Questions not answered by a Minister should be circulated with the Votes, and although it did not say the next day, it was, he believed, usual that they should be circulated the next day.

The SECRETARY to the ADMIRALTY (Mr. Pretyman, Suffolk, Woodbridge) said the Answer had been printed and would be circulated with the next Votes. Immediately he found that the hon. Member did not put the Question he gave orders to have the Answer printed.

SUPPLY [17th Allotted Day].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. Jeffreys (Hampshire, N.) in the Chair.]

ARMY ESTIMATES, 1904–5.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £331,000, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges of the War Office, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905."

***The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR** (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.): I am afraid I may have to trespass some time on the patience of the Committee because the matter with which I have to deal is undoubtedly a complex and difficult one; and it has this peculiarity—I am quite certain that unless I can carry with me not only the good will of the majority of hon. Members on this side of the House, but the good will of the majority of hon. Members on the other side, my labour will be in vain. I am dealing with a subject which is one of common interest to us all; and I am not unaware that in the vicissitudes of politics it may fall to the lot of others to administer any system which I may desire to establish; and, feeling as I do, the enormous importance of securing a sound system of administration for the Army, I am most desirous—I might almost say it is foremost in my thoughts—to be able to propound a scheme to this House which shall secure, not universal acceptance—that I cannot hope for—but such a measure of acceptance, that it may commend itself both to those who agree with me in general politics and to those who disagree with me in general politics. Of one thing I am perfectly certain, I can convince the vast majority of this House of the nature and the extent of the evils for which I wish to find a remedy, and I am sanguine enough to believe that I can convince a large majority of the House of the expediency of the remedies which I wish to apply to those evils. But I am quite sure the only way I can achieve the latter object is to be perfectly frank with the Committee, to tell them exactly how matters stand, to tell them, what my difficulties are, and to tell them what I think is very important, to what extent I believe my difficulties are common difficulties, difficulties which will be shared and which will have to be met by anybody who undertakes to administer the office over which I at present preside.

I want at the outset to recognise the great consideration I have received from all sections of the House during the present session. I introduced the Army Estimates in a statement which I believe is unparalleled; I said they were interim Estimates, and I asked for a period of leisure and reflection in order that I might perfect, or attempt to perfect, suggestions that I desired to make. I said then that I was not prepared, as I am not now prepared, to administer the Army upon the existing basis; and I asked for time to reconsider the basis on which I thought it ought to be administered. I have received from both sides of the House an amount of consideration and forbearance which I had not the slightest reason to expect, and had no right whatever to demand. I consider that both sides of the House are now dispensed from according to me that indulgence any more. I desire to be judged now, not upon my merits, they are small, but entirely on the merits of the scheme I propose to submit to the House. At the same time I cannot help thanking hon. Members for the forbearance they have extended to me. There is another point I want to make quite clear. I want the Committee to understand that this is not a case in which a Member of Parliament, who has been, so to speak, accidentally tossed into a position of responsibility and importance, desires to signalise his arrival at that position by making a stir, by changing old things to new, and making alterations for the sake of alteration. I want them to believe, and I think I can convince them, that whoever sits on this Bench and has this responsibility will find confronting him exactly the same difficulties which confront me. I want them to understand that I am asking them now to listen to me, and if possible to sympathise with me, because the Army is going through a period of great danger; and if the Army is going through a period of great danger, this country is also going through a period of great danger. I am not moving for the sake of moving, but because I honestly believe that the circumstances of the case absolutely compel some change.

I think it would be a logical procedure if I were to attempt to explain what, in my opinion, is the evil with which we have to grapple. Let me say that, although I have only for a very short time considered this matter as holder of my present office, I am not quite a novice in its consideration. I had given some consideration to it before I was allowed to undertake any responsibility in connection with it; and the opinion which I formed many years ago has not varied in its essentials, but has grown in strength, and the opinion that I propose to express this afternoon is the opinion which I held many years ago, fortified by the information and instruction which I have been able to acquire during my short period at the War Office.

Now, Sir, is there an evil? I think undoubtedly there is. We have two great mentors in this matter; we have before us the facts of the South African War; we have before us the Report of the Royal Commission, which was held as the result of that war. I think that those two events have left rather sore memories in the hearts of the people of this country. Do not misunderstand me; I believe that both the war and the Report of the Commission taught us many things which we were glad to learn: and made us feel in many respects proud of our Army and of its performances, and, I may go further, made us proud of the organisation of the Army as it then existed. I have never been one of those who accepted the view that the Report of the Royal Commission was a report of universal condemnation; on the contrary, I believe that it bore testimony to the careful work which had been done in many departments, and to the success of that work; and I believe that many were surprised to see how much was done, under that unparalleled and unanticipated stress, by the Department which had been under the charge of my predecessors, Lord Lansdowne and my right hon. friend the present Secretary of State for India.

But, when all is said and done, there does remain in the minds of all of us the absolutely certain knowledge that a great deal still remains to be accomplished—that all is not well with the Army. I think some of the main conclusions may be gathered even by the most superficial student as the result of a perusal of that Report; and I would venture to place those conclusions as they commend themselves to me before the Committee. I would say the main evils are these—I do not think I am touching on any controversial matter. In the first place, there is no evidence to show that the Army we possess is, either in composition or in numbers, the Army which is really required to satisfy the peculiar needs of the Empire for the defence of which it is maintained.

I think that, in the second place, it has been made apparent that the Army, such as it is, is not fully and scientifically organised for war; that, whereas the sole object of an Army in a country like ours is to be able to engage in war at the shortest notice, and to emerge successfully and as rapidly as possible, we have been maintaining an Army in peace a large portion of which has been totally unfit for war, and of which even the effective portion could only be utilised with the help of improvised and previously unconsidered arrangements.

Thirdly, we have learnt that all branches of the Army are raised on a system which has to grapple with the difficulties which must attend purely voluntary enlistment, and that, both in the Regular and Auxiliary Forces, there have existed endless sources of friction that have led to wasteful effort, and in some cases, to some extent, to misunderstanding.

Lastly, and I think this is very important, we have been compelled to recognise that this Army, imperfectly prepared, wasteful in its methods and unsatisfactory in its results, was and is one of the most costly machines ever devised. I do not think I have gone beyond common knowledge and common agreement in any one of those generalisations.

Now, if those defects exist, what is the business of a responsible Minister in connection therewith? His business is to remedy them, to see that things do not happen again. My idea of a remedy is very definite. The remedy must not be partial; it must be complete. It must deal substantially with each of the difficulties and defects which exist; it must deal with the defects of want of proportion, and it must deal with the great defects in the system of expenditure. That is the view of the Army Council, which is conscious of these defects, and it is with that view in my mind that I am going to propound to the Committee the ideas which I have been led to form. There is, of course, the difficulty in this country, which I cannot exaggerate, of applying any remedy to Army organisation; there is the absence of professional opinion. There is an enormous amount of sectional opinion. The Army itself is, as I may say, divided perpendicularly, unlike the Navy, which I would describe as divided horizontally. The Army is divided into a large number of admirable corps, but corps which exist almost independently of each other. There are, quite apart from the Army—and in this connection I speak of the Regular Army—the two great branches of the Auxiliary Forces, both of which combine in themselves two points of view, the military point of view and the civilian point of view. That is a necessity of their existence of which I do not complain; but it naturally introduces into the point of view a complexity which makes any dealing with them exceedingly difficult. There is in this House a variety of opinions which are based, I think, very often not upon the consideration of the vast military problem that our Empire has to face, but rather upon a number of—I had almost said petty, but I will say less important—personal and private considerations. These considerations arise out of the comparatively limited knowledge of military affairs, of which hon. Members may, in the midst of their many important avocations, have been able to possess themselves; but which are exceedingly embarrassing when we come to deal with military problems as a whole.

These are the difficulties which assail us. They are very great. They are difficulties which are not peculiar to myself. They are difficulties which will assail every War Minister who attempts to deal with this problem, and my only hope of an issue out of the difficulties which I know beset us is the assistance of the general body of common sense in this House and out of this House.

To the general body of common sense, apart from sectional feeling, apart from personal feeling, apart from connection with any particular branch of any particular section of the service, I intend to appeal. If I can carry that feeling with me, I believe that I shall be able to do in my time some small service for our Army. But, if I do not, I frankly tell you I despair.

I spoke of there being specific evils. These evils I have roughly indicated already; but I want to be much more specific, and I want to deal much more in detail than I have done with regard to the remedies. Our measures must be healing. We must direct our measures to the exact evil which we find existing. It is no use inventing a number of new regulations for the Army, Volunteers, Yeomanry, or Militia if we are going to leave the existing plague spots—for they are plague spots—untouched. We must specially direct our remedies to the existing evils. I said that up to the present time there has been no evidence to show that the Army we possess is, either as regards its composition or its numbers, the Army which is really required to satisfy the peculiar needs of the Empire for the defence of which it is maintained. Up to within a very recent time we have had absolutely nobody in this country charged with the duty of ascertaining what our Army ought to be, what functions it ought to perform, and to what numbers it ought to attain. I read, not with consternation, because consternation involves surprise, but with sorrow, the remarks in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Auxiliary Forces as to the correspondence that had taken place between the members of that Commission and the various Government Departments. I say it was a discreditable and a lamentable thing that a body of that kind should be bandied from pillar to post in order to ascertain the elementary conditions of the problem before them. I say I was not surprised; I have felt the difficulty for twenty years; and whatever power has been given to me I have used for the purpose of altering that condition of things; and we have now, at last, taken a step which, however imperfect, however inadequate it may be, is a step in the direction of enabling us to find out what are the real military needs—I use the word in its widest sense—of this Empire. We have instituted the Committee of Defence, over which the Prime Minister is the presiding authority and in which the representatives of all the great Departments, civil, military, Indian, and Colonial, are associated; and though I do not pretend—no one who has attended that Committee can pretend—that we have done our work, and I know the work will not be done for twenty years, because it will only be done after a long, long apprenticeship, I do say that greater progress has been made in elucidating this great problem than has been made in the twenty years that have preceded its establishment. We are seeing the light. We are not yet in possession of the full information we require.

I said there was another difficulty. I said it had been made apparent that the Army, such as it is, is not fully and scientifically organised for war—that whereas the sole object of an army, in a country like ours, is to be able to engage in war at the shortest notice, and to emerge successfully as rapidly as possible, we have been maintaining an Army in peace time, a large portion of which is totally unfit for war, and of which even the effective portion could only be utilised with the help of improvised and previously unconsidered arrangements. Every student of the Army knows this; the man in the street knows it. Everybody who has studied the history of the last war knows perfectly well that we had to improvise at the last moment an enormous contingent of men to fight our battles; they know that we had to leave behind an enormous contingent of men who were without organisation, who were without proper equipment, and who were unavailable for purposes of war. Now, I trace that state of things to a want of previous preparation. I do not want to touch on any Party question, but I would say frankly that that preparation has not existed under one Administration any more than it has under another. That is my opinion. But, be that as it may, I think that the remedy is to provide some organisation which will prepare our forces prior to a war and will not have to improvise when the war comes. It is for that reason that we have thought it desirable to begin at the top, to begin with the reorganisation of the War Office. Well, we shall have, no doubt, still to discuss this question of the reorganisation of the War Office, but I honestly believe that the progress we have made and are making is in the right direction.

We are decentralising; we are going to decentralise very largely. We have followed the advice almost *literatim et verbatim* of a body which, in my opinion at any rate, was well qualified to advise us, and whose advice, I believe, was given in consonance with the wider learning, if I may say so, of professional opinion throughout the world. I have for years laboured for an increase of our Intelligence Department. We have in the last few weeks largely increased—we have practically doubled—our Intelligence Department. Do not let it be supposed that I think, because we have doubled the *personnel* of our Intelligence Department that we necessarily have an Intelligence Department which will do all we require. I know perfectly well that the work of that department has to be learned in a very hard school. We began twenty years too late. We ought to have had that department enlarged long ago. We ought to have had those who are now entering as novices in that department apprenticed twenty years ago, and bringing the ripe fruits of their knowledge to our service at the present day. But we are doing what we can, and I believe we are moving in the right direction.

I said that in my opinion all branches of the Army are raised on a system which exaggerates the difficulties that must always attend purely voluntary enlistment, and that in both the Regular and the Auxiliary Forces there exist endless sources of friction, which lead to wasteful effort, bad work, and in some cases to discontent and misunderstanding. I added that the Army, with all its imperfections, was, and is, one of the most costly machines in the world, and I said we must remedy this. But first we must diagnose the disease. Now I should like to attempt a diagnosis of the disease from which, in my opinion, the Army is suffering. Those who have studied the Report of the War Commission will remember that the relation of the Reserves to the Army, to the men serving, is an entirely wrong relation. The Reserve of the Army, so far from being a Reserve, is a substitute for it. I have the figures here—I need not trouble the Committee with them—but to an enormous extent the Reservists simply replaced the men serving in the ranks, and when the battalions went into the field they were scarcely appreciably stronger than they had been in peace time.

Another point is brought out very strongly in the Report of the Royal Commission, and it is a point which, I think, will appeal to every Member of the Committee; it is that with all our number of troops at home we have no striking force at all. The Commission said that if we could have sent a single brigade to Natal at the beginning of the war, we might have seriously altered the whole complexion of the campaign. We could not send one single battalion, and we did not. Two battalions were sent One was a battalion which was in this country *en route* from Crete to the West Indies and had not discarded its khaki clothes. The other was a weak battalion, not mobilised, sent from Fermoy. We were unable to do that which this country ought at all times to be able to do—send a force straight away on the first sign of danger to hold the field and occupy the situation. [AN HON. MEMBER: Which situation?] An hon. Member says, "Which situation?" He may picture any situation he likes. It is one of the axioms of war that the man who is first in the field is the man who is likely to win in the long run. I say that to maintain an army of 240,000 men, and not to be able within six weeks to put an effective force into the field, is to stultify the efforts you have made.

There is another point, which I am sure will commend itself to all Members independent of Party, and that is the use that has been, and must be made, under present conditions of the Reservists. The Reservists are now the first line of the British Army. They are not only liable to be called out, but they are called out whenever we go to war. We have got now what we call the First Army Corps at Aldershot. That Army Corps, which is the best-prepared body of troops we have in the country, cannot move without absolute dislocation, and without calling from their domestic avocations, I will not say how many, but many thousands of Reservists who are now in private life. That seems to me to be quite an unreasonable and unfortunate state of things. The Reservist, who is of enormous value to the country, ought to feel that he will be called upon when this country is engaged in a campaign of importance, but that he will not be made to do the duty of soldiers who are actually serving in our camps and barracks at the present time. I believe that the practice which prevails is bad for the Army, bad for the battalions, and exceedingly bad for the Reservists. The evil multiplies itself. It injures the prospects of the soldier on enlistment if he knows that when he leaves the colours he will not have that rest from his labours to which he is entitled. It injures the Reservists, because they know that if they undertake employment, they are liable to be called out for military purposes on occasions that ought never to be made responsible for requiring their services.

Then I come to another serious matter. That is the three-years term of enlistment. The policy which led us to adopt that practice was one that was dictated by circumstances, and it was probably necessary under those circumstances. But those circumstances have passed away, while the system has remained, and when I explain to the Committee what the result really is, they will understand how absolutely essential it is for me, or for anybody in my place, to take the very earliest steps to put an end to the system. The three-year system of enlistment, as you know, means that every man now enlisting for the Army enlists for three years. Well, in the Garrison Artillery alone, unless 100 per cent. of the men extend their term of service, at the end of two years it is impossible to furnish the drafts; and in the infantry battalions, unless 75 per cent. of the men extend, it is impossible to furnish the drafts for the infantry. Already this evil has begun to make itself felt. The men are not extending. The average extension in the infantry at the present time is 12 per cent. Only two days ago I was at the depot of a regiment where the extensions in May had been one man, and in June none. That is a battalion whose second battalion is in India with a strength of 1,000 men. I will leave the Committee to picture what is going to be the result if this system is persisted in. I tell the Committee plainly that, if we are to maintain the defence of India and the Colonies, this system is inconsistent, as it is now working, with that object. I have already had to send abroad large numbers of men who had only ten months to serve; and when I add that I have 21,750 drafts to find for India and the Colonies, and that, of the infantry at home, only some 900 men have hitherto extended—it is no laughing matter—it will be seen how seriously this plan is affecting the Army.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Will the right hon. Gentleman say how long the system he is condemning has been in force.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The right hon. Gentleman knows as well as I do that the system has come into force within the last two and a half years. That is one of the things I have to remedy. I really do not want to be controversial. Some hon. Members desire to trip me up, but I will tell them that the system, which existed before it, had, for the purposes of the war in which we were engaged, absolutely broken down; and that consequently it was a necessary step at the time it was taken. But I want to dismiss these matters of controversy from my mind.

There is another very serious matter. Everybody knows that nothing is a greater bar to recruiting for the Army than the uncertainty of a man's obtaining employment in civil life after he has taken his discharge. That acts and reacts throughout the whole of the Army. Do not let it be supposed that the majority of the men do not get employment. They do. The majority get very good employment. But every one knows perfectly well the difference between the chance of charity and the certainty of employment is all the world to an Englishman. Until you make it, or come near making it, a practical certainty for every soldier to obtain employment, I do not think you can hope to attract the provident class to go into the Army or to send their sons into the Army. That is another of the problems which I desire to face.

Then I have also to face the problem of the linked battalions. The Committee of Defence, voicing, I believe, the universal opinion of all thinking men in this country, have come to the conclusion that the time has arrived when we must lay down as an axiom that the duty of the Army in this country is not primarily to stand with fixed bayonets around the coast, but to defend our possessions over sea. What we want is an Army which will hold India and our Colonies, which we can reinforce for war, and for which we must maintain the proper depots and institutions in this country. But the adoption of that view is incompatible with the existence of the linked battalion system. I do not deny that from the very beginning I have been a fierce opponent of that system. I said it would never work. that it never did work, and that it ought not to work. I have said that it was an impracticable, illogical, and an unsatisfactory system. But as long as the view was held that we had to retain a great Army in this country for the defence of this country, I can understand the view of those who held that the linked battalion was, in theory, a good system. But the maintenance of the linked battalions for the purposes of drafting is, in my opinion, the worst thing possible. It is an absolutely necessary *sequitur* to the adoption of the new policy —if we are to have our Army principally maintained for service over sea—that we cannot afford, in logic and reason, to keep the same number of battalions at home as we keep abroad.

Then I have a bone to pick with the regimental depots. The regimental depot is a little colony divorced from the battalion, in which from 40 to 200 men, under five or six officers, are congregated. Half or a third of the men are Militia recruits, upon whom the sergeant of the depot is exercising all his ingenuity to induce them to pass into the Line. These establishments lack every single element which ought to characterise a depot. We have however, depots which are splendid examples. We have the Royal Marine depot at Walmer, and another at Eastney; we have the Guards depot at Caterham; we have depots for stokers for the Navy at various great naval ports; and we have the depot for the Rifle Brigade and 60th Rifles at Winchester. All these depots, I say, are being admirably worked. But the existing regimental depots must go.

Then there is the question of the Guards. The Guards are, I will not say the best, but among the best, soldiers we have. I do not think any one, whatever view they may entertain, as to the desirability of maintaining a *corps d'elite*, will say that in peace and war the Guards have ever failed us. I had the great privilege of seeing the Guards Brigade enter Pretoria, and I can bear testimony to the fact that the officers and men had retained their military virtue, owing to their discipline and traditions, in a way which would set an example to the battalions of any other army in the world. But recruiting for the Guards is falling off very fast indeed. Why? Because for the first time we have put the Guards on precisely the same footing as the whole of the rest of the Line. They had the privilege—if you could call it a privilege —of recruiting for three years when the rest of the Army was compelled to recruit for seven years. Now that opportunity has been given to the whole of the Army and the result is—the duties of the Guards being very heavy—that recruiting for the Guards has fallen off.

Then we have another very serious difficulty to deal with. We have a scarcity of officers. If any Member of the Committee will ask any soldier, or consult any military work, or their own common sense, which is the best guide of all, they will find that the one thing the British Army lacks is an adequate supply of officers. We have a great Empire spread all over the world; we have 40,000,000 of people in this country; and hundreds of thousands who are ready to fighfor us in an emergency. But one thing we lack, and that is the driving force for these men. We want more trained officers, and when I speak of trained officers I mean officers who have gone through the mill and know what regimental life means.

Then we come to the great problem of the Auxiliary Forces, and first we come to the Militia. Here I speak fortified by authority much greater than my own, when I say that the condition of the

Militia is profoundly unsatisfactory. I have before me the Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, and what do I find? I find that the Militia force, which has been of such value to the country in the past, is 35,000 men below strength, that 27 per cent. of the whole force is under twenty years of age, that no less than 19,000 of the Militia pass annually through the Militia into the Line. I am informed that for every one of those 19,000 there are two men, or 38,000 men, who would pass through the Militia into the Line if they could come up to the slender requirements of physical development which are considered necessary to enable them so to pass. But that is not all. I have before me the fact that in fourteen garrison units alone 42 per cent. of the men on the establishment do not exist, that seventy companies of Militia Garrison Artillery are entirely supernumerary to any scheme of mobilisation which, in the most extended view of our military authorities, can be formed. They are absolutely redundant in our scheme of mobilisation. I find that there are no less than sixty-four battalions of the Militia which are under 600 men, that there are forty-five battalions under 500 men, twenty-eight under 400 men, and ten under 300 men. I find that fourteen battalions have only fifteen officers, fourteen have only fourteen, ten have only thirteen, seven have only twelve, six have only eleven, two have only ten, and one battalion has only eight officers.

What is the verdict on the condition of the Militia which is pronounced by a Commission largely composed of very distinguished Militiamen? Let me read it—

"There is a consensus of opinion both among Militia officers and those officers who have special opportunities for observation, that the average Militia battalion would not be fit to take the field except after several months continuous embodiment. The training of the Militia officer is inadequate to enable him to lead troops, and especially incompletely trained troops. The force is imperfectly equipped for war, and the Militia, in its existing condition, is unfit to take the field for the defence of the country."

That is a very serious state of things indeed; and when I say that we are spending £1,800,000 on the maintenance of a force which can be described in such terms, I think it will be clear to hon. and right hon. Gentlemen that the time has come when we should make some effort to mend a disastrous state of things,

I come now to the Volunteers. I believe the Volunteer Force contains the best material we have in the whole Army—I speak with some experience, for I have seen the army of every European country—and if we are wise we shall make the very best use we can of that material. Whether we are making the best use of it at the present moment is a thing about which I am not quite clear. I have before me again the Report of the same Commission on the Auxiliary Forces, and what do they say? They say—

"There is no divisional organisation, nor are any arrangements made for the command of staffs, or for the large mass of Volunteers told off for the defence of London. Units of Volunteers are of various establishments and strengths. Such differences rendered difficult proper grouping into the larger formations required for service in the field. The Volunteer artillery lacks the requisite training and mobility. Transport equipment and artillery material are far from satisfactory. Taking the force as a whole, neither the musketry nor the technical training of the rank and file will enable it to face, with any prospect of success, the troops of a Continental army."

If they are not to face the troops of a Continental army, what are they for?

"An appreciable number of volunteers classed as efficient are physically unfit for service in a mobile army. The inequality in the attainments of the officers prevents the Volunteer force from acquiring the training necessary for war. In view of the inequality in military attainments of the officers, the limited training of the men, and defects of equipment and organisation, the Volunteer force is not qualified to take the field against a Regular army."

That is the development of the statement I made, to the effect that we were not making the best use of our military material. I think I may claim to have established my case. If anyone agrees with me in that, they will go further and say it is my duty to remedy all and each of these evils if I can.

I have said nothing hitherto about a matter which interests the Committee very much, and which does not come under any of these heads—that is the question of the reduction of the enormous cost of keeping up our Army. Everyone knows that the Army Estimates of the present year have been £29,000,000 sterling; and hon. and right hon. Gentlemen know very well that those Estimates are in one sense illusory, because they omit items which must necessarily come in course of payment in future years. They do not take into consideration items for the manufacture of guns, the growth of the loan payments, or the replacement of stores. Am I misinterpreting the view of the Committee when I say it is the universal belief that not only should this increase be arrested, but that the total should be diminished? That is my own personal view. I have always felt that we are devoting a larger sum than we need to devote to the service of the Army. I have had that lesson enforced upon me from many quarters. But I would remind the Committee that if you are going to reduce expenditure you must reduce something that costs you money.

And now I come to the real *crux* and the real difficulty of my exposition. I speak as a Minister with many advisers —and I suppose there has seldom been a Minister who from divergent and contradictory points of view has received so much advice as to what he ought and ought not to do. There has been practically a universal consensus as to the duty of reducing expenditure, but there has been an absolutely universal condemnation of any proposal to do anything which involves the reduction of expenditure. That is the dilemma that I want the Committee to help me out of. I am going to lay down for their consideration a proposition which I ask them to accept. We are all agreed that it is desirable to retain with the colours and with the Reserve the men who are required for the defence of the Empire at home and abroad—and no more? That whatever is superfluous should be discarded? I wonder whether my major premiss is admitted? I pause for a reply. If it is, it will carry this Committee a very long way in the direction in which I wish to take them. I am quite certain that if I do not undertake this problem somebody else will have to. The thing has got to be done. I believe it can be done, and that it can be done in such a way that we can specifically remedy all those evils which I have wearied the House by dilating upon. We can make our remedy healing, and at the same time effect a saving of money.

I do not know whether the Committee realises what a great Army we are maintaining. We have in the British Army 213,000 men. We have in the Army in India 77,000 men. We have in the Indian native Army 156,000 men. We have in the various colonial contingents 18,000 men. We have in our Reserve list, which is rapidly increasing, 73,000 men. We have 240,000 Volunteers, and we have on actual strength, not on establishment, 91,000 Militia. We have 28,000 Yeomanry. We have 126,000 men on the active list of the Navy, and we have 46,000 on the Reserve list of the Navy. In other words, we are maintaining now in peace time 1,070,000 men for the defence of the Empire. That is exclusive of troops maintained by the Colonies and the Indian feudatory forces. Does the Committee seriously think that for an island Power like ours this gigantic total is necessary? Frankly I do not think so.

I have had a great deal of advice tendered to me, and many suggestions have been made. One remedy has been suggested to me by many influential and important persons, and I heard it discussed at great length in another place. I mention it not because I recommend it to the Committee, but because it is suggested that as an avenue to a great saving we should adopt conscription. It did strike me as rather odd in the debate in another place the other day that no one of the noble Lords who took part in the debate had, among their other avocations, formed time to inquire into the finance of the system. But after the debate I went home and did inquire into the finance of the system. I took the terms laid down by the Royal Commission—abolish the Militia and the Volunteers, take 30,000 men from the Line, take your annual contingent as being 400,000 men. As a matter of fact I only took 380,000 men. The lowest rate ever paid to a soldier is 1s. a day. I assumed that rate, and the adoption of this simple expedient, omitting the charges for horses and some other things, would mean a net annual addition to the Army Estimates of £25,900,000. I am afraid that those who advocate this economical remedy do not realise that in every other country a conscript army is the army. In France

Mr. Arnold-Forster.

and Germany the army is a conscript army. But according to this proposal the whole British Army, *minus* 30,000 men, is to go on its majestic way undisturbed; and in addition there is the proposal that 400,000 men should be fed, clothed, and paid, that you must find ranges for them and barracks for them; and the net result is that you will get within 20,000 men of the number you have now in the Militia and Volunteers and pay £25,900,000 for the pleasure of your whistle. I have discarded this particular remedy. I have other remedies and these I wish to expound.

I have stated that we want to find out what the Army has to do and how much Army we want to do it. There is the Committee of Defence. No one is more anxious than I am to see its work carried forward. Its work, far from being ended, is barely begun; and my firm hope is that our successors in office may realise as clearly as I do that there is no greater economy, no greater service rendered to the country, than to maintain this Committee, if possible, to increase its efficacy and the value of its work.

We are reorganising the War Office. That, I think, is beginning at the right end, for the improvement in our machinery is the first necessary condition of effective work. We have come to the conclusion that we do not require a large Army at home in time of peace like that hitherto maintained. That being so, I look to the number of troops we must of necessity maintain abroad; and there I think the rule is laid down clearly. We must maintain the garrison of India. At present the infantry garrison of India is fifty-two battalions, and we have in the Colonies thirty-seven battalions. My own belief is that the time will come, and ought to come, when for a variety of reasons we shall withdraw a portion of those battalions. I must point out, however, that what is costing us money is the upkeep and maintenance of those oversea battalions; and as long as we have to maintain them we must pay for them as well as for a certain number of battalions at home, on the same basis, which will furnish a circulation and prevent the soldier doing what they all dislike—namely, spending the whole of his time on foreign service.

Let us assume that these battalions amount to 100 more or less. We have then remaining a certain number of Line battalions which are superfluous. What are we to do with them? I do not suppose that even the most iconoclastic Member of the House would desire that we should destroy them. I do not suppose that any one would wish to destroy a great regiment like the 93rd Highlanders or the 100th Royal Canadian Regiment. But we are looking for a reduction, and in my opinion the Regular Army, as well as every other branch of it, must be called upon to make some contribution to the reduction. I propose, therefore, that we should reduce gradually by absorbing fourteen Line battalions. Those are the third and fourth battalions of seven Line regiments raised within the last three or four years. They have earned during their existence an honourable position but their position is not to be compared with the famous battalions of which I have spoken. We shall absorb them gradually into the battalions from which they sprang, or into other parts of the Army. We shall also, as time allows, absorb the five garrison battalions created for the war. They have done good service, but they are redundant in our establishments and exceedingly costly, not the less so because, to put it mildly, they are not celibate. There are between forty and fifty battalions remaining over. What are we to do with them? The number will depend on the number we are able to withdraw from colonial services.

But we propose to recognise the facts. At present every battalion is divided into two unequal parts, one part which goes abroad and a part which is not allowed to go abroad. We divide the Army into two parts. We propose to keep a certain number of battalions at home on the home establishment. We also propose to reduce these battalions to 500 men, and out of these 500 men 100 will be general service soldiers and the remainder short service soldiers enlisted for two years. The result is that every year there will be a large turnover of men for the Reserve. They will enter the Reserve for six years, and every third year they should come out for training. We propose that the battalion shall have twenty officers, but that there shall be attached to it ten officers who are of the same type of officers as those now joining the Militia, and after an adequate period of training, say a year, will pass into the Reserve and come back at each period of training to train with the battalion. We also propose that, as far as possible, these battalions should be made really territorial battalions. The territorial scheme has never had any real meaning in this country. At Liverpool the other day it was remarked to me that the King's Liverpool Regiment had never been seen in the city of Liverpool. How can you expect any locality to take an interest in a regiment which it never sees? We propose that as far as we can we will quarter the territorial battalions in their own territory. What will be the result? Nothing is more detrimental to the Army than the badness of the barracks. The barracks are so bad, because every battalion goes out of them, knowing that it will never go into them again. The Royal Marine barracks get better year by year, because they are tenanted and maintained by the same force. I look forward to a time when each territorial regiment will be quartered in its own barracks in its own town, and when everything that is done for the soldiers by the benevolence and good will of the county to which the regiments belong will endure for the benefit of that county regiment.

What will be the position of the officers who now go into the Militia, but who will attach themselves to the Home battalions? They will then pass a year with their own Line battalions, and at the end of the year they will pass back into private life and come up for their training. And they will come up for their training with a full battalion of 1,000 men. It may be said, "These officers cannot rise to the full position of colonels-commandant of their regiments." That is true. They cannot, because it is obvious an officer who only engages himself for a month in each year cannot become a permanent member of the regiment; but we believe that we can find an issue from this otherwise difficult situation. We believe, if we allow these officers to retire after a full period of service with an honorary step in rank and a retaining fee, that they will come on to the reserve of officers. We are very sanguine that we can follow the recommendations of the Royal Commission, and that we can reserve to them and other deserving officers the dignity of deputy-lieutenant. They will remain as the officers on the reserve for the mobilisation of this battalion. You will have a battalion at Gloucester, say, of 500 men and twenty officers in time of peace. In war it will mobilise and have 1,000 men and thirty officers. There will be some 600 or 700 men over, for whom at the present time absolutely no organisation and officers have been found. We hope that these retired officers who have taken their retaining fee and who know the battalion, the men and officers, will come forward at once and take command of that additional battalion, and we shall at one step have got that for which all military men have longed—something analogous to the German Landwehr—proper organisation for our surplus regiments.

I attach great importance to the question of barracks. Nothing more affects the recruiting than the way you treat the soldier. I know our barracks intimately, and I say they are not a credit to this country, and I have taken a step which I believe will commend itself to the Committee. We have put a stop to the system of having standard plans of barracks which has led to the stereotyping of barracks. I am entrusting the work of our barrack-building and repair to a gentleman who, if any man is capable, ought to be capable. He is the gentleman who has built the great artisans' dwellings and Rowton Houses both in London and Birmingham, and ought to be able to utilise his experience for housing our soldiers as I desire they should be housed.

Now I come to the Royal Artillery. I do not want to touch a battery of the Royal Artillery. They are our best force. They are unrivalled in the world. I want 100 batteries to remain as they are; but I want to take the remainder and put them on the same short service basis in order to enable us rapidly to create a reserve. I want to take some sixty or seventy batteries of the Royal Artillery,

Mr. Arnold-Forster.

to put them on a four-gun establishment, to enlist a portion of the men for general service, and the remainder for short service, to keep them at home in time of peace, and to be able to create what we greatly desire—a reserve for the Royal Artillery.

I said I wanted to do away with the linked battalion system. We propose to do away with it by establishing large depots throughout the country—depots analogous to the Royal Marine depot, the Guards depot, and the Rifle Brigade depot. We believe, if we do that, we shall be able to select the best officers and non-commissioned officers, to keep the men there for three or six months, and turn them out as trained soldiers.

I spoke of one of our difficulties being the absence of a striking force. We propose to establish a striking force. We propose to keep at Aldershot a force of practically 15,000 or 16,000 men, equal to a division and a brigade of infantry, with troops of other arms, which will be always ready to take the field. That is one of the most important changes from the Army point of view that we contemplate. I believe if we do that we shall have done a great deal to strengthen our military work.

With regard to the cavalry, I propose some slight alterations, with which I need not trouble the Committee now. I do not propose to alter the number of cavalry regiments in any way; but my military advisers are quite clear that there are some steps which may be taken with regard to the enlistment and disposition of the cavalry which will be to their advantage, and which will relieve us from the situation in which we are now, and under which we have to keep one cavalry regiment at home as a link for a cavalry regiment abroad. I need not enlarge upon that. It is so obvious a mistake. We believe we can alter that system greatly to the advantage of the cavalry.

Hon. Members have frequently, and I think with perhaps more zeal than discretion, attacked the Army Corps system of my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for India. It is really extraordinary how much zeal and energy they have displayed in attacking a matter which really had very slight importance indeed. It is perfectly true, though some hon. Members do not appear to think so. Hon. Gentlemen have been attacking this system as if it was a matter of substance and essence. My right hon. friend has divided the United Kingdom into a certain number of divisions, and he called these divisions "Army Corps" divisions It does not matter two straws what the divisions are called—whether they are called Sunday school districts or Army Corps districts, and so far as I can make out, the whole fury and zeal of hon. Members opposite has been directed purely against that name. I should have had a great deal more respect for their attacks, if they had directed them to what I believe to be the underlying matter of essence, because there is a matter of essence, which I have never heard mentioned by one single Member. An Army Corps is an accepted expression which connotes in ordinary parlance a certain proportion of troops of the various arms. My right hon. friend hoped that that proportion might be attributed to each of these divisions. Up to the present time it has not been attributed to all of them. Hon. Members laugh, but I have never heard that point of view raised before. I have heard many attacks on the name. But we propose now to follow the recommendations of the Esher Commission, and divide the country into commands, which although they correspond almost exactly with the territorial extension recommended by my right hon. friend, will not be subject to the anathemas of hon. Gentlemen opposite, because they will be described by another name. I think if they can draw any consolation from that fact they are fully entitled to do so. I am in favour of the change, because I think it is desirable to harmonise the name with its customary signification.

Now I come to the question of the Militia. I have already described to the Committee what the position of the Militia is. It is very grave indeed. Nineteen thousand men a year out of the Militia are passing through to the Line. If they were physically fit I think twice that number would pass through. In some battalions as many as seven out of eight of the subaltern officers are in the Militia, in order that they may go into the Line. I was visiting a Militia battalion a few days ago, in which all the officers at the depot mess were officers who had passed through or were trying to pass through to the Line. The two majors were Linesmen and the sergeant-major was a Linesman. Therefore you will understand that at present the Line is living on the Militia. There are many hon. friends of mine in this House who have belonged to the Militia who have done splendid work, and I am the last to deny that to a great extent the Militia difficulties have arisen from the unwise treatment they have received in the past. But the difficulties of the Militia are greater than that; they are inherent to the situation. So long as the Line depends upon the Militia, so long as the country districts are depleted as they are now depleted, the Militia difficulty will remain.

I must tell the Committee what my own view would be with regard to the best treatment of the Militia, both in the interests of the Militia and of the Army as a fighting machine. My belief is that the proper course to take would be to give the Minister of War *carte blanche* to take some seventy battalions of the best Militia, to unite each two battalions together, and to turn them into territorial battalions; to make them shake hands with the Line; to put them into the great centres of population; to make them the Herefords and the Bedfords, with their colours and their drums and traditions.—[OPPOSITION Laughter]—These things are very precious to the soldier—[MINISTERIAL Cheers]—and make them the territorial battalions of this country. We should then be able to give 800 Militia officers precisely the same opportunity that they now have—that is, of coming into the trainings and going out after the trainings, being associated with their own country battalion in peace and fighting with it in time of war—and we should be able to give to 1,600 other officers the chance which most Militia officers now are seeking of passing direct into a Line battalion, of serving at home in their own counties, and in their own county towns, and with their own comrades. I believe nothing would be more popular in this country than if I were allowed to put down in each of our county towns one of these territorial battalions, which would use up the whole of the material worth anything of the officers and men in the Militia at the present time. That is what I believe is the correct solution of this Militia problem. I believe that is the real way out.

But I have not been so many years as I have in this House without knowing that with a great national force of that kind no Minister—not even a powerful Minister, let alone a tyro like myself—can effect a change like this, unless he has with him the good will and conviction of Parliament and of the nation. I commend that statement to hon. Members and to the country. I do not propose to ask the House now to give any opinion. On the contrary, I propose to occupy the coming autumn in consultation with the Militia officers, and with those who are best qualified to voice public opinion, and in ascertaining if they desire to fall in with this proposal, which, I believe, will be both popular and valuable. But perhaps no case that I can make out now will prevail to change the customs and traditions of a force to which we owe so much as we do to the Militia; and therefore I am prepared to leave that matter in abeyance. But let the Committee remember this. They have asked me to economise. If they desire to keep up the whole of the Militia on the basis on which it now exists, they will have to pay for it. That is the plain black and white of it. If they desire to keep up the whole of the 124 battalions of Militia, with their artillery and engineers, on their present basis, they will have to pay for it. And do not let it be believed that we can raise the pay of the Militia, and for this reason—the moment you raise the pay of the Militia you raise the pay of the home service Line battalions; and the moment you do that you raise the pay of the general service battalions; and the moment you do that you will raise the pay of the Navy, and some £15,000,000 will be paid by the time you have done. We will do our best, if it is the wish of the House and of the country, to maintain all the Militia that are capable of being maintained; but we ask leave at the same time, as those responsible for making a fighting force for this country, to raise the standard of the Militia. It is absolutely no use to go on recruiting boys who can be described, and are described, in the terms of the Commission's

Report. And I go further. We must be given permission to cut off from the Militia those units of it which are plainly redundant to our requirements, and show that they are not capable of recovering the ground which they have so unfortunately lost.

Now, Sir, I come lastly to the question of the Volunteers. I said before, and I repeat, that I believe the Volunteer force contains the best material we have in the Army. I say that with some knowledge. I know the Army pretty well; I know the Volunteers pretty well; and I say that within the Volunteers we have the most magnificent material that this country can furnish, and I want to utilise it for the defence of the country. I am going to ask the Volunteers to submit to the same sacrifice as I ask the Line to submit to, and ask the Militia to submit to—that is, a sacrifice in numbers. I ask leave to reduce the establishment of the Volunteers to 200,000 men. I have just read to the Committee the Report of the Commission, which states that large numbers of the Volunteers are inefficient, and are practically not available as soldiers. We ought not to have these men in the Volunteer force at all. I speak not without some knowledge. The other day I was blamed for fixing the establishment of the Yeomanry at a figure which involved a diminution of some of the regiments. What has happened? These regiments now thank me for having done it. They say they have the call of the market, they can get the best men that come up to their standard. I propose, therefore, to fix the establishment of the Volunteers at 200,000 men, and to reduce the strength by absorption, in the first instance to 180,000 men. In every Volunteer corps there are two forces pulling different ways. There are men who want to give more time and are able to give more time, either because they are not fully occupied or because they are young; and there are those who are willing, and capable soldiers, but whose avocations will not permit them to give so much time. The result is constant complaint against the "screwing-up," as it is called, of the War Office regulations. We desire to recognise that state of things, and what we desire to do is this. We desire to give a much larger grant to the Volunteers. We desire, with the assistance and counsel of Volunteer officers, whom we are most anxious to consult in this matter, to give effect to that separation which we know exists. Personally I should like to take 60,000 Volunteers and make them into a field army, require of them all that we think they can give, put a large grant at their disposal, and make them keep up their full complement of properly-trained officers and their full complement of non-commissioned officers. I should like to put the other 120,000 upon an easier basis of requirement, retaining their connection with the force, sharing all its social opportunities, proud of their position, and ready, I am perfectly certain, in time of war to take their place in the force, with the experience and knowledge which they have acquired. That I believe to be the right and true solution of this Volunteer problem. Let me take an example. I know many battalions of 900 men. I should like to take 300 of these men—I take 300 as the figure for the sake of example—and say, "We will give you a much larger grant, but you must do certain training, you must show certain proficiency in musketry, and attend for a certain length of time in camp, and, above all, you must have a full complement of trained officers." And I would say to the remaining 600:—"You have done your hard work, and we wish you to remain in the second battalion of this regiment. You may be quite as good"—I know some cases in which they would be quite as good as the first battalion—"and in war time we will rely upon you to come and fill up these companies and make the thirty files sixty files." Then you would have what happens in every foreign army. You would gain strength by obtaining a willing reserve, falling into its place with its officers and non-commissioned officers.

But I do not want to dogmatise on the particular application of my doctrine. On the doctrine itself I am quite clear that we are right. The doctrine itself is this—that we must reduce the number and we must increase the quality of the Volunteers; and in order to be able to increase their quality, we must add to the fund that is at the disposal of those from whom we require extra work. There will be a certain number of men who have not the time or inclination to enter the Volunteer force. For them also we desire to provide. There are many Members of this House who command a large amount of support in the country who believe that the country derives great support from the existence of rifle clubs, and undoubtedly the existence of rifle clubs, under proper management and direction, does familiarise men with the use of fire-arms. We propose to put an annual sum at the disposal of these rifle clubs, provided they come under our regulations in such a way as to make them, at any rate, a reasonably effective contribution to the Army in time of war. I further propose to do a thing which, I think, every one will agree with. We propose to set aside a sum that will enable the Volunteers to provide themselves with transport. Everybody well knows that at the time of the war we found ourselves with 250,000 Volunteers in the country, who were practically not available for warlike operations, because they had neither organisation, nor transport; and we believe that if we make this attempt to improve the system of Volunteers, we ought not to overlook this important question of transport. That is a rough outline of the proposals I wish to submit to the House with regard to the Volunteers.

But every one will say I have left out one very important element, and I have. I am not going to leave it out altogether. I shall be asked—What about economy? I am not going to pledge myself to positive figures, and I will say that next year the economy will be very little indeed. You cannot deal with a great Army in which every man is serving on an engagement, as if it was composed of people taken on by the day. You will have to meet your engagements. Practically the only way of economising to a large extent next year would be by stopping the manufacture of the new gun or by stopping recruiting. Those are not expedients to which I think any one desires us to resort. But I do think that we ought to aim at reducing the expenditure next year, so as not to have any serious excess upon the Estimates of this year. But it is my ambition to lay the foundation for a scheme which will enable my successors to effect progressive economies in the Army expenditure; and that, I believe, I can do. If you strike fourteen battalions off the Line it will be a very large economy; if you strike five battalions off the garrison regiments, that is a clear reduction of £500,000 off the Army Estimates. If you take forty or fifty battalions of the Line and reduce them to 500 men each and put them, not on a basis of full service pay, but on a lower basis of pay, that again is a reduction amounting to hundreds of thousands of pounds. I think there are many reductions which I will speak about later, if necessary, which might be made and ought to be made. I hope to see a reduction made in what is to me the incomprehensible expenditure on what we call "aquatics." The Admiralty has always told us that as the submarine is perfected the need for "aquatics" will diminish. I propose to take advantage of that declaration and to diminish the expenditure upon "aquatics." Perhaps I ought to explain. Aquatics are submarine mining apparatus which at present, by a rather strange arrangement, as I think, are in the hands of the Royal Engineers. They are put into the middle of the naval ports, and I am afraid we sometimes get rather scant thanks from our friends at the Admiralty for putting these obstacles in their waters. It is perfectly obvious that this is one of the matters that can only proceed *pari passu* with the changes made at the Admiralty; but I am so sanguine with regard to the progress that is being made with submarine building that I believe we shall be able at once to commence reducing the expenditure on "aquatics." If any hon. Member cares to add up these figures he will find they amount to a very large reduction. And as we reduce the battalions, and bring battalions back from abroad, this reduction will increase. I cannot stand at the Table of this House now and say I am going to reduce this battalion or that battalion. I have gone into the matter with immense care, and I know what battalions I should desire to reduce. Perhaps it may be possible to reduce other battalions. If I am allowed to carry out these proposals, there will be a reduction of other battalions that will be brought back.

With regard to the Militia, I am in the hands of the House and of the public. If the Committee insist and the country insist upon the retention of the Militia as it at present exists, they will pay £1,800,000 for the privilege. If they allow me to do what I believe to be the best thing for the efficiency of the Army, they will very largely reduce that expenditure. But, be that as it may, apart from the Militia question, I believe I have done something to carry out the promise I made to the House to suggest specific remedies for a specific evil. I have suggested means by which we may cure the want of organisation in the head direction of the Army. I have already given an indication that we are taking steps to reorganise the War Office. I have told the Committee that we have already reorganised the Intelligence branch and the Staff branch of the Army. I have proposed to abolish the three years service, the evils of which, I think, I have made clear to the Committee.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): What are the terms of service?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I do not quarrel with my hon. friend for asking these Questions, because he is merely calling attention to some of the many omissions there must be in a long speech. I did give the terms of service for the home battalions — two years. I propose that the terms of service for the General service soldier shall be six months in the depot and eight years and six months with the colours. I would point out that that is practically the term of service served by a very large number of soldiers at the present moment. I have suggested a remedy for the great evil of calling out the Reserves on all occasions, for all wars. I have promised to institute, if I am allowed, a striking force. I have indicated a method by which soldiers may be employed after discharge in employment congenial to them and to which they are accustomed. I have pointed out that there will be some forty or fifty, and, as I hope, some eighty Home - service battalions at home, none of which will be supplied with non-commissioned officers. The whole of the non-commissioned officers for this force and for the whole of the depots and Reserves will have to come from the soldiers of the General service battalions at the expiration of their service. In that way we shall have some 5,000 or 6,000 posts available for soldiers in precisely the career for which they are fitted and which they have learned to exercise. The Reserve will no longer be a substitute for men serving. It will become a supplement to the Army, and there will be an organisation for soldiers in the Reserves on mobilisation beyond those who are immediately called to the colours. The linked battalions will exist for the purpose of exchange, and will exist no longer for the purpose of drafting. Recruiting for the Guards will, I hope, be put on a more stable and satisfactory basis. The attractions of pay will, I believe, be greater than they have ever been, because no longer will the soldier of nineteen years of age be compelled to wait two years before he gets his full service pay. He will be able directly he has passed from the depot to get the full service pay, which, as hon. Members will remember, is 50 per cent. higher than the ordinary pay. The Militia I will not say more about. I have not yet the permission I desire to deal with that question. The Volunteers, I hope and believe, will be enormously improved, and an opportunity will be given to every good man and every good officer now serving in the Volunteers to continue his service and to continue it under conditions, I believe, more palatable and acceptable to him than at the present time.

These are my propositions, which I hope I shall be able to elucidate and elaborate on another occasion. I am putting these proposals forward as the proposals of the Government. I do not want it to be supposed that any reduction is palatable to the Army. Although I speak on behalf of the most loyal colleagues a man could possibly desire, I must not have it supposed that any soldier desires that there should be a reduction of any Line battalion, or that there should be any alteration of the conditions of service of any battalion with which he has ever been associated. I think it would be unfair to my colleagues and those with whom I work if I were to let it be supposed that they desire these changes should be made. They do not; but they do give me their loyal and perfect co-operation. It is a matter of policy. It is a matter of policy for the House of Commons, and if the House of Commons desires the end, I do beg that they will give me the means.

I would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition whether he does not recognise as certainly as I do that this problem is one that has got to be faced, and to be faced immediately. I ask him, if he can find in the propositions I have made something that will make our joint work easier, to give me his support. I know I shall have his criticism, and I shall welcome his advice. I am quite confident that, if I could get the House of Commons to look at this thing as I have tried to look at it, they would very largely agree with me. I have been trying to look at this problem from the beginning with one prospect before me, and that is the prospect of war. If I were to say that 99 per cent. of the recommendations and suggestions that have been made to me in the course of the inquiries I have been making have been based on some other consideration, I should not be going far wrong. There are, and there must be, personal views, individual views, views connected with association and with sentiment, all of which I understand, all of which I appreciate. But with the lessons which we have before us to-day, the lessons taught us of what military virtue means—I mean military virtue in the Roman sense of the word—of what are the qualities which you must have in a soldier in order that in the day of battle he may win; when I think of these things then I try to set aside from my mind any consideration which is not guided by, and does not lead to, that final end. I make this appeal to hon. Members on both sides of the House. I ask them, when they criticise me, as they will and as they are entitled to, on this particular or on that particular, whether what they are saying is really and truly in the interests of the fighting forces of this country, or whether it is not a little tinged by something they are thinking of in their own home, in their own county, in their own work—all admirable motives, but not the motives which are entitled to predominate in a case where the fortunes and the fate of this country are really concerned.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The right hon. Gentleman has appealed, and will not appeal in vain, to the House to consider this matter with the seriousness it deserves, and to endeavour to put away subordinate considerations and prejudices and Party feelings in order to judge fairly of the scheme he has unfolded to the House. But the right hon. Gentleman must not carry too far that part of the exhortation which he addressed to us towards the end of his speech. I will only say on that that it is impossible for us to ignore a great many considerations which are of a minor character altogether, but yet do, with a voluntary Army as we have it, immensely influence the efficiency of its organisation, and therefore cannot be disregarded. There were two striking things in the right hon. Gentleman's statement. One was the gallant and complete way in which he exploded the doctrine of conscription, which has been dangled before the eyes of the country for some time; and I cannot mention that without expressing not only regret, but a certain degree of rebuke, that an old friend of mine, the chief military adviser of the right hon. Gentleman, should have made such an indiscreet speech the other day which led to the belief that whatever the Government might say or whatever the right hon. Gentleman might say, there was behind them a lurking desire for conscription in this country. The right hon. Gentleman has done good service in pointing out the enormous cost of any such system and the deduction—intellectual and industrial—from the resources of the country which can hardly be essayed in figures but which is really one of the heaviest burdens that some of our neighbours across the Channel have to bear. The right hon. Gentleman also caused a thrill of relief to many Members of the House when he showed that certain intentions attribute to him, I do not know with what authority, in regard to the Militia were not to be carried out. One cause of the weakness of the Militia is the question of officers, but I think a good deal could be done to remedy that weakness without materially transforming the force. The right hon. Gentleman, as I expected, threw over what he persisted in calling the linked-battalion system, though it had ceased to be a linked-battalion system. I would prefer to call it the double-battalion system, by which a battalion abroad leant upon a battalion at home. I am completely unconvinced by anything the right hon. Gentleman has said, that it is a wise thing to overset that system. I am quite aware that in this I am going against the great majority, I suppose, of those who count themselves the Army reformers of this House. The system was introduced at a time when our troops were brought home from the Colonies, and when it appeared to those who elaborated the system that the best thing we could do would be to use a battalion at home for a double purpose, not only to employ them in peace time, but also so to maintain them that, with the help of the Reserve, they might be turned into efficient fighting units for defence of this country or any other purpose. The right hon. Gentleman, it seems, is creating a number of depots in addition to the battalions of the Line which will be maintained. These depots will be a costly institution, and, whatever their excellence may be, they will be of no use for the defence of the country, and will not be the same thing for military purposes at home as one, two, or three battalions, however attenuated.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The cost will be less than at present.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: They will not cost less than the present battalions.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: There are sixty-nine regimental depots.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That is another thing altogether. That is an organisation which was instituted for the initial training of the troops. I quite agree with the right hon. Gentleman that the depots are too small, and that there are too many of them. When that system was instituted it was found that no county would allow itself to be left out of the arrangement. Such are the jealousies between localities, the traditions and associations attaching to individual regiments, and the powerful influence brought to bear in this House, in society, and in the Press, that the Government are forced to multiply those depots in order to meet the strong feeling that exists. That is a misfortune; but I am afraid that in this country, where, with a voluntary service, we have to depend on the good will of local people and the influence they can bring to bear, it is necessary to keep on good terms with them. If we had a *tabula rasa* matters might be arranged in another way; but we must recognise the circumstances in which we have to work. It was only at the end of his speech that the right hon. Gentleman told us what the terms of service will be of the men in the Line battalions, and of the increase proposed. The right hon. Gentleman knows as well as any one that it has been laid down after an immense amount of careful inquiry, on sanitary grounds, and after most elaborate actuarial calculations, that in adjusting the service of a man we come to a time when it is impossible to turn him adrift without providing for him in the future. If we take nine or ten years out of the best part of a man's life we arrive at the pension zone, and it would be cruel and inhuman not to provide for him in some way. The claim may be resisted at first, but it will gradually grow in strength; and therefore in calculating the expense of any system of this sort the right hon. Gentleman must always remember that there is that spectre of a non-effective Vote in the background. If the right hon. Gentleman keeps men too long with the colours, as sure as fate he will land himself in a heavy pension charge; and that is a danger which ought always to be borne in mind.

I do not quite understand how the regiments are to be relieved. I am not at all surprised to hear that the right hon. Gentleman is going to abandon the three years enlistment, and meet in some other way the almost critical difficulties which it has placed us in. But what about the reliefs of the battalions, if the proportions are altered? We shall have a certain number of long-service battalions, some belonging to the expeditionary force, and others garrisoning different parts of the world, and the rest of the Army wi'l be on a two-years service footing, and employed for another purpose altogether. I presume that a greater amount of foreign service will be necessary in the case of the long-service battalions. The right hon. Gentleman has very adroitly managed to fasten upon the name of the Army Corps system, and implies that that is the principal thing to which we have objected; but what we object to is the idea of maintaining in this country a number of Army Corps with a view to an Army Corps as an Army Corps being sent abroad to any part of the world. That is an idea unsuited to our wants and requirements. However, that is a thing of the past, and we need not revive ancient controversies. In regard to the Volunteers, I have a good deal of sympathy with what the right hon. Gentleman proposes to do—namely, somewhat to reduce their number and to pile the money, so to speak, on those that remain, and even to add to the grants. I think that in that matter the right hon. Gentleman is going in the right direction. As to the question of the battalions of the Line, the right hon. Gentleman will find that strong local feeling will be aroused if a battalion of distinction is converted into a mere training depot, which is never to go abroad and is never to have a chance of distinguishing itself again.

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I wish to point out that all these battalions would go abroad in time of war.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The battalions to which the men are engaged for two years? [Mr. Arnold-Forster assented.] They will be filled up from the Reserves? I think that is a use of the Reserves which the right hon. Gentleman does not like.

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The right hon. Gentleman must not misunderstand me. I have always thought and said that the Reserves ought to be supplementary to the Army, and not a substitute for it. Of course, a service battalion must be filled up with Reservists, as it is in every country.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I think that in this case the Reservists will be a substitute for men in the training battalions. The whole question, however, will stand over for further consideration. For my own part, my principal commentary on the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman, the greater part of which contains nothing very novel or startling, is that if the right hon. Gentleman had been contented to leave in existence the economical and efficient system of double battalions, he would still have been able to save a large amount of money, and probably considerably to reduce the number of men. After all, what has happened? During the last few years 50,000 men have been added to the Army, and the expenditure has been doubled, and the right hon. Gentleman is now trying to go back to the position in which he and his friends found the Army a few years ago.

Mr. GRIFFITH BOSCAWEN (Kent, Tunbridge) said it was impossible to discuss this matter in any full sense on the present occasion. He wished, however, to enter a caveat on a subject on which his hon. friend particularly invited discussion. He did not think his right hon. friend had treated the Militia altogether fairly. He had proposed two alternatives, one of which meant the entire abolition of the Militia, and the other that we were to remain in our present unsatisfactory state at a cost to the country of £2,000,000 a year. There was, however, another alternative, which was to cut down the expenditure of the Militia and get rid of what was useless. A great mistake, in his opinion, would be made if the Militia was done away with. It was admitted that a great number of the Militia found their way into the Line, and he believed it would be found the great bulk of those would never have got into the Line but for the fact that they had gone into the Militia first. The Militia was the feeding-bottle of the Line, and as such was extremely useful. During the late war the Militia did not get much credit for the work it did, but had it not been for the fact that we had 100 battalions of Militia able to garrison both this country and our Mediterranean possessions we should never have been able to release the large body of Regulars required by Lord Roberts to finish the war in South Africa. What were we to do on a future occasion when we had sent abroad every available regiment strengthened by Reserves, and had depleted our garrisons in the Mediterranean, if we had not the Militia to fall back upon to perform this work so successfully performed by them hitherto? So far as he understood his right hon. friend's proposal it was that the Militia, as at present constituted, should go and that it should become a portion of the territorial Army. That proposition he ventured to say was an impossible one. It must be remembered that besides the young men who went through the Militia as a matter of course, there were a certain number of country gentlemen who went into the county Militia because their families had always been in it, and it appealed to their sense of patriotism that they could serve their country in that way. What his right hon. friend desired to do was to turn the Militia into an inferior branch of the Line. We had in this country a voluntary system, and what should be done, both as regards the Militia and the Volunteers, was to make the system more elastic so as to attract men in every possible way; to present the term of service in as varied a manner as possible. If the Militia was abolished or so altered that it did not hold the place in the eye of the people that it did now, the result would inevitably be that we should lose and not be able to avail ourselves of a great amount of material which at present existed and which only wanted to be encouraged to be made efficient. It was not possible to enter into any detailed criticism at present because it was not possible, but he thought that any attempt to abolish the Militia would be very badly received by the country, and he appealed to his right hon. friend not to take any such step as suggested without the fullest inquiry. He asked him as an alternative whether he could not improve the Militia as it stood and make it more efficient.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) expressed the opinion that the hon. Gentleman would have appealed to the House with greater force if he had replied to the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman. We spent in this country enormous sums for troops tied by the leg and which could not be moved. To-day the House had heard that we were getting rid of the garrison battalions, which were always objected to in that House on the ground that they were costly forces which could not be moved. The question was, were the Militia willing to take upon themselves the burden they had sometimes taken in time of war, to go abroad in war. If that was so, the Militia would not be the force that now existed. The Statement of the Secretary of State for War, though somewhat lengthy and very interesting, did not make things clear to those who had worked with him in the past and who shared his views, nor had he made it clear how his plan would work. The right hon. Gentleman had based his speech to-day on the Report of the Defence Committee. In introducing his Estimates this year, the right hon. Gentleman said—

"I hope this Report will not be debated on the Army Estimates but will be dealt with by itself."

As regarded the constitution of the War Office, he understood that, although no statement had been made in regard to it in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, a statement had been made in another place to the effect that a Bill was to be brought in in the course of the present session dealing with the powers of the Secretary for War. If that were so some of the subjects which otherwise would be properly discussed now would be postponed for discussion upon that Bill. He was of course assuming that that Bill would be introduced in the course of the present session. He also understood that there would be a further day for the discussion of this Vote itself. There were, however, one or two preliminary questions which he desired to ask. He might be somewhat stupid but he was unable to follow in the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the general principles—with every word of which he agreed and which were so admirably laid down in the first part of his speech—to their logical conclusion in the actual scheme which had been laid before the Committee. He congratulated the Government upon their secret having been admirably kept in regard to the scheme. Many rumours had been rife, and they had turned out to be so different from the actual scheme that none of those opportunities of discussing the matter in advance, which frequently happened in regard to statements of this kind, had occurred. The main point which had been established was the success of those principles which the Secretary for War and many other hon. Members had fought for in the past in regard to the establishment of a completely separate system of enlistment for India and the peace foreign Army from that for the home Army. He had never asked—and he did not think any hon. Members in the House who held those views had ever asked—that what might be called the principle of service with the Indian Army should be applied to any part of the Army at home. Many of them had discussed this matter and had written about it, and they had always assumed that eight or nine years was the proper Indian system, and they had always understood that that system of enlistment would be applied to the Indian Army or the foreign peace service Army, but they had never asked for it to be applied to the Army at home except so far as the Secretary for War himself and other writers had recommended that a comparatively small force should be kept ready as a striking force. As he understood the right hon. Gentleman's statement he went far beyond that in the direction of long service. This was a point upon which they ought to be most distinct and clear. Was the long service system of nine years to be applied only to the peace foreign service Army and the striking force at Aldershot?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: We propose that of these battalions the greater part should be at Aldershot. The entire service of the General-service soldier will not be in the foreign service.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said that was a most important point which ought to be worked out, and placed before the House in detail. There was another reason for this, and it was the effect the nine years and the two years enlistment respectively would have upon the Reserve. It was impossible that the Committee should either accept or refuse this scheme until hon. Members were satisfied upon these two points. It was most important to know what the effect of this scheme would be upon the eventual number of Reservists. The right hon. Gentleman had not placed that information before the House, and therefore he asked him in his reply to give some calculation as to the number expected from the two years enlistment and the effect produced by it on the Reserve; and in the other direction he wished to know the effect anticipated by the extension of the service from eight years to nine years. Those were points of extreme importance upon which he thought they ought to have some statement from the right hon. Gentleman.

In the whole of the first part of his speech the Secretary for War carried the entire Committee with him in the exposition he gave of the enormous number of troops maintained and the very small number of actual efficients produced by that large number. One important question which underlay a great deal of the right hon. Gentleman's statement was the large proportion of our troops who were tied by the leg for home service only, and who could not be sent abroad in time of war, except by volunteering as individuals. He understood that the tendency of the right hon. Gentleman's speech was against spending large sums of money upon troops which were tied by the leg to home service, but he had not been strong enough to tell the House that he actually intended to reduce the expenditure upon this class of troops; even the improved Volunteers and the improved Militia which he looked forward to would not be capable of being sent abroad except by a change in the conditions of their service. When they came to the points where money was going to be saved they were inseparably connected with the abolition or diminution of the linked-battalion system. Those who would mend the linked-battalion system and those who would sweep it away altogether in accordance with the recommendations of the Esher Commission, had always looked forward to obtaining a considerable reduction of Army expenditure after getting rid of the necessity of keeping a battalion at home for every battalion abroad; the former being battalions which were not needed at home. When the Secretary for War used that argument and spoke of the abolition of the linked-battalion system he became a little vague in his figures. He told the Committee the number of battalions in India and the number of battalions for colonial stations, but he did not distinguish between those battalions and the South African garrison, and he left a very wide margin unaccounted for.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that what he hoped was to have about 100 battalions for general service, which would cover India and colonial service and would leave a very small number of the General-service battalions at home, which would carry out what the right hon. Gentleman desired.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said that if the right hon. Gentleman would total up the battalions he had referred to he would find that they added up to eighty-nine battalions for service abroad, and that left a very small amount of troops for his Aldershot force. The right hon. Gentleman, no doubt, looked forward to a reduction of the South African garrison. That matter was inextricably mixed up with the question of the constabulary of the Transvaal, which now consisted only of 4,770 men, with the result that the garrison had to do policemen's duties, and that was fatal to the training and discipline of the Army. This had rendered the service most unpopular and it was damaging recruiting. A ring of brewers had been formed and duties upon beer had put up the price of beer to the troops to 6d. per glass in South Africa, and that was not likely to encourage recruiting. The reduction of the garrison in South Africa was an essential part of the scheme which had been put before them that day. The present state of things put difficulties in the way of recruiting. It would no doubt be suggested that now it was proposed to take steps toward long service whilst two years ago they took steps in the direction of short service. The most confused impression upon this matter appeared to exist not only in the Press but in the minds of Cabinet Ministers. The present Secretary of State for India attempted to throw upon him personally the charge of desiring to cut down the general service of the Army to short service. He wished to point out that the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor in office in his evidence before the Royal Commission on the War, made exactly the opposite statement, for he said that for years the Government had been fighting against proposals for long service. All these general statements were most confusing. What he had always pleaded for in this matter had been greater elasticity in the conditions of service in the long service according to the purpose for which it was required, and the same with the short service. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman would go so far as to admit that there was in the evidence which had been taken upon this subject in the three most recent inquiries a great deal of evidence which went to show that it was not necessary to have a longer service than one year in order to make an efficient soldier. The evidence given by General Sir Charles Knox went to show that the best men in the Army were convinced that in one year they could train a person of the present class of British recruit not only in ordinary infantry work but also in mounted infantry work as well. The evidence was very strong that in a single year, with the assistance of good non-commissioned officers, they could produce a most excellent man for the service, and therefore he was inclined to give more elasticity to the conditions of our service.

The general principle of the Secretary of State's scheme was admirable, though at present it was a limited scheme. It was possible that if the right hon. Gentleman was encouraged by success in the main portions of the scheme he might be inclined to carry the reductions further. He had given them simply a general statement as to the reductions, and he had suggested that the reduced charges in the course of this year would be little more than equivalent to the necessary increase in the charges for next year. One reason why he was anxious for a reduction was not only that the country might spend more money on the Fleet but also to some extent save money, and spend more money upon some other branches of the service in certain matters which he thought were necessary. The Secretary for War had said hardly anything about cavalry and mounted men. They were costly, but the right hon. Gentleman must be aware that the only definite recommendation of the War Commission was that there must be a large increase in the number of our mounted men. He also knew that the Esher Committee had used words which showed that they were in favour of the creation of regular mounted infantry battalions, and yet he had not said one word upon those subjects in regard to which some increase would undoubtedly have to be provided for; neither had he made clear the system he proposed for the cavalry in the future. He had stated that he was going to leave the number of the cavalry alone, and that he was going to make certain changes at home. The right hon. Gentleman had not, however, described them, and perhaps his plans were not sufficiently matured to allow him to do so; but in making those changes many of them would be prepared to support him in making a greater reduction in the number of Regular infantry and spending the sum thus saved upon increasing the number of mounted troops.

The Secretary for War had made some sort of defence of the Army Corps system, and explained that they were in the nature of school districts, and were merely a change of name. The right hon. Gentleman was wrong upon this point, because the Committee would remember that one of the strongest points of attack upon the Army Corps system was that it linked together imaginary Army Corps which could never be sent abroad as they existed, because the Yeomanry Cavalry and the Militia were serving under conditions which did not allow them to go abroad as organised bodies. They declared that that system was a sham, and the Esher Committee declared that it was a sham, and that system was now happily at an end. Therefore they had criticised that scheme upon grounds a little more serious than those which had been suggested to the Committee. A great mistake was made, for which they had paid a great deal in muddle and waste, by trying to reorganise the Army under pressure and in haste after certain pledges had been given at the election. There were members of the Government who had said that the War Office must be swept out from top to bottom, and there was a sort of sham system adopted which involved them in a great deal of muddle and waste and loss of time. Now they were getting to that position in which they might have been several years ago. The Secretary for War had used strong language – strong coming from one in his position, but not too strong—in regard to the question of what the Army really existed for. The Norfolk Commission appeared to have experienced an extraordinary difficulty in obtaining a really sound opinion upon this question, and as late as January last members of the War Office staff gave evidence, showing that they firmly believed in the necessity of having an Army ready to meet an invasion of this country. The whole of that argument had now been disposed of, and the Government had turned sharply round from the position taken up by the War Office staff.

The expenditure proposed upon the forces which could not be sent abroad and which would be required for national defence only had not been made very clear. The theory was that the Militia would readily volunteer for service abroad. Would it not be much better to recognise that in time of peace. The right hon. Gentleman had described fully the present military resources of the British Army, but he wished to point out that, counting the expenditure for troops for India and the Colonies, they were still spending far more upon the land forces of the British Empire than they were upon the naval forces. Whilst the Government admitted the primacy of the Navy in the defence of the Empire, and the absurdity of preparing to resist an invasion of this country; whilst they had concentrated their attention upon the establishment of a striking Army, they still had to justify the proportion between the naval and military expenditure of the Empire as a whole, and they had still to show that the country was getting a sufficient striking power for the amount of money which it was proposed to spend upon the land forces. He thought the main lines of the early part of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman were entirely sound from that point of view, but he failed to see a sufficient acceptance of those lines in practice in the scheme put forward.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth) said that they had had a very able and clear statement put before them by the Secretary for War of the difficulties in which they found themselves placed in respect to their military forces and the outline of the remedies which must be applied to meet those difficulties. The subject was so enormous, however, that it was impossible on the present occasion to do anything more than touch the broad fringe of the question, because the statement which had just been made to them required to be carefully read and weighed. He heartily congratulated the right hon. Gentleman upon the masterly way in which he had made clear the difficulties of the present position, and the general outline of the way in which he proposed to meet those difficulties. He thought nobody who had studied the question could find much fault with the statement which had been presented to them. He agreed, however, with the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean that when they came to apply those principles it was quite possible that some of the halo would diminish. The crux of the Army question was really what value should be attributed to the sea and land forces to provide against any possible military descent upon these islands. His right hon. friend had made it perfectly clear what his opinion was. What had brought this question out of the narrow purview of the War Office was the creation of a Committee of Defence which even in its infancy had brought more true light to bear upon the Cabinet than ever before. Therefore he thought the Government was to be congratulated upon having gone so far as to make a pronouncement which was simply a reversion of the policy they had been pursuing for over forty years. It was almost unreasonable to expect from any Minister dealing with the Army a statement of the real scientific facts of the situation uninfluenced by political considerations. Under our system of government they had always to remember that a Minister face to face with the Army problem had to take up two points. In the first place he had to think of the real necessities of the Empire as regarded military forces; and he had to think in the second place of the exigences of the Parliamentary situation. Therefore, no Minister in that position could by any possible means give them a wholly sound and true scheme.

There were one or two main points which he should like briefly to touch upon now, and after he had had time to digest the right hon. Gentleman's statement there would, no doubt, be other matters he would like to discuss. The first matter was, of course the recognition of the fact that our Army should really be ready to strike and not wait until we were struck. That was clearly acknowledged by his right hon. friend, but he himself was a little confused as to what increase or decrease the present proposals, if carried out, would mean in respect of the number of units which were now, and would then be, available for oversea service. His difficulty in that matter might disappear when he came to study the right hon. Gentleman's speech. Of course, he recognised the most desirable change in a small portion of that problem by the fact that they were to have at Aldershot 16,000 men who would be an organised striking force as far as that number went, and in order to apply them for purposes oversea for which they existed we should not have to call out any reserve at all. He thought that was true policy and a real advantage, but it did not meet his difficulty, namely, what would be the Imperial striking force which this scheme would give in regard to numerical strength. When the right hon. Gentleman came to face the inevitable question of reductions they would sympathise with him. Reductions could not be made without hurting somebody's feelings. The one thing with which he was most pleased of all was that there was certainly to be no reduction in the cavalry strength. He agreed with his right hon. friend that whatever reductions might be made in other branches, so far from any reduction being contemplated in respect of the cavalry, all students of this question would advocate some increase in the cavalry strength. He observed that there was to be no real reduction in field artillery. There would be in peace a reduction in the actual strength of certain batteries, but that was to create a reserve which would fill up those batteries in war and, therefore, practically he did not gather that it meant anything in the shape of an attempted reduction in field artillery. That was a thing upon which they must congratulate his right hon. friend and the Government. He did not gather from the right hon. Gentleman's speech that there was any policy settled as regarded the garrison artillery. The Committee knew that there was to be a considerable reduction in the Line. The right hon. Gentleman had said nothing whatever about the garrison artillery. He did not press the right hon. Gentlemen for an answer now, but he would on a future occasion ask for some fuller explanation as to that. The right hon. Gentleman said generally that he contemplated a reduction in the colonial garrisons, but he did not mention the garrison artillery. He heard with the greatest satisfaction the declaration of his right hon. friend, that he intended to put his foot down firmly against putting the cost of submarine, or what was called aquatic business, on the Army Estimates, and applying soldiers to work they were not qualified, by any means, to do. He thought every sensible man would cordially support his right hon. friend in that direction.

They had it acknowledged clearly and firmly that the main purpose of our Army was for oversea service. That principle being acknowledged, it destroyed what had been a bugbear in regard to our military force in its relation to home defence. He did not know whether the question of the area of the services of the different forces had been considered. He was not clear whether there was to be any change in regard to that. The obligation of the soldier in the Regular Army was to go anywhere in the world. That was a binding obligation, but under the present system the obligation of the Militia was only to serve within the United Kingdom. The obligation of the Volunteer was only to serve in Great Britain. No comment was needed from him to show that the position was an absurd one. [AN HON. MEMBER: Why?] In the first place, did they consider these three forces the component parts of one army. If they did, could they have an efficient Army when the three elements of it had different spheres of obligation. The thing was preposterous. In view of the statement that the Army was to be a striking oversea force, he wished to ask whether it was in contemplation by the offer of inducements to get the Militia to extend the area of their service to any point within the Empire. That was important from the point of view of its necessity. He was not now talking about efficiency. He was talking about numbers. Efficiency was a different question. When it was remembered that on the outbreak of the South African War there were on the enrolled strength 98,000 Militia and nearly 250,000 Volunteers, and that the number who volunteered for service oversea was 52,000 Militia, and only 19,000 Volunteers, it seemed to be within the range of practical politics, whatever might be done, to get the Militia without much difficulty to extend their services to outside the United Kingdom. He considered the policy which the right hon. Gentleman had indicated was a great advance, and he trusted that they were not going to have a repetition of what happened when the last Army scheme was introduced. They were told then that the great aim was to have an oversea fighting force, and he got up and congratulated the Secretary of State for War on that statement. They were then told that they were to have 120,000 men as a striking force, and then, having chalked up this main principle, the right hon. Gentleman ran away from it. He trusted that the Government would have backbone now—he was sure his right hon. friend had—and that, having indicated the main principles aimed at, they would stick to them and carry them out in their entirety.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) said there would be much advantage in having a Memorandum from the Secretary of State for War showing the exact bearing of the most interesting statement to which the Committee had listened that afternoon. He was sure it was impossible for many who were sincerely desirous of assisting the right hon. Gentleman to give him any effective support without such a Memorandum. He would only give one or two examples of what was needed. One of the proposals which would meet with great opposition was in regard to the Militia. He entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that although in many Militia battalions they would find admirable men, there were a few in which the circumstances were exactly opposite. He believed the proposal was to make the Militia part of the Regular Army.

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER indicated dissent.

Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON: Well, to make it into a localised force, and to diminish the ineffective condition of the present Militia. Probably there was no way in which a large saving could be more readily effected than by that method. But in order to press this and other points, as well as to enable hon. Members to consider possible alternatives—because there were possible alternatives—to the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman they must have a Memorandum. He was sure that many of the contentions of the right hon. Gentleman could hardly be upset. Most hon. Members were agreed that it was essential to have a considerable reduction in the cost of the Army, and when the right hon. Gentleman put that in the forefront, and stated that in the policy he was pursuing he had a single eye to the making of preparations for war, and war only, he must have the support of those who had also held those views for some time past. He should like to express his deep sense of gratitude to the right hon. Gentleman for the illustration he gave of the dis advantages of conscription merely with respect to its cost. That was a most valuable contribution to their information. The figures the right hon. Gentleman gave with respect to the three years system would carry conviction to the country that it had broken down, and that it was essential to have some effective substitute for it. He hoped this would be the last of the Army schemes brought before the House, and that they would be able to see their way through the entanglements of what had been a disgrace to the administrative system of the country.

Mr. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth) said he had read in a newspaper that in the House of Commons there were few Militia officers; but it was some satisfaction to gather from the tone of the debate that they might hope to have considerable support and encouragement in regard to the Militia part of the scheme. But he could not help feeling the disappointment which was shared by an hon. Member opposite, that after what had been said the Militia were to be still left with the sword hanging over their heads. They might have hoped after that statement that they would have had some intimation of what were the prospects of the Militia, whereas at the present time he did not know that they were very much wiser than they were when they came into the House. To those interested in the Militia it was of the utmost importance to know what was going to happen. He desired to know whether it had been definitely settled that the Militia were to be turned into a part of the Regular Army. They had heard a good deal about the quantity and expense of the Militia, but very little had been said about the quality. The real point was whether the Militia were considered to be worth continuing on their merits. He did not forget that before the Commission on the South African War Lord Roberts spoke rather disparagingly of the Auxiliary Forces in South Africa; but he thought they were entitled to say that the Militia at that moment were put in the position of a squeezed orange. When the war broke out the Militia became attenuated, because the Regular Army had borrowed from them to fill up their own ranks. He maintained, therefore, that the Militia were entitled to the benefit of extenuating circumstances on that occasion. They had been told that the great drawback to the Militia was the lack of trained officers. He would take one authority in regard to that. Colonel Henderson, in his "Life of Stonewall Jackson," having begun by saying that tke Militia were not really worth anything as soldiers, went on to make this admission: "There were not more than a dozen Regular officers in the whole of the Army of the Valley. Twelve months previously several of the brigadiers had been civilians—yet Jackson might have boasted that his men had accomplished feats of which thoroughly trained soldiers might well be proud." On the authority of Colonel Henderson, therefore, Militia were not altogether worthless in case of war. He submitted that even if they could not train the Militia more than they did now, there was a foundation on which to build. He believed that soldiers trained to that extent would improve very rapidly, that there would be a geometrical progression, and that in no very great time an army could be produced which would become identical with the Regular Army, and give that material aid in time of emergency which they could very ill afford to spare.

As to the training of officers there were proposals laid before the recent Commission which, he thought, were perfectly impracticable, unless they were going to turn the Militia into the Regular Army. Colonel Satterthwaite in his Report said that all officers in the Militia ought to pass an examination equivalent to that for the Army. His point was that they could not take, say, two brothers—one who went into the Regular Army, and the other who became a barrister or Member of Parliament, but who joined the Militia—and ask them to do precisely the same work. It was ridiculous to ask them to pass the same examination. There was another point which was of even more importance in connection with the Militia. Unless they were going to extinguish the Militia altogether, it was impossible to jeopardise the character of the officers. Sir Ralph Knox, in his evidence before the Norfolk Commission said that—

> "No officer trained exclusively in these forces should be given such a rank, unless he has shown himself up to the standard of the same rank in the Regular Army."

He would give a personal illustration of what he meant. In the battalion in which he held a commission, the late colonel was the First Lord of the Admiralty, who could not be expected to spend the time to pass his examination, and the present Colonel was a Member of Parliament and an exceedingy busy man, but who was just the sort of man that that was wanted to command Militia. He was fortified in that opinion by the tatement of General Swaine on 25th June last, in which the General said—

> "The best Militia battalions that have come under my notice were those commanded by country gentlemen, who had never been in the Army, and some of the least good were commanded by ex-Army officers. The former were principally officered by gentlemen of the county, who took a pride and pleasure in their work. The latter suffered from not being in touch with the county, or the county with them, and in several cases had a difficulty in obtaining officers."

Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.) said that he dissented from some of the suggestions and theories put forward in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War. He, however, fully recognised the spirit in which that speech had been conceived. There was only one objection he had to offer, and that was that the speech had been made so late in the session. It was manifestly impossible, or at any rate difficult, for hon. Members to consider the speech in all its bearings at the present moment, and it was difficult for the Government to find another day for the consideration of so important a subject. One thing which struck him at the commencement of the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman was, that it was a speech which might have been made in support of a vote of censure on the preceding scheme of Army reform propounded from the same Bench. Any one who was in the House of Commons on 8th March, 1901, must have recognised that the right hon. Gentleman who had just come in (the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for India) proposed, amidst a scene of equal excitement and interest to that they had witnessed that day, a new scheme which was guaranteed to be a great achievement in the way of Army reform. He did not wish to dwell upon the fact, or to arouse any feeling of bitterness, but if the authority of the Government was brought in this afternoon in support of this scheme, why was the same authority pledged to the scheme of three years ago? The Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Prime Minister, the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, the Postmaster-General all spoke in the debate in support of the scheme which they had now had to throw over. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for India indulged in an outburst at one period of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, which indicated that it was doubtful whether he had really abandoned his own scheme.

The SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford) said that the hon. Gentleman had misunderstood him. The Leader of the

Opposition had fallen into an extraordinary mistake in believing that a large number of home service battalions could not be available for service abroad. He cheered the correction.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE said he quite accepted the explanation, especially as it showed that the right hon. Gentleman had abandoned his own scheme; and he, as one who voted against the Army Corps scheme, must rejoice at the tardy repentance of the right hon. Gentleman. The Secretary of State for War spoke of the necessity of remedying the evils which existed. He said that the country was going through a period of great peril; that the present numbers and composition of the Army were unsuitable to the needs of the Empire; and that it was unduly costly. Yet that was the system to which the country was asked to pledge itself three years ago. They were, therefore, entitled to look very carefully at the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman before accepting it.

He wished to refer to a few details taken at random. The right hon. Gentleman did not go at any great length into the question of finance; but he indicated that, although there would not be an immediate reduction there would be a reduction the year after next. It was essential, however, that the Committee should know how far the statements of the right hon. Gentleman were accurate. The right hon. Gentleman raised the question of linked battalions; but it was quite clear that the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman would involve the creation of a large number of depots. Sites would have to be purchased; large buildings would have to be put up; which he hoped would be more economically erected than was the case in the past. The cost of the Army had been progressive, however, not only in bulk but in detail. There had been an enormous increase in the Army since 1895; all of which had to be put against the small decrease mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman. He was certain that there would be further increases. Take the case of the Army Corps. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland stated in 1901 that they would be the basis of the Army. Now he had changed his opinion. The right hon. Gentleman, on that occasion, said that it was of importance to get the design of their house right; their design was to have six Army Corps; that would be steadily in view in all the plans submitted to the House. Now the whole matter was to be reversed. There were to be district commanders, and it would be certain that the cost of the staff would be much more than under the old system. Again, the linking of battalions one to another was to be abolished. Were battalions to be renumbered or renamed? The right hon. Gentleman ought to make that clear. Then the right hon. Gentleman proposed nine years in the colours for the striking force. That would leave only three years in the Reserve; and to that extent the Reserve would be reduced. He wished to know whether there was to be a considerable reduction in the reserve. The right hon. Gentleman also stated that there was to be a considerable reduction in the artillery; but it was not clear whether the reduction would be in horse artillery or field artillery.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said in both.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE said that the late Mr. Stanhope attempted what the right hon. Gentleman now proposed; but his action had to be reversed.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that the number of horse artillery had been nearly doubled since then.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE said he hoped that the question had been taken into consideration. As to the Volunteers, he absolutely endorsed everything which the right hon. Gentleman had said. It was essential, if the Volunteers were to be any use, that they should be efficient. From his own experience, he believed that this efficiency could be secured without the very largely increased grant foreshadowed by the right hon. Gentleman.

COLONEL PILKINGTON (Lancashire, Newton) said he listened with great pleasure to the speech of his right hon. friend. It contained many proposals, one or two of which were so novel as to be almost revolutionary, and it was difficult to digest them at the moment properly. He did not like the proposal put forward with respect to the Militia. In his opinion the Militia ought to be improved and made much better even than it was at the present time. The record of the Militia in the South African War was the best of all the forces, being far better than that of the Line or the Volunteers. The battalions of Militia went out as they stood with their own colonels and their own officers. He hoped there would be reorganisation and improvement in the establishment of the Militia on the grounds of the Report of the Royal Commission, which did not advocate its being broken up, but, on the contrary, advocated its being trained and improved in every way. This old constitutional force should be improved and enlarged. His right hon. friend wished to reduce the expenditure, but he would point out that for the £1,800,000 we paid for the Militia we had something like 100,000 men fairly well trained; better trained and more valuable in the field certainly than the Volunteers would be. This was the thin end of the wedge in the attempt to spoil this old and excellent force, and in his opinion such a policy would be fatal.

With regard to the other proposal, he agreed with the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean as to the increase of mounted infantry. It was noticeable in the war in South Africa a very much larger mounted force was wanted. It was all very well to talk about reducing expenditure, but the safety of the country and the efficiency of the Army of one of the greatest Empires of the world should be the first consideration. It was not a question of expense. He was glad that the artillery and cavalry were to be left as they were. But he could not see how the supply of men to feed the fighting force was to be obtained. The fighting force in South Africa came to an end because the system was not sufficiently expansive. If the right hon. Gentleman was going to do away with linked battalions he would destroy the system which gave reinforcements, and allowed the operations of war to be carried out without much difficulty. But that question had not been touched upon by the right hon. Gentleman. From where were the supplies of trained men in the case of a great Continental, or a great Indian War to be drawn? The Militia as at present constituted could go out *en bloc*, and those who did not go could do duty here in place of the Line. In his opinion the exhaustion of men which took place during the war in South Africa ought never to occur again. He would point out with regard to that that it was not the voluntary forces which broke down, but the Regular forces. He submitted that to carry out the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman would not only be unreasonable, but dangerous. While he admitted that at the time the force was founded both officers and men of the Volunteers knew very little, he drew attention to the fact that there had been a marvellous improvement during the last forty-four years, and that that improvement was due entirely to the efforts of the force, and that if the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman were carried out this force would be destroyed. All that the Volunteers asked the Government to do was to take the force as it was and improve it on those lines. The provision of rifle ranges was a perfect farce. They wanted more ranges and more inspection and examination. They did not mind the Regular superior officers coming down occasionally to stir them up and if they were not good enough making them better. They were often snubbed in camp, but it did them good in the end. He protested against the introduction of rules and regulations with regard to the Militia and Volunteers which would tend to discourage those forces. In every army in the world the Reserve was always five, six, seven, eight, nine, and often ten, times greater than the number with the colours, but this was not the case with our Army. The vital question which the Government ought to turn its attention to was to raise a much stronger Reserve. If they proposed to decrease the number of men with the colours they ought to increase the Reserve ten-fold. Why should they not adopt some system whereby when men left the Volunteers or the Militia their names should be taken and something done for them? Why could they not be granted some small privilege which would cost the nation practically nothing? He asked the Government to pause before taking some of these strong steps which he was afraid would be disastrous and would spoil in many ways what they now possessed. He wished to improve the system they had now. The Report of the Royal Commission said that with regard to the Auxiliary Forces they ought to improve the Militia and they said practically the same thing with regard to the Volunteers. What was the use of having a Royal Commission and taking no notice of its recommendations.

*Mr. GUEST (Plymouth) offered the Secretary for War his hearty congratulations on the spirit of the pronouncement he had made, and wished to re-echo the view he held that the question of Army reform should be treated in no Party spirit. Last year he ventured to move that the forces of the Crown might safely be reduced by 27,000 men, and his proposal was received in almost every quarter of the House, and especially on the Treasury Bench, with scorn and contempt. Fifteen months had elapsed since that time and now the same right hon. Gentlemen came forward with a proposal for a still larger reduction. He should like the Secretary for War to tell them what reduction he considered his proposals would effect. He understood that nineteen battalions were to be abolished altogether. Then there was to be a further reduction of the difference between the 500 and the existing strength of the battalions, but they did not know how many battalions. He understood that they were to have at least fifteen or twenty battalions maintained at Aldershot at war strength, therefore they must deduct those from the forty or fifty battalions which were to be treated as upon the home establishment. That would leave thirty battalions to be reduced from whatever they were now, and he calculated that that would amount to about 24,000 men. But that did not represent the whole of the reductions which the Secretary for War hoped to effect in the Regular forces of the Crown. The artillery and the cavalry were not affected; but there was another principle which they had contended for all along, namely, economy. Although the right hon. Gentleman had laid down that principle, he had only seen fit to give the Committee the vaguest and most general figures in support of the economy he hoped to effect under his scheme, and he had left it to the members of the Committee to make calculations for themselves. Having regard to the difficulty of calculating the reduction in the number of men, it was hopeless to attempt to determine what that reduction would represent in pounds, shillings, and pence. He trusted the Secretary for War would not be content with simply saying that he hoped to effect some economy, but that he would give the House some idea as to the extent of the economy he was going to achieve. The two things hung together very much, and unless the reduction in numbers was accompanied by efficiency the right hon. Gentleman would find it very difficult to persuade the House to adopt his scheme. He was delighted to feel that they had at last given up the idea that the main object of an Army in England was for home defence. The idea had been prevalent in the past that there should always be a sufficient number of men in this country ready to stand with fixed bayonets all round the coast to prevent a foreign invasion, but that idea had now happily entirely disappeared. They no longer entertained the ambitious views of the Secretary for India upon this point that they might be called upon to take their chance in combination with a Continental army against some other other Continental army. They had abandoned that idea altogether.

Mr. BRODRICK: I never suggested that our Army should be maintained with the idea of taking part in a Continental war.

*Mr. GUEST said the whole tenor of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, and the only justification he made for the Army Corps system was that at some time or other, we should be obliged to take part in some very large conflagration, if not on the Continent, at least on a Continental scale. One of the great points of the right hon. Gentleman's scheme was that the Indian frontier might be defended, and for that purpose we were to reduce the seven years system with the colours to a three years system. Now they found that the justification for that policy put forward both by the right hon. Gentleman and the Prime Minister had entirely collapsed.

With the general spirit of the Secretary for War's statement he was agreed. But he did not think that the right hon. Gentleman would find it so easy to put into practice the whole scheme he had put before the Committee. Hosts of difficulties would occur to anybody with even the slightest knowledge of the subject. How many battalions did the right hon. Gentleman contemplate keeping abroad? He did not understand what the right hon. Gentleman meant with regard to the five garrison battalions which were to be abolished. They were abolished, and consequently there were fifty-two battalions in India, and thirty-seven in the Colonies, and that number would be diminished by five, leaving eighty-four. He could not see how the right hon. Gentleman made the 100 he spoke of. How many battalions did he allot for the defence of India and the Colonies; that would be the base upon which the number of battalions retained at home would be fixed. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would tell the Committee how many battalions he thought it necessary to keep at home at full strength to circulate. With regard to the Auxiliary Forces, it was very difficult to make out from the information furnished the real effect of the right hon. Gentleman's proposals. With regard to the Auxiliary Forces, there were two schools of thought, and they both had disadvantages. There was the school of thought very common among professional soldiers that unless they could get out of the Auxiliary Forces the same efficiency they got out of the Regular Forces, the former were of no use at all. The other school of thought was that held by hon. Members who were interested in the Volunteers and Militia, and who thought that the best assistance and encouragement that could be given to the Auxiliary Forces was to allow any number of men, whatever their disqualification, to join. But the Secretary for War intended to avoid both those extremes, and to indicate his encouragement of, and the value he set upon, the Auxiliary Forces, not so much by trying to increase the number but to increase their efficiency. He would be taking a wise course if he carried that out.

The remarks the right hon. Gentleman made upon the Militia were of a somewhat striking and alarming character. The right hon. Gentleman knew perfectly well the services the Militia rendered in time of war. During the late war ninety-seven thousand men went from the Militia. What he did most earnestly regret was that the Secretary for War thought it wise to take up the question of the Militia, and instead of giving the decision of the Cabinet upon it, throwing it upon the floor of the House to be dealt with as best it might. Nothing could be more damaging to a force than to be placed in that position of not knowing whether they were to be abolished or retained. He thought the discouragement which such a situation was bound to bring about would rather enhance than diminish the unsatisfactory condition of the Militia. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of recruits being six months at the depôt and then being drafted into the regiment. At present a great many boys joined at eighteen and nineteen, and it was an axiom of foreign service that no recruit under twenty years of age should be sent to a tropical climate.

He would like to ask a question about the Reserves. The foreign service Army would be completed very slowly, and it was therefore probable that at any moment the foreign service Army would have a very small Reserve of its own. Was there any connection between two battalions for the purpose of defence? It seemed to him obviously undesirable that a man who was treated as a Reservist for the home Army, on the outbreak of war should be drafted into a regiment with which he had nothing to do; that presented some difficulty and he hoped that the Secretary for War would give some information about it. He regarded with great satisfaction the general views of Army problems which the Secretary of State had brought before the House, and he hoped he would be successful in impressing upon the House that he was able to give practical effect to them.

*Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER said that nothing had made more plain to him the inadequacy of his statement than the number of Questions that had been asked with regard to omissions he ought not to have made. But it was exceedingly difficult to present the problem as it had presented itself many scores of times to his own mind. Only one remark had been made which he regretted. The Leader of the Opposition had spoken of the Chief of the General Staff in his absence in terms of reproach, which he thought might have been omitted. In regard to the suggestion of the hon. Member for the Leith Burghs he would do his best to supply a Memorandum of the case as he desired the House to see it. The right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean was unduly alarmed as to his departure from the canons which the right hon. Gentleman and he had agreed upon as to the distribution of men at home and abroad. The whole object of the depôt system and the getting rid of the system of linked battalions for the purpose of drafts was to enable them to keep a much larger number of colour men abroad than at home. Without desiring to commit himself to precise figures, he could give an indication of the kind of proportion he had in his mind. He should like to see the Indian garrison maintained as it was; he should like to see some twenty-six battalions—a reduction on the present number—retained in the Colonies, and he should like to see twenty-six battalions of General service troops maintained in this country. That, of course, was an entire departure from anything we had ever had before and it was coming into line with the view the right hon. Gentleman had been in favour of.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): When the right hon. Gentleman speaks of the Colonies will he say how many battalions are to be retained in South Africa?

*****Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER** said he knew the right hon. Gentleman felt strongly on that, but he would rather not introduce that question. He felt confident, himself, that in the course of a short time they would be able materially to reduce the South African garrison. But it would introduce an element into the debate which was really not necessary to it if he were to venture on a prophecy as to the reduction of the South African garrison. Everyone knew that the garrison in South Africa was abnormal because of the abnormal condition of things existing there, and when that condition ceased they hoped to withdraw some of the battalions in South Africa. With regard to the Reserves, roughly speaking, there would be a reserve of 23,000 for General service battalions and 87,000 for the Home service battalions if he were allowed to incorporate a certain number of Militia battalions.

*****Sir CHARLES DILKE**: The anticipated figure was 120,000.

*****Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER** said that was the anticipated figure. It was considerably larger than the actual Reserve, but he would ask hon. Members to bear in mind that the difficulty was not the question of men. The hon. Member for Dewsbury had said that we ought to pile up our Reserves and have hundreds of men in them and very few men with the colours. The hon. Member said that was the example of every country in Europe. There was a fallacy underlying that statement. In every other country in Europe a standing army was only kept in existence for the purposes of training. We were face to face with a totally different set of circumstances. We had at this moment eighty-seven battalions of infantry abroad, apart from artillery and cavalry, which were bound to be on a war footing. Therefore his hon. friend the Member for Dewsbury would see that his theory did not apply under existing circumstances.

Colonel PILKINGTON said why could not some provision be made for extending the time during which these men should be in the Reserve; and why could not the same regulation be applied to the Volunteer?

*****Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER**: It could. But in his view of the circumstances they did not want an enormous Reserve. His own feeling was that the sooner they could relieve the Englishman after he had successfully done his soldiering the better. They might continue the length of Reserve service ten, twelve, or fifteen years and they would get a gigantic Reserve.

Colonel PILKINGTON: You exhausted every man of the Reserve in South Africa.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER said the hon. and gallant Member was mistaken. That was exactly what they did not do. What happened in South Africa was what he wanted to guard against. They sent to South Africa the Reserve of the Regular Army, which was less than the Reserve he proposed now, and they got a great many Volunteers and Militia. But 90,000 men were left behind whom they could not send and for whom no organisation at all existed. He wanted to bring about a state of things under which all the men we were paying for should be available for the service of the country. He wanted to go beyond that, and to have a large number of additional officers, so that the men, who in a time of stress would certainly come forward, could fall in under properly trained officers and be made available. He had purposely refrained from giving full details in regard to cost, because he had been compelled to leave part of his proposals in abeyance, but he thought he could give some figures which would be of considerable interest. If he were permitted to strike off fourteen battalions of the Line he would strike £810,000 off the Estimates. If he were permitted to abolish five battalions of the garrison regiments he would strike off £530,000. If he were allowed to divert forty-five Line battalions of the home establishment he should save £954,000, and there would be a saving of £100,000 by transferring from the Army to the Navy the aquatic submarine service. He made a slight addition to the cost of the cavalry and artillery for Departmental reasons, and the Foot Guards which would add £115,000. He did not say anything about the reductions that might be effected in regard to the Militia, but he was confident that he or his successor would be able to reduce many other items of expenditure in the future. There was the Garrison Artillery. It was a complex problem, but he was sure there was a way through it which would not alone improve the constitution of the force, but reduce its cost. The position was similar with regard to the Royal Engineers. But until he had his estimates ready he could not give any accurate statement with regard to the cost of a condition of things for which he did not at present know whether he had the sanction or good will of the House.

He had been asked where he would get his men if he abandoned the linked battalion system. There was no mystery about that. The Royal Artillery, the Guards, and the Royal Marines, got their men, although they had no linked battalions for the purpose of drafts. As to the Volunteers, the Royal Commission had reported that they were not fit to face foreign troops, and he wanted to take some steps to bring them up to a better standard. He was perfectly prepared to consult with the representatives of the Volunteer force as to how best to utilise the force. What he did insist upon was that the Volunteers should have the necessary additional efficiency. With regard to the Militia, if the suggestion of the Royal Commission that the force should be called up for service six months of the year were adopted, it would absolutely revolutionise its character, and bring the cost of a militiaman up to within £6 17s. 2d. of the cost of the Regular soldier. He adhered absolutely to the view—although the decision must rest with the House and country — that his plan would give the opportunity to every Militia officer who cared for his craft, and to every Militiaman who cared for the service, to continue in the force under conditions which would be more congenial to them and much more advantageous to the country, and in that way perpetuate to the full the traditions of the service to which they belonged.

And it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

MERSEY DOCKS AND HARBOUR BOARD BILL [LORDS] (BY ORDER).

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered."

MR. ROBSON (South Shields), in moving that this Bill be considered this day three months, said nobody could feel more strongly than himself the inadvisability of interfering with a decision arrived at by a private Bill Committee; but, where a so-called private Bill affected the rights of the King's subjects as a whole of any considerable class like seamen, who depended upon this House for their protection, the House, he submitted, was bound to consider the decision arrived at by the Committee before they sanctioned a Bill which interfered with their rights. The complaint against this Bill was that by virtue of its provisions it would operate so as to lessen the amount of accommodation allowed to the crews of British ships, and lessen the amount of working and breathing space in which engineers, firemen, and the like, had to live and carry on their employment. Obviously such a thing ought not to be done by a private Bill. This Bill, promoted by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, proposed to alter the basis upon which dues now levied on ships entering the docks were calculated. According to the present system they were calculated and levied on the net tonnage. It was now proposed to alter that system and charge not upon the net tonnage, but on 50 per cent. of the gross tonnage, with the proviso that where the cargo-carrying power exceeded 50 per cent. of the gross tonnage the dues would be levied on the net. There were many cases where the net tonnage of stuffs was less than 50 per cent. of the gross, which allowed for a larger amount of space for the crews and the propelling power, and the result of this alteration would be that the owner who had up to now only paid dues on the profit-bearing portion of his ships would have to pay on the non-profit-bearing portion as well, and the ultimate result would be a tendency to contract the accommodation given to the crews.

During the last few years the amount of space given to crews had been greatly increased; the stoke-hole was less a travelling inferno than it was, though now it was bad enough, though with more space came better ventilation and more light and air, and better conditions for working in. It was not the need of revenue which impelled the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board to this step. The idea was that the present mode of calculation favoured the fast ships at the expense of the slow; that the net tonnage register of the great liners was very low, owing to the amount of space given to other purposes; that they paid less than other ships, and that all should be put on an equality. The principle of equality was a very fine principle, but he submitted that the matter should be carefully considered before the principle was applied to the great liners, because although they might pay less on the average than other ships they were able to make a great many more voyages, and if the amount of dues paid by great liners over a certain period of time were compared with those paid by other ships it would be found that they paid far more than the slower ships, owing to the more frequent voyages they made. The present statutory requirements for the accommodation of crews on board ships were extremely low, the statutory minimum being seventy-two cubic feet for each man, and there was a natural objection to legislation for increasing that minimum in face of the fact that there was a voluntary effort on the part of shipowners to increase the air space and give sometimes 150 or 200, and sometimes even 250, cubic feet of air space to each man. It was not desirable to check this tendency. He did not doubt that by providing more breathing space one motive was to get a better class of men, and if that was so, that was a motive to be encouraged, a motive that ought not to be penalised or impeded by any alteration in the existing law. It was obvious that if dues were paid on gross tonnage less air space would be allowed. And that was what this Bill proposed to do. He was the more emboldened to take the course he was now taking in asking the House to consider this question, because of what the Committee had themselves stated; they had themselves entered a little caveat against the decision of the House. While finding the preamble of the Bill proved their decision was that the question of harbour dues should be the subject of legislation initiated by the Board of Trade. The Committee had done their duty in coming to a decision, and more than their duty, in indicating to the House that this was a matter more for the House than the Committee to deal with. They were unanimously of opinion that the matter should no longer be left in the hands of the Committees on Private Bills, but should be the subject of general legislation initiated by the Board of Trade. It was not an easy matter to get legislation in regard to seamen or anything else, but until they could get general legislation the House would see that the fairest thing was to leave matters as they stood.

*MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.) in seconding the Amendment, said that he opposed the Bill on the ground that it would interfere with the Irish traffic with Liverpool, and because of the effect which the provisions of the Bill, if passed, would have on the crew space in steamships on account of the great competition now existing. Anything which had that tendency ought to be viewed by the House with very great caution and suspicion. It seemed to him clear that the Board of Trade was the proper authority to initiate any legislation dealing with this subject, and not a private dock and harbour authority. Liverpool was the second port of the kingdom, and if the rule was once laid down that Liverpool should be allowed to charge dues on the lines of this Bill the practice would be followed by every port of the kingdom, who would at once ask for similar powers. If there was to be any alteration in the law it should be initiated by the Board of Trade. He did not think that anybody needed to pin their faith to any statement of his. It was only necessary to read the Report of the Committee that sat on this Bill. They practically said to the promoters of the Bill, "We will allow you to have the Bill this time, but it must not happen again." This was a matter which should be dealt with by general legislation and a private Bill before a Committee was not the proper place for dealing with a subject of this kind. He begged to second the Motion.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Mr. Robson.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

*MR. CHARLES McARTHUR (Liverpool, Exchange) felt that a somewhat invidious task rested upon him as one of the Members for Liverpool to oppose this Bill, which was promoted by a body in Liverpool for which he had great respect. The present Bill was open to very great objections upon grounds of public policy, and, while he admitted that the Bill had a beneficial object to serve, he believed that object could be better obtained by other means than by a private Bill. No doubt it would be said that it was somewhat unusual to oppose a private Bill which had already passed through its various stages, but he submitted that there were reasons why that course should be adopted on the present occasion. He thought the House was justified in reconsidering the Bill, because the Chairman of the Select Committee had given a very qualified Report in regard to it. That Report had expressed the opinion that the anomalies in regard to shipping dues should be corrected by general legislation initiated by the Board of Trade. This Bill involved a principle of great importance to the merchant shipping of this country and also of other countries, because it proposed to change the principle on which the measurement of tonnage had been computed from the net system to the gross system. The net tonnage was clearly intended to represent the earning capacity of the ship, and that was the system adopted by every important maritime country in the world. It was admitted that there were anomalies attending the present system. Extreme cases had been dealt with by the Board of Trade, who had passed the necessary regulations. Larger and faster steamers must, of course, have more room for crew and engineers, and, therefore, the tonnage must be smaller, and the situation which that created was, he considered, one that ought to be dealt with by the Board of Trade by means of a Departmental Committee. The Cunard steamers visited the port of Liverpool often, and, although cargo steamers paid more, still the frequent visits of the former equalised that, and besides, as they carried little tonnage, they did not require the same amount of dock and shed accommodation. These large mail steamers could not be built upon commercial lines, and if it was desirable to have some such vessels under the British flag, some consideration must be allowed them. That was the reason why such steamers got a subsidy.

The proposal in the Bill was that no ship should pay less than 50 per cent. of the gross tonnage. He found, from the evidence given before the Committee on behalf of the Mersey Board, that what was desired was equality; but this proposal would not establish equality, but would increase diversity in the tonnage basis as between the various classes of vessels. The Board of Trade, instead of grasping the nettle, had only made a half-hearted attempt to deal with it, having allowed a number of port authorities to obtain Private Acts enabling them to levy dues on proportions of the gross tonnage of vessels varying from 33⅓ to 50 per cent. This had been chiefly for the relief of small and poor ports, which were not able to pay their way. He argued that what was necessary in the case of small ports was not necessary in the case of Liverpool. There was no fear of Liverpool not being able to pay its way. According to last year's report the income of the Mersey Board was £1,320,125, and the tonnage and harbour dues £646,415. Was it worth while to disturb the arrangement existing in Liverpool? This question was one of important public policy. So long as it was confined to small ports it did not matter; but here they were dealing with a great port, and if the exception asked was granted to Liverpool, how could it be refused to London and other great ports? He thought, therefore, it would be most undesirable to consent. He did not attach so much importance to the point raised by the hon. and learned Member for South Shields, and he did not think the change, if made, would operate to the extent that he feared, although no doubt an owner might, especially in bad times, desire to economise by limiting or perhaps reducing the crew accommodation and the light and air spaces. He trusted the Board of Trade would take the matter in hand, and constitute a Departmental Committee to go into the whole question.

*SIR CHARLES CAYZER (Barrow-in-Furness) said that both the hon. Member for South Shields who moved the rejection of the Bill and the last speaker who seconded it had stated their objections to the Bill very fairly, and the former in spite of his knowledge of shipping being of an amateur character. If he thought that the change proposed in the tonnage would reduce the crew space he would not support the Bill, which he admitted was a complicated one, and in regard to which issues were raised which were not consequent on the Bill. The principle of the Bill, he claimed, was one of equity. It was to equalise the rates at which dock dues were charged so that each class of ship frequenting the port should contribute its fair proportion of dues, which at present were charged on the net register tonnage of the ship arrived at after deducting the space which was occupied by the crew and the engine-room space from the gross tonnage. What were the objections? That it would tend to reduce the crew space, and that the change should be made by public Bill. There were two classes of ships which did not pay hteir fair share of dock dues, one the large fast passenger liners, and the other a number of coasting steamers. The inequality of tonnage on which dues were charged was caused by the fact that the large steamers required larger spaces for crew and servants and engine-room than was needed by the ordinary type of steamer, which being deducted from the gross tonnage caused a larger reduction in the nett tonnage. For example, there was the "Campania," belonging to the Cunard Line, with a gross register tonnage of 12,950 tons, whilst its net tonnage was 4,974 tons. Then there was the "Rowanmore," a cargo steamer, with a gross tonnage of 9,456 and a net tonnage of 6,158. The large passenger ship paid on 1,184 tons less than the ordinary cargo ship, but, being deeper, required more expenditure for dredging and larger accommodation, and entailed more expense on the dock authorities. He was certain that no port had done more to give facilities for large fast steamers than the port of Liverpool. In promoting the Bill the Dock Board had followed the advice of the Board of Trade. Both the hon. Member for Croydon and the present President of the Board of Trade distinctly stated that they would not introduce public legislation which the hon. Member for Liverpool now so earnestly advocated to adjust the inequality in the dock charges, and stated it was for the Dock Board to get the change made by a Bill of their own.

Replying to the hon. Member for Cork on 29th July, 1902, the President of the Board of Trade stated that the registered tonnage of British ships was ascertained by rules laid down in the Merchant Shipping Act, and there was no fixed rates between registered tonnage and carrying capacity. It was open to harbour authorities, he added, by means of local Acts, to endeavour to obtain powers to levy dues, based on the proportion of the gross instead of on the net tonnage. Asked by the hon. Member for King's Lynn if he would support any such application, the President of the Board of Trade said that in almost every, if not in every, case he had supported such an application. He wished to ask his right hon. friend the President of the Board of Trade if he was now going to support the application in this Bill. This Bill followed entirely on the lines of the advice given by the Board of Trade. If his right hon. friend had altered his opinion he would no doubt say so. If not, he claimed the right hon. Gentleman's vote in support of the Bill. The case had been exhaustively considered by Committee presided over by the hon. Member for Northwich, which came to a conclusion in favour of the Bill and stated it would not have the effect of curtailing the space for the crew, but would equalise the dock rates. The objections to the Bill were chiefly raised at the instigation of the Cunard Company. It was said that the Cunard mail steamers used the port more frequently than the cargo boats, and, therefore, paid more dues in the aggregate. But as shipowners they knew that ships went to ports because they had cargoes to take there, and, therefore, the frequency of their visits was not an argument against their paying dues on a fair and just scale as they had an earning return for each visit. It was true that the large Cunarders carried very little cargo, but they had a much more remunerative freight in the passengers they carried, and when that was put forward as an excuse he did not think the House should listen to it. It was said that the development of high-speed ships was of national importance. He agreed. But why should the Liverpool Dock Board be called upon to contribute to this national object by foregoing part of the dues to which they were entitled on the fast ships? The argument did not hold good in the case of the Cunard Company. Surely they might be expected to pay their fair share of the dock dues, when last year Parliament granted them, for two ships, a subsidy of £150,000, and lent them £2,500,000 at 2¾ per cent. It was inconceivable that they should come forward under these circumstances and object to this Bill. Was it right that a company largely subsidised by the Government for the sake of saving a paltry £2,500 a year which they legitimately ought to pay should oppose this Bill?

Another objection was that the Bill would have the effect of considerably curtailing the crew and engine-room space. Honestly, he did not think the fears of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union on this point were well founded. The majority of shipowners gave a larger crew space than the statute required, and he hoped they would always do so. The Board of Trade expert, Captain Chalmers, made a most unwarrantable statement to the Committee when he said that if the Bill were passed it would tend to induce shipowners to take advantage of it to reduce the space for the crews. He protested against that unjustifiable accusation from a Board of Trade official against British shipowners. He was much surprised that the Cunard Company should have circulated such a report as a reason for getting off paying their fair share of Liverpool dock dues. The comfort and welfare of the crew was the shipowner's chief care, and he challenged the President of the Board of Trade to confirm the imputation made by the official of his Department who gave evidence before the Committee that they neglected their duty in this respect. If such an inducement existed, it could apply only to a few of the high speed passenger ships, because, with the exception of these ships, nearly all the vessels frequenting the port had a net tonnage of over 50 per cent. of the gross, and the average was between 64 per cent. and 68 per cent. It was said that the alteration of net tonnage was an international question, and that foreign countries might, if a change of this kind was sanctioned, alter their dock dues in foreign ports to the disadvantage of British shipowners. But this argument could not apply to Liverpool, for there was not a single foreign ship trading to Liverpool which would be affected by the Bill. Such an objection, if it was valid, should have been urged before. Why had it been left to this late hour, after the Dock Board were allowed to go to all the expense of promoting the Bill at the invitation of the Board of Trade. He hoped the President of the Board of Trade would be able to offer some explanation of the matter, and he asked the House to support the decision of the Committee.

*MR. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby) said that when this question came up ten days ago he approached it without prejudice. He supported this Bill on the principles of common justice, and if he thought the hon. and learned Member for South Shields had a scintilla of evidence for his suggestion that the Bill would operate to the prejudice of the seamen, he would have no hesitation in voting against it. The three speeches against the Bill had been in one way or another destructive of each other. The hon. Member for Ulster forgot, when he opposed the Bill, that nine Irish ports had already obtained the very power for which the Dock Board now asked. Were the interests of the seamen prejudiced every time a steamer entered one of these ports? Therefore the sailors in the steamers which entered Liverpool would be treated no worse than if they entered one of these Irish ports. This Bill was promoted by a board with a most honourable career, manned by the most careful and thoughtful men in the trading community of Liverpool. Was it likely that they would, even to promote justice between different classes of shipowners, act unjustly or prejudicially to the interests of the sailors? The Bill would effect only one-tenth of all the ships that entered the port of Liverpool. This Bill was promoted in the interests of justice in the matter of taxation on the various shipowners. It was the case that the Chancellor of the Exchequer endeavoured to equalise taxation among the different classes of people he had to tax, and this Bill was promoted for that end, and for no other purpose. This Bill had come into being after the repeated, continual, and persistent action and pronouncements of the Board of Trade itself. That very afternoon the House had passed a Bill in favour of the Port of Llanelly exactly enacting the principles which apparently now the President of the Board of Trade was going to refuse. Where was the consistency of such action? Not until Thursday, the 9th of June, without any notice, official or unofficial, did the Board of Trade come down and criticise this Bill, and it was not on the ground that a public Bill was the right method of dealing with this question, but the idea was that the Bill affected light and air space, and was detrimental to the sailors. Of course that was absurd inconsistency, seeing that the Board had been responsible for twenty-five Acts on Provisional Orders authorising the scheme. Having regard to the great difficulty of any legislation in that House, and looking to the great time that must elapse before this eminently absurd system of measuring could be remedied, was it not right, if the principle was not wrong, that this method should be advanced by a private Bill. Seeing that Liverpool shipping was practically a microcosm of the shipping of the United Kingdom he thought it might very well be allowed to extend this principle by means of a private Bill.

The hon. Member for the Exchange Division affirmed the desirability an the importance of the advance of fast-going ships, but why should they put it on fellow shipowners, on great dock and private corporations, to pay the expense of enabling these great experiments in transport to be carried out? If that was a matter of national importance, it ought to take the form of a national subsidy. It was not the risk that sailors coming out of Irish and Welsh ports ran that had induced the representative of the Board of Trade to come down; but it looked as if there was a personal buttonholing on the part of certain people that had set the Board of Trade in motion. The House had already heard of the gross mismeasurements, which amounted to a grievous injustice on a certain class of shipping, and the Board of Trade would agree that those measurements were unjustifiable. It was reasonable that the Board of Trade should allow this Bill to go forward, and then at their convenience, when they had considered the matter, bring in their public Bill. That would be a much more reasonable way to proceed in regard to this matter. There had already been a large amount of public money spent owing to the *laches* or imperfect appreciation of their duties on the part of the Board of Trade. The Dock Board was not allowed to make a shilling of profit, which all went to the improvement of the docks, and under these circumstances it was rather hard that this carefully-administered Board should have to waste public money promoting a Bill which had passed through four Committees, and then, when it reached the final stage, the House of Commons should be asked to reject it. It was very hard that the labour of years should be thrown away because the Board of Trade had woke up at the last hour to new interests and new responsibilities.

*MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury) did not want, like Mr. Lawrence, to wander into the merits of the Cunard Company or their action in the House of Commons; nor was it his duty to defend the attitude of the Board of Trade in this matter. His own interests were in no wise touched by the Bill one way or the other, and he, therefore, disclaimed any personal considerations in the attitude which he had adopted. He saw no reason for dragging the Cunard Company into the discussion. The Cunard Company were a firm of the greatest responsibility, and they had done great service to the mercantile marine of this country, as had all the other great lines of which we were so proud. They were an extremely pushing firm, and when they found that their interests were affected they made such protests before the Private Bill Committee as were open to every class of citizens. He thought no complaint could be brought against them for the action they had taken when they found that their interests would be injuriously affected by this Bill. Nor did he think it at all fair that the Cunard Company should be blamed for the course they had taken in this matter because they were shortly to be in receipt of a subsidy from the Government. He ventured to think that that was an insinuation which this House would not tolerate.

After all, the American fast liner was not the only class of vessel which would be affected by this change. The small traders would be affected in even a larger degree. The estimate was that if this Bill were passed it would mean £17,000 per annum, and of that the Cunard Company would be responsible for not more than £2,500. The rest would be paid by a few other large steamers, and a very large number of coasting craft. Nor was he disposed to say that the members of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board had not done their duty in promoting the Bill, and their success up to the present had justified their action. This was a matter that concerned more than the Mersey, because the whole question of the assessment of merchant tonnage, not only in the United Kingdom, but all over the world, was involved. He was quite prepared to believe that there were a number of tonnage cheaters, and that there were a few extreme freaks which, carrying, say, 300 or 400 tons, managed to get under an artificial rule and to escape on nineteen or twenty-five tons register. These freaks had been dealt with to some extent already by the Board of Trade regulations. If this Bill were an attempt to catch them and them alone, he should be no party to opposing it. But this only went to prove how artificial the scale was as a whole. How artificial it was Members of this House scarcely realised. He did not pretend to say anything which was not well known to every shipowner and shipping man here, but he wondered how many Members of the House could give a definition of dead weight ton, cubic ton, and gross ton. He ventured to think that there were not a dozen who could give an accurate definition of what these terms meant. The tonnage on which dues were paid was extremely complicated, and the artificial scale was altogether out of date, as was shown by the definition for drawing up the net tonnage of steamships in the United Kingdom. He took only the case of steamships in order to point out how enormously complicated the question was—

"As to screw steamers the space actually occupied by the boilers and machinery was to be measured, and if this space equalled 13 per cent., but did not equal 20 per cent., the ship was to be allowed a combination for engines, boilers, and fuel 32 per cent. of the gross tonnage as a deduction from that tonnage to arrive at the net register tonnage. This was supposed to represent the capacity of the vessel. If the space occupied by the machinery and boilers equalled or exceeded 20 per cent. of the gross tonnage, then instead of applying the rule just quoted, they were to be allowed the space actually occupied and 75 per cent. of such space in addition."

He put it to the House that that was a purely artificial way of arriving at the assessable value of the various vessels concerned. It was true that the application of this assessment had been duly considered by the Committee over which his hon. friend presided, but now they had a claim put forward by the hon. Member who had just sat down, that in this matter the House should follow the precedent set in the case of Llanelly He did not know where Llanelly was, though he knew most of the good ports of the United Kingdom. He supposed it was somewhere in Wales, and he believed it was a small port; that was to say, in comparison with the great ports of the United Kingdom it was a small port. Would the hon. Member say that what was done at Llanelly was sufficient as a precedent in the case of Liverpool?

*MR. LAWRENCE said the principle was the same in both cases.

MR. RUNCIMAN said he would point out how the principle differed. It was absolutely necessary in the case of some small ports that they should be treated on such a basis as to make them, so far as one could consider them in a mercantile sense, a success. The only way of making the port of Llanelly a success was by allowing an assessment which had not been allowed except in a few ports with which he would deal. He would read the list. There was Rothesay, which had a 40 per cent. limitation. Rothesay was an important yachting centre, but it was not an important mercantile port. There was the case of Greenock, but there the limitation of 40 per cent. applied only to local traffic. There was Larne, which was a most important port, but it was not to be compared with Liverpool. Kilkeel, in county Down, was a comparatively small port. Stromness, Buckie, and Wick, were all very small ports, and the idea of quoting them as precedents for the port of Liverpool was purely ridiculous. Let him point to some of the ports which had received a 50 per cent. allowance. The most important was Swansea. That was the only considerable port in the United Kingdom where a 50 per cent. allowance had been given, and if the Board of Trade allowed it to pass he had no doubt they were capable of explaining their action. Cardiff was 40 per cent. Barrow 40 per cent.; Dublin, Cork, Dundalk, Limerick, and Galway were all ports where 50 per cent. was adopted. In every one of those cases local considerations wholly weighed. The international considerations raised in the case of Liverpool did not apply to them. It was absurd to quote those minor ports and the fishing ports of Scotland as precedents for Liverpool. If this Bill went through in its present form every port in the United Kingdom would come to Parliament applying for powers on exactly the same basis. [AN HON. MEMBER: Why should they not?] If the proposals in the Bill were adopted it would mean the removal of the tonnage assessment from a net-register basis to a gross-register basis. No one except those connected with shipping would know what an enormous change that meant. It might be a good or a bad system. He was not arguing for or against it, but it was not by a private Bill of this character that the proposal to make the change should be brought before Parliament, or become a means of general legislation. If there was an advantage to be derived by harbour authorities from the adoption of this limitation he was sure that those of northern Europe, where the ports to a certain extent came into competition with our own, would not be slow to adopt this basis. If we adopted this basis they would probably do so also, because up to the present the British example had always been followed abroad.

The point he wished next to deal with was whether a Private Bill Committee was the proper body to deal with an immense national and international question of this kind. Might he point out that the Members of the Committee who considered this Bill were not equipped with the technical knowledge necessary to enable them to know how far their decision was likely to carry them? Nor could it be said that they were in any way representative. This question was one which touched the whole mercantile marine of the United Kingdom, representing roughly from £120,000,000 to £150,000,000 sterling. It affected also the mercantile marine of other nations. Nor did he think that the Committee could have been equipped with the requisite knowledge to decide on a great technical change of this kind. The complexities of the question were so great that, when they had arrived at a definition of tonnage. they had by no means got to the end. The theory on which it was based was not a question on which any Private Bill Committee could come to a decision which ought really to set an example to the mercantile marine of the world. The question was one to engage the attention of a strong Committee or Commission equipped with full technical knowledge, and representing shipowners, traders, harbour authorities, and seamen. It was a question as between ship and ship, as well as between shipowners and dock owners; it affected an enormous number of vessels constructed in conformity with existing rules; and a Bill of this kind would certainly have an effect in reducing crew space to a minimum and increasing the earning capacity of a ship. Further, it would open the door to retaliatory measures in foreign ports, which we certainly should endeavour to avoid.

*MR. HOUSTON (Liverpool, West Toxteth), speaking as a Liverpool man, said that he was in no way connected with the Mersey Dock Board, and that he held no brief from them. He was certainly under no obligation to them with regard to the character of the accommodation which they had afforded to his fleet. He was not speaking out of any sympathy with them, but rather as representing the great body of Liverpool shipowners and the Liverpool Shipowners' Association, who were mostly supporters of the Bill, the exception in this matter being the Cunard Line, with regard to whom, however, he should not make any uncomplimentary remarks, although it would be necessary for him to refer to them. The constitution of the Dock Board, it was necessary the House should understand, was that, having no capital they paid no dividend, any profits that might accrue being applied in reduction of duties or the carrying out of improvements. A great deal of such expenditure had been caused by, and was made in consequence of, the larger Transatlantic ships, which needed deep water and large dock accommodation, involving the removal of the obstacle at the bar, and the building of the largest landing-stage of its kind in the world. About £8,500,000 had been so spent. Large cargo steamers, he asserted, were of more importance to Liverpool than the liners, because they carried cargoes both in and out, and gave employment in the docks to large numbers of hands, who were not needed for the passenger steamers. The hon. Member for the Exchange Division had stated that the exact contrary was the case, but then he did not know very much about the subject. It was, in fact, an anomaly that the passenger ships should occupy more dock space and cause more expense and, at the same time, not be required to pay a fair proportion. Ninety per cent. of the steamers using the port paid up to 64 per cent., and here the Cunard Company was only asked to pay 50 per cent. of the gross tonnage. He believed it would be a fatal mistake to undertake shipping legislation of the kind suggested by his hon. friend. The White Star Line did not object; in fact, there was no objection to the Bill, save by the Cunard Company and small coasting steamers, and it would not affect a single foreign steamer using the Port. If they altered the law of tonnage measurement international questions would be raised to the detriment of British shipping. The whole subject was one upon which he thought he might claim a right to speak with some authority, for he had worked in the inferno of the engine-room, and had, at an early age, been superintendent engineer of an Atlantic Line. The Bill would have no bearing whatever on about 90 per cent. of the tonnage of the port. It applied only to high-speed steamers and coasting steamers.

With regard to the attitude of the Irish Members, it illustrated their usual tactics;

they always supported anything that would favour an Irish port. As to the Scotch coasting owners, Scotchmen had a reputation of looking after themselves. The gross register was obtained by measuring the internal capacity of the ship below the upper deck, and all the erections above it. The net register was obtained by deducting from the gross tonnage first the machinery space. Now when this space, not including bunkers, was between 13 and 20 per cent., a deduction of 32 per cent of the gross tonnage was allowed. When this space was over 20 per cent of the gross, a deduction of one and three-quarter times this actual space was allowed. The machinery space so measured included the light and air space above the upper deck, but did not include any of the bunkers which were supposed to be provided for in the extra three-quarters per cent. allowed in the deduction. A further deduction was made for crew space, the whole of which was measured and deducted from the gross, provided that it was not less than seventy-two cubic feet per man, and twelve superficial feet of deck space per man. This deck was measured clear of obstruction, and in all modern ships, where the decks were more than six feet in height, it must necessarily result in more than seventy-two cubic feet per man, and as the crew were usually housed in a forecastle forward or on the poop aft where the sides flared out as they rose, the actual cubic capacity arising from the twelve superficial feet of deck space was very largely increased. The effect of the proposed Bill to charge not less than 50 per cent. of the gross tonnage would have no application to about 90 per cent. of the tonnage used in the port of Liverpool. Its application was only to high-speed passenger steamers and to coasting steamers. The effect of the Mersey Board's Bill upon high-speed passenger steamers might be explained as follows. Under the net-register system the inducement to reduce light and air space was practically as great as it would be under the Mersey Board Bill. The light and air space was the volume, above the upper deck, of the openings over the engines and boilers. At present this volume multiplied by one and three-quarters was deducted from the tonnage, and at 1s. 4d. per ton (the Mersey Board charge) this deduction amounted to 2s. 4d. for every ton (100 cubic feet) of space appropriated for light and air. The argument that the light and air space would be reduced in order to reduce gross tonnage would not hold, because whatever the light and air space might be, it was in the owner's option not to have it measured, so that he could not reduce his gross tonnage by reducing his light and air space. In fact, as far as adding to gross tonnage was concerned, he might make the addition absolutely *nil* (whatever its actual amount might be) by not having it measured. It was in the shipowner's option. As to the part of the machinery space below the upper deck, the shipowner must have sufficient for his machinery. If he had more than was necessary, he would gain 2s. 4d. for every 100 cubic feet by reducing tonnage. But space in a passenger ship was worth much more than this. Take the case of a passenger cabin. For every passenger more than 100 cubic feet were required. Each passenger would certainly earn many times 2s. 4d., the amount of tonnage dues paid for 100 cubic feet, and paid only once per round voyage. It was not unreasonable then to assume that four times in a year the extra 100 cubic feet would be filled with passengers earning at least £20 as against say twelve or even twenty-four voyages, on which tonnage dues would be paid at 2s. 4d. per 100 cubic feet, amounting to 28s. or 56s. respectively. Consequently under both the present system and the one now proposed, the inducement to reduce light and air space was practically the same, and was only limited by the engineering requirements. With reference to space occupied below the living spaces, the same considerations applied, except that instead of being able to make use of the space for passengers, it was available for cargo. Every hundred cubic feet given to machinery space saved 2s. 4d. per ton in dues, but lost two-and a-half tons of measurement, which would earn in a round voyage to New York and back at least £1. Another way of putting it was that 2s. 4d. on 100 cubic feet was 11¼d. saved on forty cubic feet, which on a round voyage would give 5⅝d. on the ton of forty cubic feet space. This was obviously very much less than freight earned by this space, which amounted to more shillings earned than the pence saved in dues.

With reference to the coasting steamers, they might be considered as in two classes. First, those which were general cargo and passenger ships, in which space was of great value, and to which all the foregoing arguments equally applied. The inducements to cut down light and air, machinery and crew space were limited by the loss of earnings. Coasting dues were, however, only 4½d. per 100 cubic feet, and earning space was many times more valuable, as this only worked out at 1¾d. per measurement ton of 40 cubic feet. The other class of coasters was that which carried deadweight cargoes. In these vessels there was always space to spare, and it would not add to the earnings of the shipowner to reduce machinery or crew space, as he could do nothing with the space so saved. With reference to the erections above the upper deck, which it was alleged were due to the present beneficent Act, it might be noted that these erections had been put on modern coasters, because the freeboard might be thereby reduced, and the deadweight carrying increased. If to reduce gross tonnage these erections were done away with, the vessels would have to reduce their weight-carrying, and consequently their earning power, and this reduction or loss would be much more than any saving in tonnage dues.

*SIR JOHN BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich) said it was his duty to tell the House the view taken by the Committee over which he had the honour to preside. He wanted the House to understand that when this proposal of the Mersey Harbour Board came before Parliament it was by no means the beginning of the discussion as to the rating of steamers in Liverpool for dock dues. The subject had been discussed for many years in Liverpool. The Mersey Board was not a money-making body; it was interested only in improving the facilities of the port. It was constituted to represent all the authorities and public bodies in the city, while twenty members were shipowners, merchants, and dock-ratepayers. There were representatives of the coasting steamers, of the Cunard Company, and of every class of steamer trading to the port; and it was the proposals of such a board which came before the House. The Committee had considered it their duty to make what was called a special Report, because they contemplated the likelihood of all the other port authorities applying for similar proposal which ought to commend itself even to the Dock Board, and he hoped they would accept it. He believed they would accept it were it not that it had become a question of sentiment. It was obvious that Liverpool was divided against itself. It was a struggle between the Cunard Company and the Dock Board, but sentiment ought not to influence the view of the Committee. It was said that the Board of Trade was influenced by partiality to the Cunard Company because the Government had lent them money; that the security of the loan would not be so good if the Cunard Company had to pay more for dock dues. It was not usual to give Government Departments credit for looking so closely after the pence as this would indicate. He could assure the House that, so far as the Department was concerned, the question of the Cunard Company had had no influence whatever upon their minds. At the moment he had no reason to know that the proposal he had made would be more or less acceptable to the Cunard Company than it would be to the Dock Board; but it was a fair and reasonable proposal, and the only one open to them in the circumstances.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) said he agreed that the question was of such obvious importance that it ought to be investigated as a whole.

Question put.

The House divided:— Ayes, 52; Noes, 154. (Division List No. 238.)

AYES.

Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Brigg, John
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Caldwell, James
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Dalkeith, Earl of
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gardner, Ernest.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert J.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Kitson, Sir James
Leng, Sir John
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
Macdona, John Cumming
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Rankin, Sir James
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renwick, George
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rose, Charles Day.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. William Lawrence and Mr. Houston.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allen, Charles P.
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt Hn Hugh O.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn Gerald W. (Leeds
Bingham, Lord
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Burke, E. Haviland
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Davenport, William Bromley
Delany, William
Devlin, C. Ramsay (Galway)

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars) said that to ask the House, as he felt bound to do, not to allow the Bill to go further was to incur a very grave responsibility. They fully realised that it was a responsibility, and he could assure the House that they had only undertaken it after the most careful consideration, and because they believed that there was really no other course open, and that it was the duty of the Department. If this was a question which concerned Liverpool alone, no matter how much they might differ on the principles involved in this Bill, they would certainly not ask the House to reject the decision of the Committee, but this did not concern Liverpool alone. Liverpool was a microcosm of the shipping world, and it had been admitted that whatever was done in Liverpool to-day would be done in the whole of the world to-morrow. This was not an ordinary private Bill. This Bill upset the whole tonnage system of the United Kingdom. The Board of Trade had always aimed at inducing other Goverments to adopt our system of tonnage rating, and this year they had succeeded in inducing the French Government to adopt the same system of rating which applied in the United Kingdom. It seemed to them that it would be almost ridiculous for them to have succeeded in that, and then for French vessels to find when they came to the United Kingdom that they were subject to a charge on a totally different basis. Apart from the fact that in their opinion this was a subject too large to be dealt with in any Private Bill Committee, however competent, they thought this Bill was introducing a bad principle, and was contrary to what had been the distinct aim of the Board of Trade in shipping legislation for a very great number of years. If this Bill became the general system of this country it would be maintained in many cases to be the direct interest of the shipowner to give the crew the smallest space. There was a large class of ships where the interest was to reduce the space for crew and engines. He did not refer to passenger steamers, but to coasting steamers up to 1,000 tons. It was owing to the ingenuity of the ship-builders that this had arisen, and he was satisfied that if the Bill became law that ingenuity would be again exercised for the purpose he had mentioned. The question was not whether the Board of Trade was wrong in the past, but whether it was right now.

The proposal which on behalf of the Board he had to make was one that ought to commend itself to the House. It was that a competent Committee would be appointed to consider the anomalies which were admitted to exist. That Committee would consider in what way the system of allowances and deductions by which the tonnage was arrived at should be altered, if it should be altered at all, and if, as they expected, that Committee recommended alterations which seemed to be reasonable, the President of the Board of Trade would do everything he could to bring in legislation to carry those views into effect. He could promise the House that the Committee, which would be a Departmental Committee, would be representative. It would not be an official Committee; the official element would be in a minority, and it would contain experienced men—shipowners, shipbuilders, and dock managers. That was a proposal which ought to commend itself even to the Dock Board, and he hoped they would accept it. He believed they would accept it were it not that it had become a question of sentiment. It was obvious that Liverpool was divided against itself. It was a struggle between the Cunard Company and the Dock Board, but sentiment ought not to influence the view of the Committee. It was said that the Board of Trade was influenced by partiality to the Cunard Company because the Government had lent them money; that the security of the loan would not be so good if the Cunard Company had to pay more for dock dues. It was not usual to give Government Departments credit for looking so closely after the pence as this would indicate. He could assure the House that, so far as the Department was concerned, the question of the Cunard Company had had no influence whatever upon their minds. At the moment he had no reason to know that the proposal he had made would be more or less acceptable to the Cunard Company than it would be to the Dock Board; but it was a fair and reasonable proposal, and the only one open to them in the circumstances.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) said he agreed that the question was of such obvious importance that it ought to be investigated as a whole.

Question put.

The House divided:— Ayes, 52; Noes, 154. (Division List No. 238.)

AYES.

Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Balcarres, Lord
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Brigg, John
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Caldwell, James
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Dalkeith, Earl of
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gardner, Ernest.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert J.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Kitson, Sir James
Leng, Sir John
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
Macdona, John Cumming
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Rankin, Sir James
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renwick, George
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rose, Charles Day.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. William Lawrence and Mr. Houston.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Allen, Charles P.
Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt Hn Hugh O.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn Gerald W. (Leeds
Bingham, Lord
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Burke, E. Haviland
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Davenport, William Bromley
Delany, William
Devlin, C. Ramsay (Galway)

Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Field, William
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S.(Warwick, S.W.
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin & Nairn)
Grant, Corrie
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Gretton, John
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Higham, John Sharpe
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jones, David Brynmor(Swansea
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan, W.
Keswick, William
Kilbride, Denis
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund,
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lough, Thomas
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Majendie, James A. H.
Maxwell, RtHn.SirH.E.(Wigt'n
Maxwell, W.J.H(Dumfriesshire
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Mooney, John J.
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Moss, Samuel
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pretyman, Ernest George
Price, Robert John
Pryce-Jones Lt.-Col. Edward
Randles, John S.
Reckitt, Harold James
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Slack, John Bamford
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Soares, Ernest J.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Tully, Jasper
Welby, Lt.-Cl. A.C.E.(Taunton
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wylie, Alexander.
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Robson and Colonel Denny.

Words added.

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to. Consideration, as amended, put off for three months.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL BILL.

Read a second time, and committed for Monday next.

WILD BIRDS PROTECTION ACTS AMENDMENT (ST. KILDA) BILL.

Read a second time, and committed for Wednesday next.

ADJOURNMENT.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham), on the Motion for the adjournment, said in view of the very important announcement in reference to the Army which had been made by the Secretary of State for War, and the great importance of discussing it, he wished to know when the debate would be resumed.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD, Somersetshire, Wellington) said that the hon. Gentleman had better address a Question to the Prime Minister on the subject.

REGISTRATION OF NURSES.

Ordered, That Sir Michael Foster be discharged from the Select Committee, and that Dr. Hutchinson be added.—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

Adjourned at eighteen minutes after Twelve o'clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 15*th July*, 1904.

EARL OF CORK AND ORRERY.

Petition of Charles Spencer Canning Boyle, Earl of Cork and Orrery in the Peerage of Ireland, claiming a right to vote at the election of Representative Peers for Ireland; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House.

MARQUESS CONYNGHAM.

Petition of Victor George Henry Francis, Marquess Conyngham in the Peerage of Ireland, claiming a right to vote at the election of Representative Peers for Ireland; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Loch Leven Water Power. The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Thames River Steamboat Service Bill. The King's consent, and the consent of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in right of his Duchy of Cornwall, signified, and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Belfast and North-East Ireland Electricity and Power Gas Bill [H.L.]. Read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 148.)

Llanelly Harbour Bill [H.L.]; Tynemouth Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Great Eastern Railway Bill; North Western Electricity and Power Gas Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [H.L.]. Amendments reported (according to order). Then Standing Order No. XXXIX. considered (according to order), and dispensed with. Bill read 3ª, and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill. House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3ª on Tuesday next.

Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [H. L.]. Read 2ª (according to order), and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899), deemed to have been reported from the Committee. Bills to be read 3ª on Monday next.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ARMY.

Summary of the speech of the Secretary of State for War with regard to the re-organisation of the Army.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3217. razil (Imports into Brazil).

No. 3218. Japan (Hakodate).

No. 3219. Japan (Shimonoseki).

No. 3220. Corea.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

Report on the cultivation and drying of chicory in Great Britain and Belgium.

POST OFFICE (WAGES).

Report and appendices of the Committee appointed to inquire into Post Office wages.

Part I. Report.

Part II. Minutes of evidence.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PACIFIC CABLE ACT, 1901 (ACCOUNT 1903–1904).

Account showing the money issued from the Consolidated Fund under the provisions of the Pacific Cable Act, 1901 (1 Edw. 7. c. 31), and the money received, expended, and borrowed, and securities created under the said Act, to the 31st March, 1904; together with a copy of the report of the Chairman of the Pacific Cable Board.

RULES PUBLICATION ACT, 1893.

Draft additional rule, July, 1904 (previous proceedings).

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF ESSEX).

Order made by the county council of the county of Essex altering certain polling districts in the county.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PUBLIC HEALTH BILL [H.L.].

House in Committee (according to order); Bill reported without amendment; and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

REGISTRATION OF CLUBS (IRELAND) BILL.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1:—

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 1, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 2:—

THE EARL OF DENBIGH moved to amend the first sub-section, which provided that the application for registration should be accompanied by a certificate in the form set out, and proceeded—

> "The certificate shall be signed by two justices of the peace sitting at petty sessions for the county or by any two justices of a county borough, as the case may be, within which such premises are situate, and shall also, where such premises are not owned by the club, be signed by the owner of such premises or, where the owner is under any legal disability, by his legal representative."

He moved to insert, after the word "signed" the words contained in his Amendment.

Amendment moved—

> "In page 2, line 12, after the word 'signed' to insert the words, 'where the premises are situate within the county borough of Dublin by two justices of the peace for the said county borough, and where the premises are situate in any part of the Dublin Metropolitan Police District which is not comprised in the county borough of Dublin by two justices of the peace for the county of Dublin, and where the premises are situate elsewhere in Ireland.'"—(*The Earl of Denbigh.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 2, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 3:—

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 4:—

THE EARL OF DENBIGH explained that the Amendment standing in his name to this clause was antecedent to another Amendment, the object of which was to deal with the question of the sale of excisable liquor to members of a club for consumption off the premises. In the House of Commons the Irish Government proposed an Amendment which would have permitted such sale, but that Amendment was resisted by the promoters of the Bill. An arrangement had subsequently been arrived at between the promoters and the Irish Government to which effect was proposed to be given by the Amendment standing in his name to Clause 8 (Penalties for supplying excisable liquor for consumption outside registered club)—

> "Provided that the Court when granting an application for the registration of a club, may, if it thinks fit, make an order authorising the sale or supply on the premises of the club, between the hours of eight o'clock in the morning and ten o'clock at night, of excisable liquor to members for their own consumption outside those premises, and where such order is made this section shall not apply in the case of any sale or supply of liquor thereby authorised."

But if the noble Lord in charge of the Bill (Lord Clonbrock) preferred the Amendment standing in his own name, which would assimiliate the law in Ireland to that in England and Scotland in this respect, the Irish Office were quite prepared to accept it and would withdraw their Amendment to Clause 8.

LORD CLONBROCK said that although the effect of both Amendments would be the same he preferred his own wording.

THE EARL OF DENBIGH intimated that he would not, therefore, move his Amendment.

LORD CLONBROCK then moved to amend Sub-section (h) of Clause 4 by adding, after the words, "no excisable liquors shall be sold or supplied for consumption outside the premises of the club," the words, "except between the hours of eight o'clock in the morning and ten o'clock at night to members of the club." He said that as the Bill stood it would be impossible for a member even to get a flask filled before going on a railway journey or for a day's fishing, and he thought that by restricting the hours during which intoxicating liquor could be sold for consumption off the premises all possible objection to the Amendment would be removed.

Amendment moved—

"In page 4, line 37, after the word 'club' to insert the words 'except between the hours of eight o'clock in the morning and ten o'clock at night to members of the club.'"—(*Lord Clonbrock.*)

THE EARL OF DENBIGH accepted the Amendment.

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

THE EARL OF MAYO had on the Paper an Amendment to the proviso at the end of Clause 4. The proviso ran—

"Provided always that this section shall not apply to any lodge of Freemasons duly constituted under a charter or warrant from the Grand Lodge of Ireland."

The Amendment proposed to add the following words—

"Or to any society formed for religious, social, philanthropic, or political purposes, where the society only meets as such at stated intervals provided by its rules, and where during the interval between such meetings no exciseable liquors are sold or supplied to its members as such."

The noble Earl explained that since putting the Amendment on the Paper he had had time to study it closely, and had come to the conclusion that it would raise what would prove a highly contentious question in the other House. In the circumstances, therefore, he thought it would be wiser to withdraw the Amendment for the present; but he reserved to himself the right to bring it up in another form, if thought desirable, at a subsequent stage of the Bill.

THE ACTING-CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Lord BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH): Then the noble Earl does not move his Amendment?

THE EARL OF MAYO: No.

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 5.

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Clause 5, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6.

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 7.

Consequential Amendment agreed to.

Clause 7, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 8.

Consequential Amendment agreed to.

Clause 8, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining clauses agreed to, and Bill reported, with Amendments, to the House.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 146.)

DEAN FOREST BILL.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clauses 1 to 3 agreed to.

Clause 4.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of SALISBURY) said that the Amendments standing in his name to Clauses 4, 5, and 6 were all of a drafting character, having reference to one particular point. Their Lordships would recollect that in moving the Second Reading of the Bill he explained that the coal field was divided into areas, which were granted to the free miners of the district; but it had been found that there was a part of the deep level which had never been so granted. It did not, therefore, technically come within the term "gale," and the object of the Amendments was to add, after the word "gale," the words "or tract of coal."

Amendment moved—

"In page 3, line 27, after the word 'gale' to insert the words 'or tract of coal.'"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 5.

Verbal Amendment agreed to.

Clause 5, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 6.

Verbal Amendment agreed to.

Clause 6, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 7 and 8 agreed to.

Clause 9.

The Marquess of SALISBURY explained that this clause provided, *inter alia*, that the term "galee" included any person holding through or under a galee. It had been found that the words "any person holding through or under" were rather too wide. As the grantee held in fee it was necessary to protect his heirs and assigns, and he moved to omit the words "another person holding through or under" and to insert the words in his Amendment.

Amendment moved—

"In page 6, lines 13 and 14, to leave out the words 'any person holding through or under' and to insert the words 'the heirs and assigns of.'"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Consequential Amendments agreed to.

The Marquess of Salisbury.

Clause 9, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 10.

Consequential Amendment agreed to.

Clause 10, as amended, agreed to.

Bill reported, with Amendments, to the House.

Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. [No. 147.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 15*th July*, 1904.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Canal Rates and Charges (Regent's Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Lothians Electric Power Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Bill to be read the third time.

Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill[Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP M).

The CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS informed the House that the Committee on Group M of Private Bills, not being appointed to meet until Tuesday the 19th July, the parties promoting the Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [Lords] had appeared before him and proved that the evidence of Dr. John William Hembrough, Medical Officer of Health for the Northumberland County Council, Newcastle, was essential to their case; and that his attendance could not be procured without the intervention of the House.

Ordered, That Dr. John William Hembrough do attend the Committee on Group M of Private Bills upon Tuesday next, at half-past Eleven of the clock.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Hall-Marking of Foreign Plate Bill, without Amendment.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill; Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill; Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to—Richard Jaeger's Patent Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade, under the Electric Lighting Acts, 1882 and 1888, relating to Birkenhead (Extension), Bishop Auckland (Amendment), Huddersfield (Extension to Golcar), Maidenhead (Extensions), Milford-on-Sea, Newquay, Penzance, Ramsgate, Sunderland Districts, and Tavistock." [Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords.]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act for incorporating and conferring powers on the Belfast and North East Ireland Electricity and Power Gas Company; and for other purposes." [Belfast and North East Ireland Electricity and Power Gas Bill [Lords.]

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill. Lords Amendments to be considered upon Monday next.

Belfast and North East Ireland Electricity and Power Gas Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 274.]

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Atherington; Aylesbury; Barnstaple; Caldbeck; Challacombe; Compton Martin; Denton's Green; Ebberly Lodge; Edgcumb; Felling; Gainsborough; Gateshead (two); Goodleigh; Heddon Filleigh; Highbickington; Inverness; Landkey; Longridge; Midlothian; Mile End, E.; Newcastle on Tyne (six); Newcastle Town Moor; Oakenshaw; Pensarn; Portobello; St. Helens (two); Sherborne; Southam; South Shields; Talywain; Treorchy; Wreckenton; and Yarnscombe; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Southmolton; and Wood Green; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petition from Wangford, against; to lie upon the Table.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897.

Petition from Walthamstow, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ARMY RE-ORGANISATION.

Copy presented, of Summary of the speech of the Secretary of State for War with regard to the Re-organisation of the Army [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

Copy presented, of Report on the Cultivation and Drying of Chicory in Great Britain and Belgium [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POST OFFICE WAGES.

Copy presented, of Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into Post Office Wages, together with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF ESSEX).

Copy presented, of Order made by the County Council of Essex altering certain Polling Districts in the county [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

CROWN AGENTS.

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 2nd May; *Mr. Austin Taylor*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 264.]

POOR RELIEF (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 29th March; *Mr. Grant Lawson*]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 265.]

INDIAN ARMY (UNIFORMS).

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 11th July; *Sir Seymour King*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 266.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Foreign Crews on British Ships.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is yet in a position to say whether it will be possible to take proceedings under the existing law against the British ship which went recently to Antwerp to ship a crew of six Germans, three Dutchmen, seven Belgians, three Greeks, two Swedes, two Frenchmen, a Dane, an Austrian, an Italian, and a Spaniard; and, in the contrary case, having regard to the representations of the Sailors' and Firemens' Union as to the numbers of British sailors out of employment, and to the recent observations of officers of the Royal Navy as to the danger of manning British ships with aliens, if he will accept such an Amendment to the Merchant Shipping Bill as will prevent foreign crews being obtained for British ships at any port between the Elbe and Brest.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) I am advised that the supply of the seamen engaged at Antwerp in the case to which my hon. and gallant friend refers did not constitute an offence under Section 111 of The Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, and proceedings under that section are therefore impracticable. Administrative action will, however, be taken to provide against the occurrence of a similar case in future. I cannot adopt the suggestion that the Merchant Shipping Bill should be so amended as to prevent foreign crews being obtained for British ships at any port between the Elbe and Brest. The Bill is intended to give effect to certain specific recommendations made by a Committee which reported recently, and I deprecate the addition of proposals for legislation not included in the Report of that Committee.

Inspection of Art Instruction in Kendal Grammar School.

MR. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he is aware that last year a science inspector of the Board was sent to inspect the art instruction at the Kendal Grammar School, then under the charge of the headmaster of the Kendal School of Arts; that this science inspector visited the school when no art instruction was being given and in the absence of the headmaster aforesaid, and that in consequence of an adverse report of the science inspector the headmaster was dismissed from his appointment at the grammar school; and, if so, whether the Board of Education is taking steps to ensure the inspection of art instruction by persons with art qualifications so as to prevent the recurrence of similar treatment.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The district inspector, in reporting on the whole work of Kendal Grammar School for session 1902–3, criticised the drawing work adversely. This criticism was based very largely on the work actually done by the boys during the session. Representations were made to the Board regarding this part of the inspector's report, and with a view to assisting the governors to put the course in drawing on a sound basis, an inspector who, before becoming an officer of the Board, had had considerable experience as master in an important school of art, visited the school. His report, copies of which were sent to the county education committee and to the governors of the school, corroborated in all important particulars the report made in the first instance. As regards the last portion of the Question, the Board have for some time past, within the means at their disposal, taken steps to secure that the inspection of art instruction shall be conducted by inspectors having special qualifications.

Drift Maps of the Geological Survey.

MR. MORRELL (Oxfordshire, Woodstock): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he is aware of an increasing demand for geological maps showing superficial deposits with a view to construction of soil maps, important for agricultural purposes; what steps are being taken to complete the drift maps of the Geological Survey, and whether the publication of drift maps on the 6-inch scale is contemplated.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The Board is aware that the utility of the drift maps prepared by the Geological Survey is becoming more widely known, and that those interested in agricultural investigation and practice recognise the value of these maps as a basis for such soil maps as they may find it of advantage to construct. The superficial deposits, as shown upon these drift maps, are now being mapped in all districts where work is going on. Thirty-five 6-inch maps of North Staffordshire have been published with drift, and others of South Wales and of the area around Leicester are in course of preparation for publication. The Board do not contemplate the publication of drift maps on the 6-inch scale for the entire country, but manuscript maps of any part surveyed on this scale may be obtained at the cost of copying, and whatever information with reference to superficial deposits the officers of the survey have shown upon their field maps of other parts of the United Kingdom is available for reference at the offices of the Geological Survey.

Presence of Inspectors at Vivisection Experiments.

DR. SHIPMAN (Northampton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can state in how many cases the licensed vivisector himself has been the only authority present at the operation whose duty it is to see that anæsthetics of sufficient power to prevent the animal feeling pain are administered.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I have no information enabling me to answer this Question.

Vivisection—Consecutive Operations on the Same Animal.

DR. SHIPMAN: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether separate experiments under Certificate B. or B+E., E., or C., other than consecutive operations necessary for the due completion of one experiment, have been performed on the same animal during the last year for which statistics are available; and, if so, how many.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I have not given sanction for the performance of more than one operation on the same animal under the certificates mentioned, other than consecutive operations necessary for the due completion of one experiment; and with the exception of the facts connected with the case of "Baylis *v.* Coleridge" I have no information on the subject.

Vivisection Experiments.

DR. SHIPMAN: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many experiments under the Act 39 and 40 Vict., c. 77, have been performed at each place on the register during 1903; and whether he can ascertain how many separate experiments were performed upon the same animal during the same period.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I have no materials from which I can give the information asked for.

Air in Humid Cotton-Weaving Sheds.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what action he proposes to take to enforce the provisions of The Factory and Workshops Act, 1901, relating to humid cotton-weaving sheds; and whether, in view of the report of the tests of air in humid sheds, he will consider the advisability of reducing the amount of carbon dioxide allowed in each 10,000 volumes of air as fixed by the Act.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) An undertaking was given by the manufacturers that, if the result of the inquiry to which the hon. Member refers was to show that the statutory restriction upon the amount of carbon dioxide could be observed, they would accept the situation without further question and make every effort to comply with the requirement. The matter will continue to receive the attention of the chief inspector and his staff, but I have no reason whatever to doubt that that undertaking will be kept. The question of reducing the amount allowed by statute did not enter into the inquiry. There is no evidence before me pointing to the necessity of reduction, nor has that course been recommended by any of the expert committees which have inquired into the subject.

Superannuation of School Attendance Officers.

MR. CORRIE GRANT (Warwickshire, Rugby): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether any Order is to be issued for the purpose of rendering The Poor Law Officers' Superannuation Act, 1896, applicable to officers transferred from the service of boards of guardians to local education authorities, as contemplated by Rule 19, Schedule II. of The Education Act, 1902; and what is the position of any school attendance officer transferred to a county council in regard to his right to superannuation and his obligation to pay contributions from his salary pending the issue of any such Order.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) An Order on this subject is in preparation. An officer of the kind referred to holds office on the same terms and conditions as before the transfer, and if he was an officer of an authority to which The Poor Law Officers' Superannuation Act, 1896, applies, and he made the annual contributions required to be made under that Act, its provisions will apply to him subject to any modifications to be made by the Order. Thus he will be entitled to superannuation, and the contributions from his salary should be made.

Suggested Removal of Restrictions on Importation of Argentine Cattle in consequence of American Butchers' Strike.

MR. HOUSTON (Liverpool, West Toxteth): To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether his attention has been called to the danger of a fresh meat famine in this country, and the consequent higher prices of meat, due to strikes and other causes in the United States of America; and whether he will consider the desirability of permitting the importation of live cattle into this country from the Argentine to be resumed forthwith under such safeguards as to the safe and humane conveyance of the animals by sea and protection against the introduction of contagious disease as may be imposed by the Board of Agriculture.

(*Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.*) We have noticed the statements which have recently appeared in the daily Press as to the possible effects of the reported strike amongst butchers and meat packers in the United States. The Board are under statutory obligations to prohibit the landing of live animals whenever the condition of an exporting country as regards disease is unsatisfactory. The continued existence of foot-and-mouth disease in the Argentine renders it, therefore, impossible for the Board to withdraw the prohibition against the landing of live animals from that country.

Sale of Old War Vessels—Removal from United Kingdom.

Colonel DENNY (Kilmarnock Burghs): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he is aware that during the recent sales of old war vessels the condition, in certain of the cases, that the ships should not be removed from the United Kingdom, was departed from; how many of these vessels were sold to foreigners, and among these how many to Germans; to whom was the battleship "Belleisle" sold, and was the clause mentioned also eliminated in her case; was the "Belleisle" the vessel upon which gunnery experiments were carried out, and was any part of the ship which could give indications of the results of these experiments left in the hands of the purchasers.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) The reply to the first part of the Question is "Yes." The restriction as to non-removal from the United Kingdom is only inserted in certain cases when thought necessary. In the recent sales the advertised conditions have not been departed from. None of the vessels were sold to foreigners, though some have since been disposed of abroad by the purchasers. The "Belleisle" was sold to a London firm without any stipulation as to disposal, except that "she must not be re-sold to the Powers at present at war." She was the vessel on which gunnery experiments were carried out. The results of the experiments were defaced before sale in order to avoid anyone learning anything from her condition.

Strength of Volunteer Forces in the Home District.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT: To ask the Secretary of State for War if he can give the numbers of the officers and Volunteers (not including cadets), in the following corps, viz.: London Rifle Brigade, Queen's Westminster, Inns of Court, Civil Service, London Scottish, St. George's, London Irish, and Artists, on 1st July, 1901, and 1st July, 1904; and what was the aggregate strength in officers and trained Volunteers in the remaining corps in the Home District upon each of the dates mentioned.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The following statement shows the numbers of officers and of non-commissioned officers and men, excluding permanent staff, in the particular corps named and in the remainder of the corps in the Home District on 1st November, 1899, 1st July, 1901, and 1st July, 1904:—

Strength of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Men on 1st November, 1899.

	Efficients.		Non-efficients.	Total.
	Officers.	Non-commissioned officers and men.		
1st London Volunteer Rifle Corps (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade)	34	692	37	763
13th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (Queen's)	46	1,045	19	1,110
14th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (Inns of Court)	20	325	46	391
12th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (Civil Service)	30	733	2	765
7th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (London Scottish)	34	833	—	867
19th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (St. Giles's and St. George's)	23	706	47	776
16th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (London Irish)	34	1,033	57	1,124
20th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (Artists)	28	658	1	687

Aggregate strength of Corps formed prior to 1st July, 1901.

	Efficients.			
	Officers.	Non-commissioned officers and men.	Non-efficients.	Total.
Honourable Artillery Company	38	493	12	543
Royal Garrison Artillery	76	2,105	98	2,279
Royal Engineers	110	2,405	100	2,615
Infantry	831	22,140	727	23,698
Royal Army Medical Corps	21	393	10	424
Total	1,076	27,536	947	29,559
Grand Total	1,325	33,561	1,156	36,042

The above does not include the strength of the 4th London, formed between 1st November, 1899, and 1st July, 1901.

	1st July 1901.			1st July 1904.		
	Officers.	Non-commissioned officers and men.	Total.	Officers.	Non-commissioned officers and men.	Total.
1st London Volunteer Rifle Corps (City of London Rifle Volunteer Brigade)	45	982	1,027	29	559	588
13th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (Queen's)	55	1,722	1,777	50	1,113	1,163
14th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (Inns of Court)	30	707	737	26	£21	447
12th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (Civil Service)	36	992	1,028	34	806	840
7th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (London Scottish)	33	1,002	1,035	33	616	649
19th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (St. Giles's and St. George's)	25	1,001	1,026	14	604	618
16th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (London Irish)	35	1,161	1,196	25	782	807
20th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps (Artists)	42	1,034	1,076	32	538	570

Aggregate strength of remaining Corps in the Home District which were in existence on 1st July, 1901.

	1st July, 1901.			1st July, 1904.		
	Officers.	Non-commissioned officers and men.	Total.	Officers.	Non-commissioned officers and men.	Total.
Honourable Artillery Company	37	844	881	38	507	545
Royal Garrison Artillery	82	2,917	2,999	73	1,797	1,870
Royal Engineers	130	3,034	3,164	153	3,217	3,370
Infantry	962	28,625	29,587	855	22,770	23,625
Royal Army Medical Corps	19	469	488	19	308	327
Total	1,230	35,889	37,119	1,138	28,599	29,737
Grand Total	1,531	44,490	46,021	1,381	34,038	35,419

Strength of remaining Corps formed subsequent to 1st July 1901.

	1st July, 1904.		
	Officers.	Non-commissioned officers and men.	Total.
Infantry - -	7	24	31
Motor Volunteer Corps.	29	116	145
Royal Army Medical Corps.	8	259	267
Total -	44	399	443

The Government's Fiscal Policy.

Mr. BLACK (Banffshire): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury, in view of the fact that the Government has determined to ask a mandate from the electorate at the ensuing general election to oppose any proposal to impose an import duty on raw material, whether they have come to a like determination with reference to a protective or preferential tax upon food.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) There seems to be no reason why it should be more obligatory upon the Government than upon the Opposition to indicate the substance of the addresses which, when a Dissolution comes, they will present to their constituents.

EDUCATION (LOCAL AUTHORITY DEFAULT) BILL.

[Second Reading.]

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. LLOYD MORGAN (Carmarthen, W.) said he wished to move as an Amendment to the Second Reading of this Bill, "That this House declines to pass any measure to extend the powers of the Board of Education under the Education Act of 1902 and 1903 until the Government is prepared to introduce a Bill to amend the said Acts by abolishing all religious tests on teachers, and placing all elementary schools supported by public funds under complete popular control." It had been said in some quarters that the Act of 1902 had been a success. It had certainly created a condition of turmoil and strife in nearly every parish and district throughout the length and breadth of the land. [Ministerial cries of "No."] That was, he submitted, a correct view, and he would endeavour before he concluded to support that observation. Whatever doubts there might be as to the success of the Education Act of 1902 in some parts of the country, he did not think any Member on that side of the House would dissent from the statement that in Wales—and this Bill was entirely directed against the Welsh county councils—that measure had been a complete failure. If further proof of that were required it was supplied by the introduction of this Bill, while the mere introduction of the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill in another place went to show that even amongst the Bishops and the clergy there was a feeling that the Education Act of 1902 was not either a fair or a final settlement of the education question.

The introduction of this Bill seemed to him to be a very striking fact. The Government passed their Education Act only two years ago, and less than two years after it came into operation they were obliged to come to the House of Commons for more legislation in order to make their Act operative. The reason for that was that the Government had entirely miscalculated the forces which were against the Act in this country. If they were to form a correct judgment on the action of the local authorities they were bound to consider the circumstances under which the Education Act was passed. He did not want to make too much of the "no mandate" argument. He did not say that a Government which was mainly elected on one issue should not introduce legislation on other points; but he did maintain that if a Government was largely elected on one issue, that disentitled them to introduce legislation of a highly controversial character. The Prime Minister at North East Manchester and scores of Gentlemen opposite throughout the length and breadth of the land made speeches stating that this Parliament was to be elected for one purpose only, to bring the war to an end, and that those electors who voted for Liberal candidates were voting for the Boers.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is not the question before the House.

Mr. LLOYD MORGAN said he only wanted to show that the conditions under which the Education Act was passed were such that it was unfair to introduce the Bill now before the House. The Education Act was opposed to the recognised principles on which legislation in this country was passed, with two of which his Amendment dealt. The Act did not give the people control over the money they provided, and it imposed religious tests on men who were now to all intents and purposes Civil servants. It was quite true that in other respects the Act was opposed to recognised principles. The Act was passed in the interests of one religious sect of the community. The Archbishop of Canterbury said he had never seen the Bill——

***Mr. SPEAKER**: Order, order! It is not competent to the hon. Member on this Bill to review the whole of the Education Act of 1902. As I understand, certain county councils are objecting to certain conditions on which rate aid is given, and it is alleged that they decline to carry out the Act, and this is a Bill to take measures to compel that to be done. The two matters referred to in the hon. Member's Amendment are relevant, but the hon. Member will not be in order in treating this as an opportunity for discussing the merits of the Act of 1902 as a whole.

Mr. LLOYD MORGAN said he was giving the reasons why the county councils were fighting the Act, and he only wished to call attention to the fact that the Education Act was passed in circumstances which justified the local authorities offering the very strongest opposition to the Bill introduced by the hon. Member for Oxford University. He thought he was entitled to say that the passing of the Education Act in 1902 had caused a keen sense of injustice throughout the country. It was impossible to exaggerate that feeling, not only amongst Nonconformists, but amongst men who were not connected with any Nonconformist communion, and amongst Churchmen who were entirely out of sympathy with the political opinions of the Opposition. The injustice was sinking into the minds of the people, and the feeling that the Act was founded on principles which could not be supported, was gaining force day by day.

Sir JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) on the point of order, submitted that up to this point the hon. Member's speech had been entirely denunciation of the Act of 1902.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said he would like to have Mr. Speaker's ruling on this point, which was very important. The opposition to the Act was on certain grounds which had produced certain difficulties. Their contention was that the real remedy for certain difficulties caused by the opposition in Wales to the Act of 1902, was not to bring in a coercive Bill like the present — [Ministerial cries of "Oh, oh!"]—but to bring in a remedial measure. Would it not, therefore, be in order to dwell on the objections raised by the Welsh people to the principle of the Act of 1902, and to contend that the Government ought to meet those objections rather than bring in this Bill?

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): On the point of order, Sir, is it not the fact that, if the Welsh county councils are carrying out the Act, this Bill will have no effect in Wales at all.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.) said he ventured to submit that it would be allowable and proper that they should be permitted to contend that this was not the method of dealing with the state of things which had arisen in Wales, but that it should be dealt with in a different method altogether which would bring peace where there was no peace at present.

***Mr. SPEAKER**: That opens a very much wider question. The right hon. Gentleman proposes to debate this question as if he were arguing an alternative system of education for Wales, and that would not be in order. It is permissible to deal with specific difficulties arising out of the action of certain county councils. The Amendment deals with certain difficulties which the county councils in Wales have felt in the administration of the Act and the debate must be confined to the question whether these are difficulties for which the proposed remedy is required. I cannot admit here a debate upon an alternative system of education.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT asked whether they were to understand that they would be allowed to maintain that this was not the way to deal with the question.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked whether it would be in order to investigate the causes which had led to the Bill being brought in.

***MR SPEAKER**: If the argument of the right hon. Gentleman were correct it would mean that if there were a penalty of £5 upon some action of a county council, and it was proposed to increase that penalty to £100 on the ground that the £5 penalty was inadequate, it would be open to the House to discuss that that was not the proper method of dealing with the difficulty, and that a wholly different Education Bill ought to be brought in. I have twice given my decision on that point.

SIR EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick) asked whether it would be within Mr. Speaker's ruling to express their opinion and argue as to whether the action of certain county councils in Wales had been justified or not.

***MR. SPEAKER**: Certainly. Hon. Members can give and support the reasons that make them unwilling to give further powers to the Board of Education for enforcing the Act.

MR. PERKS (Lincolnshire, Louth) said that this was a Bill which affected the whole country. Might it not be open to hon. Members, when a new tribunal was proposed to be set up to administer the Education Act and vest in that tribunal certain functions now possessed by the county councils, to contend that the Education Board was neither a competent nor a satisfying tribunal in which to vest the statutory powers now vested in county councils.

***MR. SPEAKER**: In so far as this Bill proposes to vest certain powers in the Board of Education it will be competent for hon. Members to object to such powers being given.

MR. LLOYD MORGAN resuming, said he was pointing out that the condition of affairs in Wales with which this Bill dealt arose from the sense of injustice which the people there considered that the Education Act inflicted upon them, and which no doubt accounted for the drastic action of the Carmarthenshire County Council. He was not himself a passive resister, but it would be unfair to shut one's eyes to the fact that the men who were passive resisters had a conscientious objection to the Education Act. The Carmarthenshire County Council were entitled to oppose that Act provided they took the right methods of doing so. He did not say that their action was in every respect right, but this particular county council were practically obliged to take the course they did because of the powerful feeling prevailing in the county. The fact that those members of the county council who opposed the action of the council were rejected, showed how strong was the feeling against the Act existing among the people. The Government were not dealing with a violent or lawless people. The Carmarthenshire people and the Welsh people generally were very religious and a law-abiding people, and their opposition to the Act was prompted by the feeling that it wronged their consciences. If the Welsh county councils were wrong in the line they took the Government could not acquit themselves of all blame owing to the manner in which the Act was passed through the House of Commons. If they pushed measures through that House contrary to the will of the people, they could not expect the people to pay the same respect to them as if they were passed with their consent. There was no moral force of public opinion behind the Act nor did he believe this Bill was going to end the struggle.

In his opinion this Bill so far as the Education Act was concerned made no difference at all. The county councils had a duty to perform on behalf of the ratepayers and were entitled to say, "This Act has been passed against our will. It is objectionable. We give you everything the law says we must but we will give you nothing else." If the Act were administered on those lines the Bill would practically make no difference. The hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs suggested that the inquiry should be a public one, not into whether or not there had been some breach of the law made by the county council, but an inquiry into the working of the Education Act in Wales generally. As the Lord-Lieutenant of the county had also suggested, the Government should have held a complete inquiry into the cause of the discontent in Wales and should have gone to the root of the matter. It was intolerable when all the money for the support of the schools was provided from public sources, that the parish schools should be regulated and controlled by one denomination, and that denomination the minority of the people. This was not a new question, for it was raised, as the result of a Government inquiry, in 1855. The Welsh people spent more money on education than the people of any other part of the country did. Why the Government had brought in this peddling, tinkering, meddlesome little Bill he could not make out. If the controversy was to be opened, why was it not opened in a fair way, and why was not there some endeavour to redress the grave religious inequalities in a fair and just way which would satisfy the people who were at present crying out against the Bill because it affected their consciences. The adoption by the Government of his Motion was the only way, in his judgment, that this question could be settled; and it would be well if the Government gave some attention, at the end of their ill-spent life, to redressing the errors of the past.

Sir ALFRED THOMAS (Glamorganshire, E.) said he rose to support the Amendment of his hon. friend. Were it necessary to have an object-lesson to show the abject failure of the Education Act of 1902 they had one in the Bill now before the House of Commons. By the Bill the Government stood confessed that their previous measure had utterly failed to fulfil its object as far as regarded the Welsh counties, and they were given to understand that certain English counties, notably Lincoln, liked it little, if any, better than the people of the Principality. Now the Government could not say they did not receive ample warning of what would happen if they persisted in including Wales within the scope of that measure. They were told that the Welsh county councils would not put in force so much of the Act as related to denominational schools. Their representations were treated with scorn. But the Government now found to their cost that every prediction made by his hon. friend the Member for Carnarvon and other Welsh Members had been fulfilled to the very letter. Perhaps they might say of the Government that, as far as regarded the Act of 1902, they had only themselves to blame for want of a more intimate knowledge of the feelings of the Welsh people. It was possible that their advisers might have told them that the proposed legislation, notwithstanding anything said to the contrary by Welsh Liberal Members, would be administered by the Welsh county councils. There might be some excuse for their mistake with regard to the Act of 1902; but there could not be any excuse or extenuation advanced for the present Bill. Since the passing of the last Act many things had happened that should have warned the Government of the danger that confronted them. The conduct of the Government had been analogous to that of Pharaoh to the Children of Israel. Every additional indication they had had of the determination of the Welsh councils not to put the Act in force had only tended to further harden their hearts, until at last the House had been presented with the present Bill, which had been justly described as a Welsh Coercion Bill. If it were not too late they ought to warn the Government of the fate of Pharaoh. It was true they did not expect them to be overwhelmed in the Red Sea, but for this and many other sins they confidently expected them to be overwhelmed at the next general election.

It was asserted by advocates of the Education Act that the reason why the county councils were so unwilling to put the Bill in force was that they were not elected for that purpose, but that it would be quite different after the next county council elections. So it was, but not in the direction they indicated; and here he might be permitted to read a short extract from the *Liverpool Mercury* of figures supplied by that good Welsh patriot, Beriah Evans. Before the passing of the Act the Liberals in Welsh county councils numbered 543 and the Conservatives 252. After the passing of the Act the Liberals numbered 639 to 157 Conservatives. So that whereas previous to the passing of the Act the Conservatives were nearly half of the whole, after the last elections the Conservatives did not number one out of every five of the membership of Welsh councils. That was the answer of the people of Wales to the Education Act. It was plain that warnings had no effect upon the Government from whomsoever given—not even when given by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, who said—

> "Do not put the schools upon the slippery slope of the rates."

Neither had the many lessons given them by Welsh county councils in any way made them more amenable to reason. And if it were their determination to ride rough-shod over the feelings of the Welsh it would not occur without the strongest protest of their representatives in the House of Commons. This was the reward they received after all the sacrifices they had made for education in the Principality. After all this Bill might have one good effect, it might make the change that would follow in the next Administration more thorough, for certainly nothing less than was contained in the Amendment now under discussion would satisfy the Welsh people. And by that time they had reason to hope the predominating partner would himself have come up to concert pitch.

Amendment proposed—

> "To leave out from the word 'That' to the end of the Question, and add the words 'this House declines to pass any measure to extend the powers of the Board of Education under the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 until the Government is prepared to introduce a Bill to amend the said Acts by abolishing all religious tests on teachers, and placing all elementary schools supported by public funds under complete popular control.'"—(*Mr. Lloyd Morgan.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I need hardly tell the House that after the Speaker's ruling, the debate appears to me to be restricted to a compass so narrow that it would be quite inappropriate that I should take up more of the time of the House than a few minutes. But in those few minutes I can explain to the House why it is we think this Bill is necessary, and why we remain quite unmoved by the two speeches which have just been delivered. I will not deal, I need hardly say, either by way of explanation, excuse, or justification, with the Act of 1902; that would be outside the ruling Mr. Speaker has given; and I think it would be quite unnecessary for the purposes of my argument. I must remind the House that when that Bill was introduced the Government were perfectly aware that it was impossible to bring in any Education Act without dealing with the very thorny religious questions which any possible treatment of the education question must produce. We felt that the Bill might raise difficulties in administration, and in the Bill as we originally proposed it to the House we had provisions which would have allowed local authorities to leave it on one side and to refuse both its advantages and its disadvantages. But the whole House was against us. We altered the clause, we re-drew it, and finally by common consent of the House we withdrew it. I will not argue whether we were right or wrong in withdrawing it. I only mention the fact because I think it is due to us to show that we were perfectly conscious of the kind of difficulty that would be raised, and that we did our best by the original construction of the Bill to obviate that difficulty. Well, the Bill was passed without the clause, and those evils have arisen. Whether the county councils in Wales and those who are responsible for their action were justified in the course they have taken is another matter. But I think it is perfectly clear to every man who will abstract his mind from the special controversy which the Bill has aroused and will concentrate his attention upon the general principles which ought to animate every individual citizen and all the subordinate local institutions into which the country is divided, that the Government cannot, and ought not, to allow the intentions of Parliament, be they good or bad, to be defeated because those who have been entrusted with the carrying out of the will of the nation, as organised in Parliament, have attempted to throw off the burden of responsibility which Parliament has placed upon them. Does anybody deny that proposition? The hon. Gentleman who moved this Motion seems to think that the whole question is settled when he introduces the word "conscience." I do not think that the question is settled by the introduction of that order of ideas. I know that all the views I hold are conscientious views and that all the objections I feel are conscientious objections. I daresay I may be wrong in my beliefs; I daresay my objections are misplaced; but at all events they are conscientious. And it is absurd to contend that the holding of a conscientious objection is a reason for breaking the law. The laws of this country ought to be obeyed. They may be good or bad; they may be passed by an iniquitous Government, they may be passed without a mandate from the people, they may be passed by closure by compartments; they may have all these defects——

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: They have.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: And in the opinion of hon. Gentleman opposite they have these defects. In my opinion they have not; in my conscientious opinion they have not. But, whether they have or whether they have not, the principle remains that the way to deal with a situation of that kind is not to break the law, but to alter the law. [OPPOSITION cheers.] As that is really the only proposition I ask the House to assent to, I am extremely glad to have the enthusiastic assent of hon. Gentlemen opposite. If you once introduce this principle of conscientious objection, by which is meant, I believe, a sincere objection——

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): No.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: An insincere objection then.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: A great deal more than sincere. What do you mean by calling them sincere?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, what are they? I use "conscientious" in its ordinary sense. What, then, is there to complain of in my statement? But, without attempting to bandy words with the right hon. Gentleman, I will put it that the solution of the thorny question of education proposed by the Government is one that has undoubtedly aroused conscientious objections in a large portion of the community. But precisely the same objections may be aroused by any other solution. I give the right hon. Gentleman opposite every credit for ingenuity. But has he got in his mind even the faintest outline of a Bill to amend the Education Act which will not hurt the conscience of somebody? If, then, you are going to lay down the principle that a conscientious objection to an Act by an individual or a county council is a sufficient reason for breaking the law, the result will be that, until some statesman arises who will find his way through this labyrinth of mutually destructive conscientious opinions and passes a measure which pleases every one you will have a series of attempts to deal with this religious difficulty, each of which will be met by disobedience of the law, by the refusal to pay rates, on the part of those to whom the particular solution that may for the time commend itself to the House of Commons is offensive. I do not think any one can contemplate this series of illegalities, exercised first from one side and then from the other without feeling that it brings utter destruction upon the whole principle of Parliamentary government. I should have thought that hon. Gentlemen opposite, who believe they are coming into power immediately with an enormous majority, and are going to alter the Act and carry out a great series of changes as regards education, would have been the very first to say to their own friends and followers, "Bear with the evil while it lasts; it will not last long; do not break the law; we will bring in a new law or an amended law; and you will only discredit the law if you lay down as part of your policy that law-breaking is the true method, and not legislation, by which the errors of the Legislature should be corrected." That seems to me common sense, wisdom, and sound constitutional doctrine; and I should have thought that it would appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite as an excellent policy from their own point of view.

The hon. Gentleman who moved this Motion talked in a glib fashion of the way in which they were going to put this question right after the general election. I wish them all success. I know they look forward to a solution which will avoid all the evils incidental to the existing system, which will raise no other evils in their place, and which will leave untroubled every sensitive conscience from one end of England to the other, and I can assure them that if they should be much more fortunate than their predecessors in finding this solution they will not have any heartier supporter than myself. But I have my doubts. I see trouble for the future even in the speech of the hon. Gentleman who opened this discussion. He told us that the true system of education was to give in our elementary schools the religious instruction that was desired by the parents. That is exactly the thing I should like to see done.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: Why do you not do it now?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Because I have never been able to formulate a plan—which I am sure the hon. Gentleman can—by which that happy result could be attained. We built upon the old foundations; and in every single respect the building we erected upon these old foundations was far more in conformity with the views of those who opposed the Bill through thick and thin in this House than the system which existed before that Bill was passed. Of course I do not pretend that the Bill attained that full and complete ideal which was sketched for us by the hon. Gentleman. But it was the best we were able to do. The hon. Gentleman spoke of the dregs of the mis-spent life of the Government. Surely the task of framing a scheme which shall satisfy the views of every parent in the country should not be undertaken by a Government in the last dregs of a misspent life. We look forward to the new and rejuvenated Party, in which I have no doubt the hon. Member for Carnarvon will be an important personage, to give to every child that denominational education which the parents of the child desire. Happy man! He has my best wishes in the accomplishment of that great and distinguished task. We, a Government in the last dregs of an ill-spent life, do not feel equal to undertaking this work, which we leave to younger and abler hands. But in the meanwhile we do suggest that there is an interest common to both sides, and that is that when the Legislature passes a law, and when it entrusts the execution of that law to the county councils of the country, and when those county councils fail in their duty, we should at all events see that there is some substitute found for the machinery which in this particular case has failed in its full effect. In asking the House to pass this Bill we do not ask them to alter either the substance or the essential spirit of the educational provisions of last year. What we do ask them to do is to see that this Legislature shall not be flouted, and that, in the interest of the children as well as in the interest of the law, the provisions of the Act of 1902 shall be carried into effect.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The issue raised in this Bill is one of great gravity but also of extreme simplicity. It is simply this—shall means be provided beyond those that are contained in the statute itself for coercing a local authority into doing something, taking some course, to which the conscientious feelings of those whom it represents are opposed? That is the simple question. The right hon. Gentleman brushes it aside by abolishing conscience.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Not at all. I said my views were conscientious.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Does the right hon. Gentleman think this is a warm day? I suppose he thinks that is not a conscientious belief. What we mean by conscientious belief and feeling is a belief and feeling that go beyond mere matters of fact, which reach a higher sphere altogether, and which therefore bring into play a more exalted and more intense sentiment than when a mere question of the expediency of this or that line of policy is concerned. That is precisely the class of intense earnest feeling which is aroused here, and which it ought to be the duty and object of Parliament to avoid disturbing as much as possible. That is what we mean by conscientious belief, and I am glad to have been able to add to the already large store of knowledge which the right hon. Gentleman possesses by, in an imperfect way, explaining to him what conscience really means. In looking back over the discussion upon the Education Act of 1902 I found some remarkable arguments used by the right hon. Gentleman himself which it is worth while to recall to the House. The Prime Minister very properly reminded us that, as introduced, that Bill was not a compulsory measure. He said, in introducing the Bill on 24th March, 1902—that its adoption was to rest with local authorities. The principle of the Bill so far as elementary education was concerned was that of local option. It was necessary to go gradually and to avoid any suspicion of coercing the local authorities. He gave his reasons in these words—

> "The Bill touches an enormous number of controversial problems: it may rake up the ashes of many old controversies and it may excite administrative disquiet, even alarm, in many portions of the country. . . . We can hardly hope to succeed in our object unless we carry with us the local authorities on whom the burden and responsibility of working the Bill will fall. We think it would be most undesirable to drive or force them, with but brief consideration and, possibly, against their will, into accepting our plan."

He went on to hope that they would in a few years voluntarily adopt the Bill in its entirety.

> "How much better to attain that result through their free and untrammelled action than to force it upon them, it may be prematurely."

I entirely approve of that sentiment, and I voted in support of it. But the scheme of the Bill was afterwards recast. The county councils were compelled to administer the Act regardless of their own inclinations. The decision was left to the House. I believe the Prime Minister voted in favour of making the Bill compulsory, but many of us did not. Those were the sentiments of the right hon. Gentleman in March. In July he repelled the idea that any disturbance of social order was possible, or that there was any ground for disquiet or alarm. He had no doubt as to the Government carrying with them the local authorities. In March there were doubts: in July he so arranged the financial provisions of the Bill as to make it worth while for the councils to come in, and for the ratepayers to avoid raking up the embers of those controversies which had loomed so large in March. It would be interesting to know which of those arguments commends itself to the right hon. Gentleman now, but though interesting it is not important. The important thing to remember is that the right hon. Gentleman, the author of the Act, himself recognised and warned the House of Commons of the dangers which would follow from an endeavour to coerce the local authorities. Upon whom, then, does the balance of criminality rest? Does it rest with the authors of the Bill, who saw the danger and pointed it out to the House, but persisted in imposing on the county councils, some of whom might be refractory, what might prove in some instances to be "an intolerable strain?" Or does it rest with the authorities who have refused to be coerced into a course which they feel they cannot follow without a betrayal of the interests, and especially of the inner feelings and desires, of those whom they represent? Having passed a law which in this respect at least is a bad law, having miscalculated the public sentiment, so as to make the Act a failure in respect of bringing in the sympathies and co-operation of all the world, it is not easy for the right hon. Gentleman and his friends to lift up hands in horror when some men commit acts which are in letter or in spirit a breach or an evasion of the law. A problem of this kind has been known on occasion before. Those who refused to pay Church rates were also regarded as lawbreakers, and we know what the result of that was. Really, after the speech of the Prime Minister on the main Act, after his deprecation of the methods of coercion, after his arguing against any attempt to ride roughshod over local sentiment and conscientious convictions, the authors of that Act are not entitled to take a high moral tone. They must be quite aware that by seeking to apply this double dose of coercion they are not improving——

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: This Bill does not coerce them.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Moral coercion.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Moral! Immoral.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Indirect coercion, at any rate; otherwise why is the Bill brought in?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Because if the county councils do not do their duty somebody else must. That is all.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, and that somebody else is to do it at the cost of the county councils. That is not in the least degree coercive! Really the definements of the right hon. Gentleman are always amusing, but they sometimes carry him too far. The right course is to amend the Act, to remove the causes of breakdown, to bring the Act into conformity with public feeling. Give popular control in deed as well as in name, by making the control and management representative. Do away with those particular tests which are not only iniquitous and oppressive, but obsolete and delusive at the present time—a system which has been given up in every other Department of the State and is retained solely for the benefit of clerical interest in elementary schools. Let sectarian teaching be given by the sect and at the cost of the sect whose adherents demand it. The methods of this Bill, on the other hand, are designed to override popular local feeling, and they cannot have other than an evil effect on the interests of education. If the Government will not look facts in the face, why do not they resort to the remedy provided in the Bill itself? It is a perfectly clear one. In the words of the Attorney-General—

> "It was the duty of the local education authority to maintain all schools alike, and therefore any words forbidding discrimination were unnecessary. If discrimination were attempted the remedy was provided under Section 11, which said that if the local authority failed to fulfil any of its duties the Board of Education should hold a public inquiry and make an order which was to be enforced by *mandamus*."

To gaol with the offenders! Why should they not be sent to gaol? Because the Government dare not. They know that it would lead to something in the direction of civil war, and be an advertisement on a large scale for the breakdown of their Act. So this new apparatus of coercion is introduced. It is an admission that the Welsh local authorities are too far gone for imprisonment and something else must be done. The Government have recourse to another scheme, which is to sweep away the local authority and put another body in their place. They deal with the problem in the rightdown straightforward autocratic manner of administering the Act from Whitehall, impounding the ratepayers' money from Whitehall, and disregarding all the ordinary constitutional safeguards which even in a Bill of this kind the House of Commons sets up; suspend the Constitution in fact. This is a mode of dealing with things we have been accustomed to apply to what we call the "sister country" for many years.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is the Act of 1870. [Cries of "No, no!"]

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: It is a totally different thing.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: At all events this is the remedy to be applied by the right hon. Gentleman. It does not suggest to my mind either good to the cause of education, to the popularising of education, or in the bringing in of general sympathy with the cause of education. Nor does it suggest a very full appreciation of a strict adherence to the principles of the Constitution; and therefore we shall, I hope, oppose it with all the strength we have.

But there is another consideration which has to be urged. There is another stronger reason which I will urge in passing. This method involves that the money which ought to go to localities is to be stopped in order to be used for this purpose of education. But this money goes at present for public purposes—for the police, the lunatics, and other things; and it really means that these may be neglected in order that the particular provisions with regard to schools may be enforced. We remember the saying that "Wretches hang that jurymen may dine;" now lunatics are to go loose.

MR. A J. BALFOUR: That view of the right hon. Gentleman rests on a misreading of the Bill. It is only the education money that is to be used.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Only the education grant? If that is so, and I am relieved to hear it, then that part of my argument falls to the ground. But the general education of the district is to be interfered with in order to secure the particular support which these clerical schools are thought to require. It is the more limited area which is to be poached upon; but leaving that aside, I think that I have said enough to show that in my opinion, and I believe in the opinion of the majority on this side of the House at all events, the Government are going about the matter in the wrong way. They foresaw the result that would happen, but notwithstanding that they have persisted in the course they have adopted. The way to get out of the *impasse* in which they are placed is to amend the law in such a way as to reconcile the good feeling and the conscientious beliefs of the people among whom the Act is to be applied.

SIR JOHN GORST said that the right hon. Gentleman had misrepresented the character of the Bill as being a measure to coerce local authorities to do that against which they had a conscientious objection. That was exactly what the Bill did not do. The existing law might have the effect of coercing local authorities to do that against which they had a conscientious objection, for they might be ordered by *mandamus* to carry out the Act, and the order might be enforced by imprisonment if necessary. But the principle of the present Bill was that if the local authorities had a conscientious objection to do some act required to be done by law their conscientious scruples were to be respected and some other authority would do that which the law ordered to be done. It was no new expedient. It had been in force from 1870 down to 1902, and the expedient had constantly been put in force. The character of the security taken for the forms of the law to be observed in the Act of 1870 was that the Board of Education had power to declare any school board in default, and thereupon to appoint a school board of its own. It was composed of its own nominees, and the Board of Education could put upon that school board any gentlemen it chose to select. It had the power of laying rates on the district involved, so that the Board of Education practically administered the authority of the recalcitrant school board from Whitehall. This had been constantly done when he was Vice-President of the Council, but in practice the provision was never necessary except in the case of the small country schools. The authors of the Act of 1902 were no doubt open to the accusation that they did not think the great local authorities would act in the same way as the county councils had acted here to break the law, and therefore, that provision which experience had shown to be unnecessary in the case of great and important public bodies was omitted from the Act. It had, no doubt, surprised the Government to find that great public bodies could be so unconscious of their loyalty to the law as deliberately to set themselves, as in the case of Carmarthenshire, to break it and to glory in having broken it. But such a remedy as the Bill provided became necessary, not only in the interest of the law, but in the interest of the children. He had always tried, frequently to the annoyance of those over him, to make the interest of the children the first consideration. The effect of the action of the Welsh county councils was to leave the children uneducated, or imperfectly educated.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is absolutely untrue.

SIR JOHN GORST: They were withdrawing from the children the benefits which Parliament had chosen to give them. As long as the county councils, on whatever grounds, conscientious or otherwise, refused to put into operation the Act of 1902, it was the children of Wales that were suffering. He should have thought that everybody concerned would have tried to invent some temporary means by which this state of things could have been put a stop to until the advent of that great Liberal majority in the next Parliament, and pending the remedial measures which the Opposition would then no doubt bring in. This was just the sort of remedial measure that was required. By it the administration of the Act could be provided for. The sums of money necessary for making the Welsh schools efficient could, without violating the conscience of any county councillors, be provided, and in the next few years the elementary education of Wales would be conducted with some satisfaction to the children and their parents. This was a case where, in the interest of the children, it was absolutely essential that the House should clothe the Board of Education with these extraordinary powers, because it was the only way at the present time in which the beneficent provisions of the Act could reach them.

As to the religious question, he agreed with his right hon. friend the Prime Minister that it was a very thorny and difficult question. It was thorny and difficult in that House and in legislation, but not at all difficult to settle in the schools themselves. There were two possible solutions, but there was only one which was really practicable. One way was to exclude the teaching of religion altogether from the elementary schools. [An Hon. Member: Hear, hear!] There was one hon. Member in favour of that. It was the method pursued in France, and in our Australian colonies. He did not think it was the method in the Dominion of Canada. It was also followed in most of the American States. But it was a solution, right or wrong, which the people of this country would not accept. In his opinion they were right in not accepting it. They insisted on having religious instruction given to their children in the elementary schools in which they had been accustomed to have it. That was not peculiar to one religious denomination. Catholics had conscientious objections to any education at all unless religion formed a part of it. There were many members of the Church of England who had very much the same feeling on the subject as Catholics. Jews, and some bodies of Nonconformists, had very strong views on this subject, and the whole opinion of the country was in favour of some religious instruction being given in the schools. If they must give religious instruction in their schools, there was only one way in which it could be given justly, and that was, as the Prime Minister had said, by allowing every child to receive the sort of religious instruction which its parents liked.

Dr. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): Under full popular control.

Sir JOHN GORST said he did not care whom they made the local authority or the manager so long as they made it part of their duty to see that every child received the kind of religious instruction which was acceptable to its parents. It was not impossible. It was done in thousands of schools in this country today, and the few in which religious animosities were shown and religious squabbles took place were quite exceptions to the rule. Any attempt to coerce parents, or to coerce managers or public bodies into giving a particular sort of religious instruction whether people liked it or not he was opposed to, owing to his strong devotion to the principle of religious equality. Religious equality did not mean that they were to give anybody any religious instruction, or to force a particular kind of religious instruction on the children which their parents did not want. In regard to religion, parents should be allowed to have their children instructed as they thought best. He could not enter into the feelings of the people who had a conscientious objection to pay rates for a purpose of that kind. He had no objection to Jews being taught the Jewish religion, and that Catholics, Quakers, and anybody they liked, should be taught their own religions. He would even go so far as to have Mahommedans taught their religion, but for Heaven's sake let the children be taught what their parents wished them to be taught.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: That is exactly what is not done in Wales.

Sir JOHN GORST said if it was not done in Wales or in any section of the country he would join the hon. Member for Carnarvon in putting that to rights. In the

Presbyterian schools in Scotland this difficulty did not arise with Catholics, and the school authorities in England could equally well give such religious instruction as would be acceptable to the parents if Parliament would release them from the trammels in which they were placed, and trust to that charity, moderation, and good sense which was vouched for by the action of thousands of managers throughout the country in places where religious instruction was given.

MR. ALFRED HUTTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Morley): said that after the views expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University, in the latter part of his speech, the only course open for him was to vote for the Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman had been most eloquent in his defence of the rights of parents, and in his opposition to children being coerced into receiving religious instruction which their parents did not desire them to receive. That was exactly the position which hon. Members on the Opposition side took up in defence of the parents of Welsh children. Reference had been made to the position of the voter, but he could not understand how anyone could divorce the position of the voter from that of the parent. They would have popular control substantially if they got an expression of popular opinion by voters who were the parents of the children attending the schools. They heard a great deal from the Prime Minister in 1902 in defence of the parents, and ever since, but whenever they tried to get a practical means of securing for the parents control of the teaching, and control of the managers, they had always been met by a *non possumus* from the right hon. Gentleman. He had steadily resisted the giving of the parents any control in the education of the children, either religious or otherwise. The right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Cambridge University, said the only solution was to enable the public authority to give the kind of religious education which the parents of the children desired, and as an example he pointed to the system in vogue in Scotland. Did the right hon. Gentleman not recollect that the Prime Minister said the other day that that was a system which he would not attempt to establish in this country? He himself thought that the Scotch system could be made to apply to this country. The Prime Minister had stated that it would not be practicable to enforce the Scotch system in England and Wales because the people objected to denominational teaching, which was the principle of the Scotch system. Might he point out that in no Education Act, so far as he was aware, was there a single direction to the school boards in Scotland obliging them to give denominational instruction to children?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is absolute freedom for the school boards to give denominational education in school hours out of the rates.

MR ALFRED HUTTON said he did not think the Scotch system was an ideal one for this country, but if the Prime Minister would give the same freedom to local authorities in England and Wales to do what they chose in the matter of religious instruction as was enjoyed by the school boards in Scotland, he would take it with both hands. Though he was a Nonconformist he did not pretend to speak on their behalf, but he believed that a definite proposal of that kind would have the general support of Nonconformists all over the country. He did not say that in the first instance there might not be some friction and trouble as there was when the Act of 1870 was passed. Arrangements were made when that Act came into operation by the London School Board under the Cowper-Temple clause, and their example was followed by other boards. He had not the slightest doubt that if the Scotch system were offered to England and Wales it could be made a solution of the difficulties that were forced upon them at the present time.

*MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside) asked whether the hon. Member would accept a system of special religious teaching for minorities.

MR. ALFRED HUTTON said he would leave the local authorities absolutely free to take their course as was done in Scotland. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University had pointed out that that was done in Scotch schools which were attended by Roman Catholics. He thought the proposal now before the House was a condemnation of the policy which the Government had pursued throughout in the administration of the Act of 1902. The scheme was not practicable in the case of the big county councils. When the Department was dealing formerly with the petty school boards, did the right hon. Gentleman, when he declared a school board in default, withhold a single penny of the grants from the schools of that school board? He wanted to emphasise that this was not only a Welsh question. There were similar grievances all over England. And who was to be the judge as to whether a county council was in default? The judge was to be the right hon. Gentleman presiding over the Board of Education. The Prime Minister said that he could not understand that the Nonconformists had any grievance under the Act of 1902. Was that the kind of Government which was to be the supreme judge as to whether the county councils were in default? If the county councils declined to hand over money to denominational schools in respect of the hour given to denominational teaching, did the Secretary to the Board of Education consider that they would be acting illegally, and would he denounce them as being in default?

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): No grant is given for denominational education.

MR. ALFRED HUTTON said he meant that the teacher's salary for the hour devoted to religious teaching was paid for out of the rates, and that the county council was justified in withholding that portion of the salary. Again, some county councils had refused to pay the teachers of denominational schools on the same scale as teachers in provided schools. Would they be in default in thus differentiating the teachers' salaries. Then there were councils which had offered a substantial rent for denominational schools if they were brought under their control. Was that a legal proposal? Why should the right hon. Gentleman come down and say that local authorities were in default in respect of one action, when there were all kinds of proceedings which might warrant interference. He thought the Bill was entirely unjustifiable and utterly bad. The Government, knowing the strong feeling that existed against the Act of 1902, ought to have gone to the root of the matter, and not taken the course they had done.

*MR. ERNEST GRAY (West Ham, N.) said that whatever criticism could be brought against the Government in connection with the Bill, it could not be suggested that they had acted precipitately. It was admitted that the various county councils had had ample time in which to formulate their plans to carry out the Act. He would ask the hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment whether he would not admit that it was not intended to put the Act into operation in Wales. In these circumstances, the duty of the Government was plain; and it would be lacking in its primary duty if it failed to ask Parliament for the necessary powers for the enforcement of the law. Very little had been said about the state of affairs in Wales which led to the introduction of this Bill, or regarding the attitude of some hon. Gentlemen opposite in connection with the subject. It had been said that the Act was a failure; but he strongly protested against that. It had been his duty to pay close attention to the matter; and he believed that the Act of 1902 had proved a great boon to the great majority of the schools in England. Here and there there were serious defects, especially in Wales and the West Riding of Yorkshire. In Wales many of the authorities had declared that they would not levy any rate for the purpose of supporting voluntary schools. No exception was taken to the capacity, skill and judgment with which Mr. Lawrence conducted the inquiry in Carmarthen; and he declared that the Carmarthen Council had failed to be responsible for the control of secular instruction in voluntary schools; they had failed to appoint managers, failed to control the expenditure required for voluntary schools, and withheld their consent to the appointment of teachers. The attitude of hon. Gentlemen in the House and in Wales was very different.

In Wales their attitude was one of general encouragement to disobey the law. He noticed, however, that one hon. Member admitted that the Carmarthen County Council had gone too far. That was, at any rate, a step in the right direction; but the country ought to know the facts. He was giving reasons in support of the Bill which he thought would commend themselves to the majority of English electors. One council refused to allow their attendance officers to act for voluntary schools.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.) asked if the hon. Gentleman alleged that these things were going on at present.

*MR. ERNEST GRAY said that some of them were.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE asked if there was a single county in Wales where the attendance officers were forbidden to act.

*MR. ERNEST GRAY said that under the Carmarthen County Council the no-rate resolution had been in force for a considerable time; and if it had been rescinded, it was because this Bill was introduced. That in itself was full justification for the Bill. Further, he knew that many teachers were approaching their summer holidays without having their salaries in their pockets and without any prospect of being paid when they returned to work owing to the Parliamentary grants having been exhausted. What applied to the teacher applied with equal urgency to the children in respect of the material for carrying on the work of the schools. In the village of St. Clears there were two schools, one a provided school and the other a non-provided school. The pupils in the voluntary schools numbered ninety-one, of whom thirty-six were Nonconformists. The manager applied for the necessary material for carrying on the school, and the only reply was, "We beg to return you the requisition forwarded by you on the 27th inst." Not another word. What was to become of those children? Another teacher wrote him that his pupils were obliged to write on sugar paper. In the case of the Carnarvon schools the county council passed a resolution to the effect that they would be unable to take them over until they were put into a proper condition. That was a perfectly legitimate thing to do, and he found no objection in it, because he had moved an Amendment to the Education Bill to the same effect. But Parliament rejected that Amendment, and, it having been defeated, it was their duty to carry out the will of Parliament. When the resolution was passed, it occurred to somebody to send down a surveyor to report on the condition of the voluntary schools, and he reported that it would cost slightly over £12,000 to put them into such a condition that the county council might recognise them. But there was no promise on the part of the county council that it would recognise them if that amount was spent upon them. It was also decided to send the same surveyor to examine the Board schools, and he reported that it would take £12,227 to put the Board schools in order. The county council had, the hon. Member pointed out, taken over the Board schools and provided them with material and undertaken their maintenance under the Act. Yet there was no greater obligation upon them to take over these schools than the voluntary schools. What became, then, of the plea that they refused to maintain the voluntary schools because they were in so unsatisfactory a condition? That was not all. In one district, the managers of a British school offered to transfer the entire building and to put the school under the complete control of the county council if they would allow them to have the use of the building for two evenings a week. Their offer was refused and the managers were told the school must be transferred entirely. The Carmarthen case was a typical case. This policy had been adopted wherever possible, and the result had been that the managers had had to keep the schools out of their own pockets or to allow the children to drift. To their credit be it said, they had sought to maintain them with the aid of the Parliamentary grants, which, it was only fair to say, the councils of Wales handed over to them. This policy was unfair and unjust to them. It was unfair to the teachers and children, who had been made the shuttlecocks between the parties playing out this religious strife throughout the Principality. He held that if county councils, regardless of the interests of the children, refrained from giving effect to the wish of Parliament, it was the duty of the Government to take some other step to secure that the law was carried out. It was because he hoped the Bill would do something to redress the present evils that he supported it.

MR. BRYCE thought that a case had not been made out against the action of the Carnarvonshire County Council, who appeared to have kept within the letter of the law. The First Lord of the Treasury's action in bringing in this Bill was a most palpable confession of the failure of the Act of 1902. That confession of want of foresight on the part of the Government showed that when they brought in the Act it was present to their mind that they must carry the local authorities with them. This question had been put as if it were applicable only to Wales; but he was not at all sure that there might not be difficulties in the future with regard to the county council of the West Riding, one of the greatest counties in England, or to the county council of London, and it would be a serious matter for the Government to come in conflict with such great bodies. What were they doing? It was proposed by this Bill, in the first place, to declare people managers who were not managers; then they were asked to vote to defray charges which ought be borne by local authorities out of public funds—and they would be disturbing the financial arrangements of the Act of 1902 by giving the functions proposed to the Board of Education. And, with all respect to that body, the Board of Education had not always earned the full confidence of the House or the country by perfect impartiality in these matters. What precedents were there? That of the Act of 1870 did not apply, because that was directed to cases of educational default, and no part of the kingdom was more keen on education than the Principality. He was told that precedents would be found in Ireland for superseding local authorities in cases of this kind; but they had always regretted those cases, and he thought the Government would have reason to regret the application of the unfortunate precedent of Ireland to this side of the Channel.

All these difficulties might have been foreseen; if the Government thought that they would not arise they had lived in a fool's paradise, and it certainly was not for want of warning. They on that side had repeatedly urged on the Prime Minister the dangers he was running by pursuing such a course. It was true the Government took, in Clause 11, the power of *mandamus*, but they dared not enforce that clause, so that was no evidence of foresight. The right hon. Gentleman now tried to shuffle off the responsibility on Parliament; but there never was such a case of a one-man Bill as the case of the Act of 1902. A large part of the Party opposite did not like it, a memorial was sent to the Prime Minister, yet he insisted on forcing it through. The right hon. Gentleman was the last person to plead that the Act of 1902 was entirely the doing of Parliament. It would be within the recollection of the hon. Member for Oxford University that in the Antigone of Sophocles the case was held up to admiration of a person who disobeyed the law of the city because allegiance was due to a higher law, and the Prime Minister was really confusing the issue when he ignored the fact that the resistance which was made to the Act of 1902 by many estimable and law-abiding people, in England as well as Wales, was prompted by their inmost conviction that their allegiance was due to a higher law. A great many of the most valuable liberties which they enjoyed in England had been won by what was called at the time resistance to the law. They would be in a very different position now if courageous and high-spirited men in the past had not determined to test the law by resistance. And when measures were forced through that House by a tyrannical majority, in disregard of the feeling of the country, it made the present case very similar to those of former times. Let it not be said, however, that they were defending resistance to the law.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON was understood to say that that was what the right hon. Gentleman was doing.

MR. BRYCE entirely denied that they were advocating any resistance whatever to the law. But, they said, great was the responsibility of the Government which had put conscientious men in a position in which they had to choose between giving effect to their convictions or obeying the letter of the law. It was to the general interest of the country that the law should be obeyed, but he would remind the Prime Minister of a phrase he used three or four years ago as to the "limits of human endurance." He would like to consider what the whole policy of the Government was. The right hon. Gentleman had shown an extraordinary lack of imagination throughout in regard to this question. He had a powerful imagination when he was able to see the principle of eternal justice in what appeared to his opponents to be sordid electioneering, but he seemed to be quite unable to enter into the feelings of those who differed from him with regard to religious education. Strong and deep convictions had been aroused and the Government surely ought to have chosen the line of least resistance. The Education Act was confessedly a failure. It had hardly been passed before they heard from the Church of England proposals for a compromise. One of the Welsh Bishops, whom no one would accuse of want of courage, had brought in a Bill which, if it had been embodied in the Act of 1902, would have prevented the raising of this question now. The Government had landed Parliament in a position of very great difficulty, one which if it were to arise frequently would lead to the utter destruction of Parliamentary government. If Bills were to be passed, which were opposed to the opinion of the country, by a Parliament which had lost the confidence of the country there would be demands to put measures to the referendum. If the Prime Minister persisted in ignoring the circumstances of a country like Wales he must not be surprised if a cry for Welsh Home Rule arose. Let him remember that at least three-fourths of the people of Wales did not belong to the Church of England, and to use the Prime Minister's own words, was it not the height of absurdity to apply such an Act to Wales. He felt bound to support the Amendment of his hon. friend. The true remedy was to be found not in this Bill, but in the removal of the grievances which the Act of 1902 created. They should get rid of the religious disabilities which attached to the mastership of schools; of the deficient element of popular control; of the distrust felt in many quarters of the religious education given in voluntary schools. Instead of passing this Bill, which would only embitter existing feeling, they must get rid of the practice of passing Acts which carried no moral authority with them. If the Government would insist on keeping in office for the sake of keeping their Party together let them not use office as a means of passing statutes opposed to the sentiment of the people. No Government had ever gone so far in passing Acts which lacked that element of moral authority which legislation ought to have; and nothing was more injurious to the principles of the British Constitution, which the Party opposite at one time professed to respect, than this practice.

*DR. MACNAMARA said this Bill did not, of course, apply exclusively to Wales. It applied generally to all parts of England as well, but it had been produced particularly for the purpose of meeting an alleged default of certain county councils in Wales, and it was therefore from that point of view that he proposed to say a word or two upon it. After the speech of the hon. Member for North West Ham it was necessary that some one should put in a plea on behalf of the zeal and enthusiasm of the Welsh people for education. He had taken the trouble to prepare a statistical abstract in regard to education and he found that so far as the expenditure went of what was known as whiskey money, which was sent down in relief of the local rates, Scotland applied 70 per cent. to education and 30 per cent. to the relief of rates, and England applied 95 per cent. to education, reserving 5 per cent. for the relief of local rates, while every single farthing was in Wales devoted wholly and exclusively to education. But the best test of the zeal of a nation for education was the sacrifices it made out of local rates. The amount spent on education out of local rates was, in England (excluding London), 7d. in the pound of rateable value; in Scotland, 9·3d.; and in Wales, 11·7d. If they took the amount per head of the population it was—in England 3s., in Scotland, 4s. 10½d., and in Wales, 5s. 8¾d. Within the past fifteen years the Welsh intermediate schools had put Scottish higher education in the shade. They must, in face of these figures, admit, that the Welsh people were enthusiastic for education, and if they seemed to resist educational progress it could only be under most extraordinary provocation and as the result of a righteous conviction.

It was said that the Welsh voluntary schools were being starved and that the teachers were unable to get their salaries. If such a policy were being pursued he disagreed with it and he was sure that hon. Members for Wales would resent anything of that sort; but they were in receipt of £25,000 or £30,000 a year more than they received before the passing of the Act of 1902, and, therefore, if there was any scandal surely the responsibility must rest with the denominational managers. What was happening in that very Metropolis? The London County Council were withholding the rates from the voluntary schools of London. Only last Tuesday proposals were laid before the London County Council by the managers of voluntary schools asking for better qualified teachers. The committee of the London County Council reported—

> "We consider that the proposals of the managers are not based on the same expenditure as has been hitherto incurred and we are of opinion that the consent of the Council should be refused to the appointment."

And it was refused. Another set of proposals asked for additional teachers, and the report of the Committee on that was—

> "We do not consider that the staffing conditions of the schools warrant the appointment of additional teachers."

The definite policy had been adopted of not giving a single farthing of the London rates to denominational schools in London. What was the Board of Education going to do about London? Further than that, the County Council were not expending a single farthing of the Government grant in respect of improving the qualifications of teachers or adding new teachers beyond the expenditure prior to 1902. That was surely worse than what was occurring in Wales, where the whole Government grant was given to the schools. He asked again, what did the Board of Education propose to do with the London County Council? He thought it contemptible for the Board of Education always to be badgering and harrying small authorities and allowing the great authorities to do as they pleased.

The introduction of the Bill was a clear admission on the part of the Government of the breakdown of the machinery of the Act of 1902. But it was a futile Bill. The Bill would do no good; it would only accentuate the irritation. There were other ways of dealing with the difficulty. The Bill of the Bishop of St. Asaph, with certain modifications, might afford the basis of a happy compromise. But there would be no lasting peace in Wales until Wales got educational home rule. He was convinced that the Government would have to allow Wales to constitute a representative Education Board; to pay them out of the Consolidated Fund what was due to Wales for education, and to allow them to rate-aid their schools on terms satisfactory to themselves. All the Welsh people wanted was to be allowed to continue the enthusiasm they had already shown in regard to education and to so develop the intellect of their countrymen as to fit to make proper use of the heritage which must eventually fall into their hands.

*SIR FRANCIS POWELL (Wigan) said he had the honour to be a member of the education committee of the Borough of Wigan; and he felt bound to give his testimony to the fact that the Education Act of 1902, which had been so severely called in question, was working admirably in the county of Lancashire. He thought the House would bear with him when he said that no county was more entitled to form an opinion on that subject. It had been said that the Act was challenged by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops, but he never interpreted what they said as an accusation of the Act. They showed a great desire at the earlier stages to conciliate as far as they could those who had opposed them.

MR. BRYCE: Perhaps the hon. Gentlemen will allow me to say that all I stated was that the Act had scarcely been passed when offers were made for a compromise, thus showing that it was not regarded as a final settlement.

*SIR FRANCIS POWELL said he thought his remarks were amply justified. There was never an Act put into operation without some friction and difficulty, but these disappeared in course of time. Mr. Lawrence, who inquired into the action of the county councils on behalf of the Board of Education, had reported that—

"It was admitted that in not appointing managers and attendance officers for voluntary schools the county council had acted contrary to the provisions of the Act."

That was clearly a confession on their part that they had broken the law. Again he said—

"The managers called before me were remarkable for their open-minded and liberal disposition towards the Nonconformist scholars."

And again—

"I cannot regard the action of the council in using the powers of the Act to raise money upon the credit of and by means of rates levied upon Churchmen and Nonconformists alike and then refusing to apply this money to any but provided schools, as either legal or excusable."

And finally—

"It is, in my opinion, a grave abuse of the powers confided to them by statute."

He thought that that was an ample justification for bringing in this Bill, in order that justice might be done. Friends of voluntary schools were stung by the great injustice which the proceedings of the county councils had caused. They only asked for their fair share of public money. He thanked the Government for not allowing this session to pass without some action, because the patience of these people — and they were deserving and self-sacrificing people—had become exhausted. He sincerely hoped in the interests of peace and tranquillity and for the success of education that this Bill would forthwith be put into operation. He hoped, however, that the Bill when passed would so accomplish its purpose by bringing about a different attitude on the part of the Welsh county councils, that the example of Carmarthen would not be followed, that that statute would not have to be enforced, and that the councils of Wales would proceed in peace in the work of promoting the education of the inhabitants of the Principality.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said the speech just delivered by the hon. Baronet was no exception to the other speeches from that side of the House in one respect, viz., he had talked about everything except the Bill. One could not from the speeches delivered from the Unionist side understand what the Bill was for. One would hardly believe from those speeches that it was a Bill to amend the Education Act of 1902. According to the hon. Baronet, the law was broken in Carmarthen. There was a report that it had been broken. But there was a provision in the Act of Parliament for a *mandamus* to compel the county council to carry out the law, and it was because the Government found that their Act was no good and could not work that they were proposing another expedient, which he could assure them beforehand would break down as assuredly as did the other. The hon. Baronet had voted for the Government Bill blindly, not knowing what was in it. The Bill before the House was to amend the law, not to enforce it. There was a case for altering the law, he admitted; but this was not the particular alteration to which the facts pointed. The hon. Member for West Ham had indeed tried to make out a case for the present Bill. He made a very fierce attack on the Welsh county councils, and, if he might say so, he had never seen anything end so completely in fizzle. As the hon. Member for Camberwell had pointed out, the London County Council were doing exactly the same sort of thing as the hon. Member had complained of with regard to the Welsh county councils. He thought, therefore the best thing the hon. Member could do was to sweep his own chimney before he started on the same business where they did not require his assistance. The hon. Member had made an attack upon the Carnarvonshire County Council, of which he was an alderman a good many years before he entered the House. He desired to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he contended that the county council of Carnarvon was not carrying out the law? If so, would he point to a single particular in which it was not doing so.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON was understood to say that he had never said the county of Carnarvon was breaking the law.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said that the only speech they had heard in support of the Bill was the speech in which the county of Carnarvon was charged with breaking the law, and the Board of Education said there was no truth in the statement.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON said he should not pronounce any opinion on the subject until the matter was brought prominently before him.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said the Secretary to the Board of Education meant that he had not even received a complaint that this county was breaking the law. There were sixty voluntary Church schools in Carnarvon, they were very ably managed so far as a good many of them were concerned. There was a very able secretary and a Bishop. Did the hon. Gentleman mean to say that the county of Carnarvon was breaking the law, and not a word had been received from Mr. Fairchild, who was the secretary of the Association? Did they think that if all the horrible things alleged were going on in the county word would not have been received from Mr. Fairchild? Mr. Fairchild had actually said in public that there was no complaint against the county council of Carnarvon, that was why the matter had not been brought prominently to the hon. Gentleman's notice, and yet the hon. Member for North West Ham came to the House of Commons levelling an indictment against the county of Carnarvon which the Government themselves were not prepared to bring. Another statement made by the hon. Member which was at variance with the facts, was with regard to the examination of the school buildings by the county council of Carnarvon. What was the fact? The instructions to the surveyor were that he should examine both Board and voluntary school buildings impartially, and that if there were any Board schools badly lighted or badly ventilated, they should be condemned on exactly the same principles as the voluntary schools. There was to be no discrimination or distinction whatever. Moreover, the county council of Carnarvon was still carrying on the schools; it had not declined to take them over, but had given notice that unless the schools were repaired it would not be responsible for them, that was carrying out the law. Under the Act of 1902 the county councils had no right to maintain schools in bad repair, if they did so they would be breaking the law. But the hon. Gentleman wanted them to break the law in order that poor little children might be sent to schools which were badly ventilated and badly lighted. It was grossly unfair that the hon. Gentleman should make such unfounded charges. The county council were not calling upon the voluntary schools to do that which they were not doing in regard to the Board schools; they were rebuilding Board schools where necessary, at the expense of the rates, and all they asked was that the voluntary schools should be repaired also. Speeches might be quoted in which leaders of the Church party had acknowledged the way in which the county council of Carnarvonshire had done its work, but perhaps after the admission of the Board of Education the hon. Member for North West Ham would apologise for the charges he had made.

The hon. Gentleman had also quoted Carmarthen as a typical case. It was nothing of the sort. Carmarthen was an exceptional case. It had not followed the policy laid down by the rest of the county councils, viz., to spend the whole of the Parliamentary grants and to keep the schools at the level which had been accepted by the Board of Education, to pay every teacher his salary, and to find books, fuel, and so-forth. Carmarthen was an exceptional case, and in putting it forward as typical of the county councils in Wales the hon. Member was misleading the House.

MR. ERNEST GRAY pointed out that what he had said was that the attitude of Carmarthen in regard to the "no rate" policy was typical. Several other counties had adopted a "no rate" resolution, and as recently as December, 1903, the county council of Carnarvon endorsed that decision. His point with regard to repairs was that the county council, while taking up their full obligations so far as Board schools were concerned, declined to do so in the case of voluntary schools.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE said the hon. Member had altogether missed the point. The county council had a perfect right under the law, and it was their duty, to give notice to any school, voluntary or provided, which was not up to the requirements of the Board of Education with regard to ventilation, lighting, or repairs that unless it was brought up to those requirements the county council would not be responsible for its maintenance. That was the only notice the Carnarvonshire County Council had given, and up to the present they had not acted upon it because the matters were being adjudicated upon by the Board of Education. All the county council were asking was that the voluntary schools should carry out what the inspectors of the Board of Education had for years been demanding, and as they had disobeyed the law in that respect it was not for these schools to come whining about the county council, and still less to talk about the interests of the children. The interests of the children was first of all to get fresh air, instead of being cooped up in miserable and badly ventilated hovels, and that was what the county council was insisting upon.

As for Carmarthen, the hon. Member knew that was not a typical case. According to Mr. Lawrence's report, the county council had failed in four respects. Firstly, to be responsible for secular instruction; secondly, to appoint managers; thirdly, to maintain and keep efficient such schools or to control expenditure required for that purpose; and fourthly, in withholding their assent to the appointment of teachers on educational grounds only. He challenged the hon. Member to name another county council of which a similar report could be made. The case was, however, typical in many respects. It showed how Wales was treated—a country 200 or 300 miles from that House, and knowledge of whose educational matters was possessed only by its own representatives, who therefore were the last persons consulted. Stories of this sort were brought forward, but immediately they were examined they crumbled, and yet it was on these grounds that the Government brought forward fresh coercive measures. All the council was doing was to maintain the schools at their present level. There was nothing in the Act to say that they must give rates to voluntary schools. All the Act stated was that the councils should keep them efficient. But how could they be responsible for the efficiency of any institution unless they appointed the people who managed it? The mere spending of money would not make the schools efficient, there must be control of the management and staff. If one man financed the concern and another appointed the officials, how could the man who financed be responsible for the efficiency? The Act called upon the county councils to perform an impossible task. But the Welsh county councils said there was a test which the Board of Education had themselves supplied. The Board had no right to give Parliamentary grants unless the schools were efficient, and for years these schools had received grants. Hence the county councils said they would accept that standard, and keep the schools up to it. No doubt the Board did not really think the schools efficient. He remembered a remarkable speech in which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University said the reports condemning schools had been sent back to inspectors to be modified. Why? Because if the schools were condemned the grants would be withdrawn and a school board set up. Was that carrying out the law? For years the Board of Education had been breaking the law, and now, forsooth, these chronic law-breakers, whose normal standard of running the administration of the country was breaking the law, came and said—"The Welsh county councils are breaking the law. Stamp them out!" What virtue! They had got to come with clean hands first of all. It simply meant that the lesson of law-breaking had been taught by the Board of Education, and the Welsh county councils had learnt it—perhaps too well! But they were their mentors! There on the Treasury Bench was their teacher, who instructed them in the paths of law-breaking, and they were simply walking in the ways he trained them to follow. And now he came to birch them for it.

The Church people in Wales were perfectly satisfied with the position. There was a motion there the other day by a Church councillor, who had only just come in, and who therefore felt that he ought to do something. He moved that those schools should all be placed on the same level. He got a seconder, who just managed to scramble in by three or four votes, but although there were several Churchmen on the council, and several Conservatives, they did not get a single vote in support of the motion. Every Churchman, Conservative, and Unionist on the council voted against them, they were so absolutely satisfied with the *status quo.* They knew perfectly well that this law was an unfair one in Wales. They talked about the religion of the parents! The hon. Member for West Dorset was a fair-minded man, and if he knew the facts he would be willing to trust his judgment. Did he know the facts? Did he know that the majority of the parents were Nonconformists? Full instructions had not been given to Mr. Lawrence. He was a thoroughly fair-minded judicial person, but he had no instructions, and he refused absolutely to go into the merits of the case. He said he had nothing whatever to do with those questions, and he declined. Therefore the county council said if he did not go into the merits of the case, as they had nothing but merits to present to him, they must withdraw. One thing was said, however, which had not yet been referred to. In the majority of the schools more Nonconformists than Church children attended. That was from Mr. Lawrence's report. These schools were in no sense of the term Church schools; they were parochial schools; they were built by the common effort of the parishioners, but the trustees had invariably a Church Trust. The parochial schools had been narrowed by denominational trusts. Very often they could not even get a site for another school, and the result was that they had got the present state of things. Why did not the Board of Education have a real inquiry? He sent a gentleman to Carnarvon, who inquired into five cases which he had given, and the facts had been verified. There was a real inquiry — the inquiry into the state of the parish, the number of Nonconformists, how the school came to be built, how it had been kept going and what was the result; and it had proved absolutely the whole contention of Welsh Nonconformity in the House. Why did not they get an inquiry of that sort in Carmarthen? Simply because the Government did not want the facts. They were not bringing in this Bill as remedial legislation. Remedial! Not at all. It was simply part of the bargain. The Government found their Empire tottering, and it was just like the old Roman Empire — they had to buy off the Goths. One day the Goths came from Burton-on-Trent. The next day from Lambeth, and they threatened to sack the city. Something had to be given them. The Education Act satisfied them for a year or two, but the hordes came back. Then came the Brewers' Endowment Bill, and, said the clergy, "We cannot have this. Our consciences will not allow it." "Oh," replied the Prime Minister, "I'll square that," and the right hon. Gentleman put it right with the present Bill. It was like compounding a spree on a Saturday night by putting a threepenny bit in the plate on Sunday.

They had had a high constitutional doctrine from the Prime Minister. He said they must see that the law was obeyed. But what about the law-breakers in Scarborough? The Prime Minister talked there about the limits of human endurance, and of course that was not inquired into. But they had reached those limits in Wales. The Government had no regard for facts or circumstances, and three or four days of Parliamentary time had been wasted upon this spiteful little Bill. A Bill was promised in the King's Speech to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, but what was that to the Government compared with crushing out Dissenters in Wales. They also promised a Bill to punish those who published false balance-sheets, but what were they compared with the men who insisted in Wales and England upon getting the same rights as they got in Scotland. But in Wales they must be punished. Then the President of the

Local Government Board was always for suppressing, and his greatest conception of statesmanship was the Muzzling Order. They could therefore appreciate the right hon. Gentleman's position in the matter. The right hon. Gentleman was true to his instinct. Here was a genuine grievance, Clause 31 of the Scotch Education Act provided that it should be lawful for a school board if they thought fit to grant pecuniary aid upon such conditions as they might from time to time prescribe to schools and institutions not under their charge. That was for Scotchmen, not for Englishmen or Welshmen. If Welshmen did that they would have to go to Holloway or else the Government would plunder the county council treasury. The Education Department would run the show. Talk about eternal justice with all this high doctrine and contention—he wondered it did not choke the Government.

In Wales the Government were not dealing with people who needed any stimulus to induce them to make sacrifices for education. They were already levying heavy rates for secondary, technical, and primary education. They were collecting funds to build colleges, to which working men were subscribing out of their pittances. Crowded meetings of workmen were listening to professors on the question of building colleges, and, including miners and agricultural labourers, there were 70,000 persons on the books of the building fund for the North Wales College. Yet the Government brought in a Bill to stimulate this population to educational effort. Had the Prime Minister not better first inquire into the facts? It was said that this was a remedial measure, but doctors as a rule saw the patient first. Had the right hon. Gentleman done that? It was only quacks who prescribed on gossip. The Prime Minister had prescribed only on Episcopal gossip from one of the Welsh Bishops, who had intrigued, bullied, and pulled the wires, and of course the Government could not resist, for they were afraid of toppling over with the slightest opposition. It was simply a cowardly Bill of a craven Government.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON said he desired to recall the attention of the House to the purport of and the necessity for this Bill. He was glad the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeen had mentioned that this was not a Welsh Bill, though he was sorry he coupled with that explanation a eulogium on law-breaking for conscience sake coupled with a suggestion that there were two large and distinguished local authorities in England which, he thought, might in due course proceed to the law-breaking which this Bill was intended to meet. He would not at that moment say anything about the religious question, because he really wished to go to what he thought was the root of the matter at once. Was the law to be observed in the interests of the children of this country or was it to be allowed to be disobeyed because certain members of certain county councils, constituting a majority, no doubt, of those county councils, disapproved of the particular form of religious teaching which was given during a short period of the school hours in certain schools? That was the real question. After long discussion an Act was passed in 1902. Many hon. Members opposite thought that Act needed amendment. That might or might not be the case, but while that Act was the law the question before them was—should it be obeyed or should it not? The Leader of the Opposition had asked why they were not content with the remedy of *mandamus*. He thought that in introducing the Bill he gave abundant reasons why that remedy was not adequate for the cases which had to be dealt with under the Education Act of 1902. That being so, they had to fall back on the remedy analogous to the case of defaulting school boards. The Member for Aberdeen said that a school board would only be found in default on matters which were purely educational. He should have thought the refusal to pay a teacher's salary and to provide books for a school were eminently educational matters.

It was said that this Bill treated local authorities with greater severity than the Act of 1870 treated defaulting school boards, but any one who read its terms would see that the provisions of the present Bill compared favourably with the earlier Act in the matter of severity. The Education Act of 1902 gave to the Board of Education a very extensive appellate jurisdiction on a variety of matters, and the decision of the Board was to be final. To have an appellate jurisdiction of that nature, however, and to have no executive powers behind it was really to reduce an important section of the Act of 1902 almost to a dead letter. He was bound to say, generally, that when the Board of Education gave a decision it was accepted. But, if the local authorities did not accept it, a long and elaborate remedy would have to be enforced, although the dispute in question might only arise from a simple misunderstanding. A common instance of such a misunderstanding was this—local authorities were entitled to demand reasonable alterations and improvements in a voluntary school. Some local authorities thought that they were not bound to maintain a school if its buildings were not in their opinion satisfactory. The truth was that a local authority was bound to maintain the school unless and until managers refused to carry out in a reasonable time reasonable demands for alterations. He gave that as an illustration of the sort of misunderstanding which, until cleared up, might deprive a school of maintenance. Coming to cases of deliberate default, he was very reluctant to deal with the cases which he had before him—the cases of serious default on the part of the local authorities at the present time—but, after all, he was bound to call attention to them. The county of Montgomery passed a no-rate resolution, and some little time ago circulated a notice that they would pay no more than the Parliamentary grant to managers of voluntary schools, and that when that grant was exhausted no more money would be forthcoming. What was the result? The holidays were approaching, and the managers had applied fruitlessly for the teachers' salaries, which remained unpaid. A manager of a voluntary school wrote to say—

> "The teachers are still here, and are unable to go away. The head teacher is a married woman, who has a family dependent on her, and it is of vital importance to her that her salary should be paid. She makes daily application to me for money, and I have no means of paying it to her. What action am I to take in the matter, and how are we to carry on the school after the holidays."

That was a case which demanded a prompt remedy, and one not provided by *mandamus.* In Merionethshire the committee of the county council had taken similar action, and bills had been presented in all the voluntary schools for salaries and maintenance, but there were no funds to meet them. He could cite other instances; but what he had mentioned was enough to show that cases occurred which required prompt and immediate remedy. It was asked why they had not included a remedy in the Act of 1902. He was bound to say it was not present to his own mind at the time that the men who would come forward to ask to be elected on corporate bodies, knowing that these authorities had administrative duties of a certain sort, would wholly decline to carry out those duties in the sense in which they were imposed on the local authorities by the statute.

He thought he need hardly call attention to the terms of the Bill itself, which were very short. They enabled the Board of Education to apply a prompt remedy to these difficulties, and, unlike the case of the defaulting school boards, the remedy ceased automatically as soon as the council ceased to make default. The Board would only be too glad to drop this method of treatment directly they were spared the trouble of doing so. Alluding to another point, he believed some local authorities in England were anxious lest the Board should trouble them by constant application of this remedy, thus constantly interfering with the discharge of their duties. He would point out that the Board of Education had every reason to use this Act as little as possible. The communications of the Board with the local authorities were close and constant all over the country, and were almost invariably friendly. The Board was seriously concerned in promoting the education of the country, and in working in the utmost harmony with the local authorities, and they would certainly be most reluctant to do anything which would interfere with the ordinary discharge by local authorities of their ordinary duties. There was another very strong reason why the Board was likely to use the Act as little as possible, and that was because it would add greatly to their already considerable administrative burdens. Lastly, it must be borne in mind that the power would be exercised under public and Parliamentary criticism. Under these circumstances he thought that local authorities need have no fear that the Board would be over anxious to exercise their powers. With regard to the special situation in Wales, it had been a matter of complaint that the inquiry in Carmarthen was not of a sufficiently general character. The inquiry which they held was limited by the terms of the Act of 1902. They had to inquire whether or not the county council of Carmarthen had made default in the discharge of its duties under the Act. They were not entitled to hold a general inquiry into the educational situation in Wales, nor had he promised such an inquiry. Another point was that there ought to be inquiry into the constitution of bodies of managers. Well, there had been and were such inquiries, and he could assure hon. Members that the Board was endeavouring most anxiously to arrive at a just result in the composition of these bodies. The draft final Orders had been made on the request of the existing managers; the Board was holding inquiries to ascertain how far the proposed Orders corresponded with the actual rights of each case; if they did not they would be amended.

He was bound to say, in conclusion, that, although they heard in that House a great deal about the acrimony and ill-feeling which the Act of 1902 had occasioned, their representatives who made inquiries found a friendly feeling prevailing among the various denominations on the spot. He had no desire, lastly, to see Nonconformist children driven to Anglican schools, because he had no desire to see any child taught a religion which was not acceptable to its parents. Conversely, he desired that the child should have the opportunity of being brought up in the religion of its parents, but to attain that end he did not think public control was sufficient. The insufficiency of public control for this purpose was shown by the existence of voluntary schools in Scotland, for there the local authority, with full power to do so, did not always provide the accommodation required. But he saw no reason why some solution of that sort should not be reached. It prevailed in reformatory schools, industrial schools, and deaf and blind schools, and he hoped it would shortly prevail in schools for defective and epileptic children. That was a work in which he would gladly engage with all who wished to see the religious difficulty removed from educational discussions. In the meantime what were the remedies? There was the remedy suggested in another place which it might have been hoped might point to a solution of the difficulty. It was received with expressions of friendliness from representatives of the other Party in the country, but obviously that solution was not available during the present session. Then there was the provision of new schools. If the people of a place disapproved heartily of the religious teaching in the only school available, it was always possible for them, though he admitted at some cost, to provide a new school under the Act of 1902. Failing that, surely there must still be a school of some sort in every locality, and that school ought to be efficient. He was satisfied that there were schools in Wales that were not efficient, which were not likely to be efficient, and which were inefficient by the deliberate default of the local education authority. This was a grave injustice to the children of the locality. Whether they were Nonconformists or Anglicans, they were entitled to a school at which elementary instruction was given fully and adequately. Pending an amicable settlement of the religious difficulty, it was to promote this uniform efficiency that he asked the House to read the Bill a second time.

MR. ABEL THOMAS (Carmarthenshire, E.) said he ventured to think that as long as the Education Act was in force it was utterly impossible for Nonconformist children not to be driven to Church schools and not to be compelled to accept Church doctrines in those schools. The inquiry in Carmarthenshire, at which he was present, at any rate elicited the fact that in every Church school the religious teaching, which was distinctly of a denominational character, took between forty and fifty minutes of each day, and when they remembered how short the school hours were, that was a very substantial amount of the day given for religious instruction, chiefly relating to the tenets of the Church of England. He had no doubt that the same thing applied to the whole of Wales. Almost without exception these schools had a majority of Nonconformist children in them. They were told before the Commissioner went down that the inquiry would be broad and general; but the order for the inquiry made it an exceedingly narrow one. It was ridiculous, after the promise which was made, that the inquiry should have been in the shape and form in which it was. It seemed to him that the real remedy for the position in Wales was not to be found in this Bill or anything like it. They had to face the real question of amending the Act of 1902, and making it meet the reasonable conscientious objections of the people of Wales. Until they did that, they might tinker at it as much as they liked—the result would be the same. They were increasing and emphasising the difference between the Nonconformists and the Churchmen in Wales, and they were doing harm and harm only, and it seemed to him that an attempt to bolster up an Act which could not be enforced was very much the same as the conduct of the ostrich, which was said to bury its head in the sand when driven into a corner. That at any rate was not the way to carry on any successful legislation, and if the Government were to face the difficulty it would become a very simple matter. In the meanwhile, what he was afraid of was that they were driving the people to passive resistance throughout the whole thirteen counties, and the result would be that they would have disorder changing into most serious acts of violence. Why in the world could not the Government, when it found that it had made a mistake, face it and get rid of it?

When this subject was previously discussed in the House it was suggested by one hon. Member that the school children were left starving in the cold without light or fire. In those circumstances he took care that the position should come out very emphatically before Mr. Lawrence. He reported that he had heard of no instance in which anything like that took place. As a fact, there had been no deficiency in the school management in consequence of what the county councils had done. In every instance the Church people did what they had done prior to the passing of the Act of 1902, nothing more; because, by means of the grants, almost invariably they had had more since 1902 than they received before the Act. There never was any difficulty in reality. There was a great number of complaints, but they all vanished, and it was found as a fact that the schools were properly conducted; they had sufficient books and more than sufficient fire and light. Again he urged the Government to face the real difficulty and amend the Act instead of tinkering with it in this way. Then perhaps they would have done something for education which would be of real benefit to the country.

MR. EDWARDS (Radnor) said it was an extraordinary claim to say that this Bill was brought in to redress a grievance in regard to defaulting authorities. It was hard to find who the defaulting authorities were. There was a certain amount of disappointment that the right hon. Gentleman did not have an inquiry into the whole circumstances in Wales. There might have been an inquiry of some kind in one county, but he should have thought if the Government were really anxious to know the whole circumstances they would have had a fuller inquiry. The right hon. Gentleman had at his disposal plenty of able men who could have found out the facts. The Government would then have been able to legislate really knowing the whole case they had to deal with. The Government, instead of proceeding with this Bill, might have taken up in earnest the measure which the Bishop of St. Asaph brought forward in another place. He thought much credit was due to the Bishop for having brought forward a Bill which proposed a conciliatory settlement of this matter. Unfortunately, that Bill did not meet with a sufficient amount of support, and it was not proceeded with it any further. There was no doubt that the state of things in regard to the Education Act in Wales was a serious one. As a rule the people of Wales acquiesced in the decisions of the majority, but he did not think that the opinion of the majority in this matter had been constitutionally ascertained. Not only did hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House object to that Act, but even the friends of the measure objected to many of the clauses in it. That was shown by the fact that a Bill had been brought forward in another place to amend the Act. When any laws which represented the views of the people were passed they received willing obedience in Wales. They did so because they represented the views of the people; but in this case there was evidence on all sides that the Act did not represent the views of the people of Wales. Take for instance the attitude of the people of the county he had the honour to represent. There, when the Education Act was passed, the county council had a majority of six in favour of working the Act. That county council was elected before the Bill was introduced. It was one of the two county councils in Wales which had a Tory majority. When the election came on in March the people of Radnorshire expressed their opinion of the Act very plainly. They converted the Unionist majority of six into a Liberal majority of ten. It was that attitude of the people of Wales which the right hon. Gentleman refused to recognise in dealing with this question.

He wanted to know why those who were responsible did not weigh the facts. The right hon. Gentleman must be aware of what had been discovered. It had been found that there were parishes where, although the school was said to be a Church school, there was not a single Church child in the school. The school was, of course, claimed to be Church property. The vicar in one case instructed the master not to teach the children the catechism. All honour to the vicar for having done that. This showed what a preponderance there must be of Nonconformists in the parish. In another case the vicar was so impressed with the state of things that he gave instructions that the Apostles' Creed was to be taught from the standpoint of the Board of Education. That was an extraordinary instruction for any clergyman to make. Those national schools were claimed by the Church, but in North and South Wales it would be found that the schools had been built to a great extent by the voluntary contributions, not only of Churchmen but of Nonconformists as well. He knew a case in his own constituency where the school was built in 1872 by the voluntary efforts of the parishioners as a parish school. The Nonconformists were in an enormous majority, and yet that school had been entirely passed over to the Church. The people of the village resented the fact that in the school built by their own money, the majority of them being Nonconformists, the children were unable to attain to the position of headmaster. No one, therefore, could assert that the people of Wales had no ground for repudiating an Act which perpetuated a gross disability of that kind. The protest in Wales was practically unanimous, and it was constitutional. The policy of the people of Wales had been expressed by all the Welsh county councils—for there was not a single county council which was not now brought into line, and he believed that the policy was within the letter of the law. Did the House expect the people of Wales to administer an Act which in their opinion clashed with their sense of justice and equity?

This Bill was a clever Departmental prescription for securing temporary relief from the worst symptoms of the trouble that they had in Wales. But any remedy which was devoted to curing only the symptoms and not to reaching the root of the matter deserved the title which the hon. Member for Carnarvon had given it—a quack remedy. Welshmen were anxious for education. They had done a great deal for education, and if the Board of Education had shown the least anxiety to meet the people of Wales in a conciliatory spirit, they would have been generously met. They had not done that, but they had treated in a very Laodicean spirit the efforts of other people who had tried conciliation. Scotland got what it wanted, but Wales, which out of its poverty had built its colleges and its schools, which had made great struggles for the cause of education—Wales was to have nothing but this message of coercion from the Government. That was a thing against which they had every right to protest.

And, it being half-past Five of the clock, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded to interrupt the Business.

Whereupon Sir WILLIAM ANSON rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 226; Noes, 104. (Division List No. 239.)

AYES.

Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Hy. Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline Fitz Roy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. Gerald W (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E. W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Heath, James (Staffords., N. W.
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Howard, Jn. (Kent, Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N. R.

Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
M‘Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M‘Iver, Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,RtHnSirH.E.(Wigt'n)
Maxwell,W.J.H.(Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner,Rt.Hon.Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan,DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan,Col. John P.(Galway,N.)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, S.Forde (Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt.Hn.Chas. Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H.(Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord(Lancs.)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tully, Jasper
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.SirC.E.H.(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A.C.E(Taunton
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore. Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asher, Alexander
Asquith,Rt.Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Black, Alexander William
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James.
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin,CharlesRamsay(Galway
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Field, William
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Harcourt,RtHnSirW(Monm'th
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol,E.)
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr.Charles Fredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M‘Kean, John
M‘Kenna, Reginald
M‘Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh,N.)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moss, Samuel
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald

Paulton, James Mellor
Perks, Robert William
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Sandys, Lieut-Col. Thos. Myles
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wallace, Robert
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Jn. Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

Question put accordingly, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House divided:—Ayes, 245; Noes, 111. (Division List No. 240.)

AYES.

Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Ambrose, Robert
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Capt C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boland, John
Bond, Edward
Bowles, Lt-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Davenport, William Bromley
Delany, William
Denny Colonel
Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gore, Hn. S. F. Ormsby-
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E W (B'rys Edm'nds)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Geeene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hayden, John Patrick
Heath, James (Staffords., N. W.
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Howard, John (Kent, Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
Laurie, Lieut-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John. G. (Yorks., N.R.
Leamy, Edmund
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. W. (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lundon, W.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W

M'Kean, John
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,Rt.Hn.SirH.E(Wigt'n
Maxwell,W.J.H.(Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner,Rt.Hon. Sir FrederickG.
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murphy, John
Murray,Rt.HnA.Graham(Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan,Col.JohnP. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien,Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N.
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Peel,Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E.(Waterford)
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Ritchie,Rt.Hon.Chas.Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Hon.Arthur(Ormskirk
Stanley,EdwardJas.(Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Sullivan, Donal
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv.
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tully, Jasper
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col.SirC.E.H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley,H.(Ashton-und-Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson,A.Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson-Todd,Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland - Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Asher, Alexander
Asquith,Rt.HonHerbertHenry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Black, Alexander William
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thoman Ryburn
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Davies,M.Vaughan-(Cardigan)-
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Field, William
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fuller, J. M. F.
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Harcourt,Rt.HnSirW(Monm'th
Harwood, George
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol,E.
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,David Brynmor(Swansea
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Mitchell,Edw.(Fermanagh, N.)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moss, Samuel
Newnes, Sir George
Nussey, Thomas Wiilans
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Perks, Robert William
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos.Myles
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wallace, Robert
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, JohnCathcart(Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway

White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR claimed, "That the Main Question be now put."

Main Question put accordingly.

The House divided:—Ayes, 233; Noes, 102. (Division List No. 241.)

AYES.

Aird, Sir John
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Ambrose, Robert
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Capt. C. B. (Hornsey)
Balfour, Rt Hn. Gerald W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boland, John
Bond, Edward
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Davenport, William Bromley
Delany, William
Denny, Colonel
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Dickson, Charles Scott
Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J (Manc'r
Field, William
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E. W. (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, Laurence (Kent Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hayden, John Patrick
Heath, James (Staffords. N. W.
Helder, Augustus
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Howard, John (Kent, Faversh'm
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Roland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks, N.R
Leamy, Edmund
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hon. Walter (Bristol, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
Lundon, W.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Kean, John
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, Rt Hn. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n
Maxwell, W J. H. (Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt Hn. A. Graham (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nannetti, Joseph, P.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary, Mid
O'Brien, Patrick Kilkenny)
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Reddy, M.
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)

Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Spencer, Sir E. (W. Bromwich)
Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Sullivan, Donal
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thornburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tully, Jasper
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheffield
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Wharton, Rt. Hon John Lloyd
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Asher, Alexander
Atherley-Jones, L.
Black, Alexander William
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Harcourt, Rt Hn Sir W (Monm'th
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leng, Sir John
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moss, Samuel
Newnes, Sir George
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Perks, Robert William
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wallace, Robert
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Weir, James Galloway
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. Causton.

Bill accordingly read a second time, and committed for Tuesday next.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures; Mr. O'Mara, Sir Elliott Lees, and Sir John Barrington Simeon; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Hoult, and Lord Bingham.

Report to lie upon the Table.

And, it being after Six of the clock, Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the Standing Order, adjourned the House without Question put till Monday next.

Adjourned at five minutes after Six o'clock till Monday next.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 18*th July*, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11).

Also the Certificate that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill:—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Carlisle Corporation Bill. The order made on the 30th of June last appointing certain Lords the Select Committee to consider the said Bill, discharged.

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

London and India Docks Company Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill. The King's consent signified; and Bill reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

Carlisle Corporation Bill; Leyton Urban District Council Bill; Rotherham Corporation Bill; Selby Urban District Council Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills; (viz.), M. Camden, E. Mayo, L. Braye, L. Lawrence, L. Newton (chairman); agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Thursday next at Twelve o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills.

Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Third Reading (which stands appointed for this day) put off till To-morrow.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. House in Committee (according to order). Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill. House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported without Amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a To-morrow.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill. House in Committee (according to order). Amendments made. Standing Committee negatived. The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No 4) Bill. House in Committee (according to order). Bill reported without amendment. Standing Committee negatived; and Bill to be read 3^a To-morrow.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No.13) Bill. Brought from the Commons and read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 152.)

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

RAILWAYS (CONTINUOUS BRAKES).

Return by the railway companies of the United Kingdom, for the six months ended 31st December, 1903.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3221. Germany (Frankfort-on-Maine).

No. 3222. Italy (Genoa).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PAWNBROKERS (IRELAND).

Returns from the City Marshal of Dublin, for the year 1903. Laid before the

House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY BILL [H.L.].

Report from the Select Committee (with Proceedings of the Committee), made, and to be printed. (No. 149.) Bill reported with Amendments; and committed to a Committee of the Whole House; and to be printed as amended. (No. 150.)

RAILWAYS (PRIVATE SIDINGS) BILL.

House in Committee (according to order). An Amendment made. Bill re-committed to the Standing Committee; and to be printed as amended. (No. 151.)

THE YEOMANRY AND LOVAT'S SCOUTS.

*THE EARL OF WEMYSS: My Lords, I rise, in accordance with the notice standing in my name on the Paper, to call attention to the armament and position of the Yeomanry in relation to the Regular cavalry, and to ask who is responsible for the Lovat Scouts having been kept together as a fighting unit in South Africa. I may say at once that I am no Yeoman. Very near and dear relations of mine have commanded Yeomanry regiments, but I have no personal interest in the Yeomanry further than this, that I have always looked upon the Yeomanry, if properly organised, as one of the most excellent forces we have for defending the country against invasion. I may tell your Lordships, in strictest confidence, that I am not a member of the blue-water school. I believe we ought to be independent of the Navy in regard to home defence, and the Navy itself, according to the blue-water school, is not prepared to defend us against possible raids. I can conceive nothing more disagreeable than a raid of 10,000 men landing on our shores. I want to see my country safe alike against raids and against invasion of the style of the Roman or Norman invasions. Therefore, I am glad we have such a force as the Yeomanry, who have shown their capacity in the recent war. What is wanted is that they should be properly organised, armed, and equipped.

The Yeomanry were originally what was called "The Hunter Horse"; that is to say, they were men who could ride across country and formed themselves into Yeomanry; and I think my noble and gallant friend, the late Commander-in-Chief, who I see sitting on the Cross Benches, will back me up when I say that a finer force than the Hunter Horse if properly organised and equipped, it would be impossible to conceive. There are, I believe, over 200 packs of hounds in this country, and if each hunt produced a certain number of men, those men would be able to go across country in a way that no foreign Army could. We may then look upon the Yeomanry as having always been cavalry; they have always dressed after the cavalry pattern, they were equipped and armed like the cavalry. They have always been cavalry and not mounted infantry. But what happened when they offered their services in the late war? They were by some authority at the War Office—I do not know who—turned practically, as regards their title, into infantry. They were troops up to then, but they went out to South Africa as companies. And why? Simply, as far as I can ascertain, because they carried the long rifle.

This long rifle question takes one a very long way back, back to the years 1859 and 1860. At that time the question was raised whether cavalry should or should not be armed with the long rifle instead of with the carbine. In the discussion we then had with cavalry officers upon this point they used to maintain that the carbine was the only suitable fire-arm for cavalry—But when met with this statement: "You and I have got to fight a duel. We are placed somewhere in the country, three miles apart. We are to fight and kill each other. Which will you have in that case—the long infantry rifle, or the cavalry carbine?" The answer was immediately: "In that case I would take the long infantry rifle." Your Lordships will hardly believe it, but this same argument had to be used as regards breech loaders and muzzle-loaders at the time when the adoption of the breech-loader was in question. And it has been shown that our cavalry were sent out with arms that were useless, with weapons with which it was impossible to return the long-range fire of the Boers. The cavalry now are going to be armed with the long rifle, and the carbine will be relegated to that museum in the banqueting hall of the Royal Service Institution—that building with the beautiful ceiling by Rubens, which I think might be put to a better use—where all these obsolete arms and uniforms are sent. But what has not been agreed upon is how the long rifle is to be carried.

Here, again, we come to a very old question. I hold in my hand a letter, dated 1871, which refers to the best way of carrying a rifle. I say, unhesitatingly, as a practical man, having had a good deal to do with carrying the rifle when deer-stalking, that the one thing a man on horseback desires is to have the weight off his own person and put on to the horse. In 1871 there was a force in this country, which has since been allowed to die by the War Office, called Bower's Hampshire Horse. That was the most perfect mounted force the world has seen. They carried a long rifle in a way convenient to themselves, and they carried the sword not on the horse but on their person, in a belt. Here is a description, which perhaps your Lordships will allow me to read, of this force. It is from a letter written in 1871 by myself—

"As a force for home defence a large portion of it (the Yeomanry cavalry) might, by a different system of drill and training, become the finest Irregular cavalry in the world. The model on which they should be thus reconstituted is that of Colonel Bower's Hampshire Mounted Rifles. Whoever has had the good fortune to see this admirable corps at work, riding across country, carrying their long range rifles attached to their saddle in a bucket, with as little inconvenience to themselves or horses as a hunter does his horn, taking every fence that comes in their line as readily as if with hounds, and threading their way through thick woods and spinnies, dismounting to skirmish, and firing from behind hedges, houses, trees, or other cover, then remounting and galloping at a racing pace two or three miles at a stretch, either in advance or retreat, or changing front to open fire on a flank, will readily endorse the opinion of Colonel Brendon, R.A."

I was present with Colonel Brendon when he inspected this regiment. He was an Artillery Officer from Portsmouth, and this is what he said at the close of the inspection—

"He had come to the ground with a vague idea of the duty he had to perform, and his surprise was not less than his pleasure. It might be heresy in him to give his opinion of the inevitable fate of ordinary cavalry opposed to such a system; and artillery, while exposed to destruction, could not touch such assailants n their scattered and hidden formation."

That was the model which then existed. There were fifty in the corps, but they dropped to forty, and the War Office gradually allowed them to die out altogether.

But, my Lords, they are not quite dead. I hold in my hand a newspaper cutting from the *Hampshire Chronicle*, sent me by Colonel Bower, who is now, by the way, ninety-five, and as fresh as paint, containing an account of a meeting quite recently of the Hants Carabineers' Imperial Yeomanry—

"Another interesting competition was between Mr. Richard Westbrook equipped and carrying his rifle in the style of Colonel Bower's old Droxford Light Horse, and Lieutenant Alexander (I.W. troop) carrying the rifle as it was carried in South Africa. The competitors were mounted, and in the course had to take three hurdles, dismount, fire, remount, and ride back again. The result was the easiest of wins for Mr. Westbrook, whose time was 58 seconds as compared with 124 seconds occupied by Lieutenant Alexander. Colonel Bower, although ninety-five years of age, was personally present during part of the afternoon."

At the end of another article in the same newspaper the following reference is made to this trial—

"Another feature of the Droxford equipment was the frog belt for carrying the sword, by the use of which it was found cavalry swords were no impediment to men skirmishing on foot. Not only at drills and official inspections and visits, but in riding and shooting competitions, Colonel Bower and his Droxford Light Horse put their method to practical tests."

I recommend that, also, to the kind consideration of my noble and gallant friend the late Commander-in-Chief.

My noble friend Lord Donoughmore referred the other day to a photograph I had shown him. I have had a dozen of them printed. There they are (placing them on the Table) for the benefit of any noble Lords who may wish to see them. I have ridden over fences and can testify to the fact that nothing can be more convenient than the way of carrying the rifle shown in the photograph. The rifle cannot be jerked off by any bucking horse if it is thus carried in the Namaqua bucket, nor the rider thrown, and he can take out the rifle in an instant. I really hope the noble Earl the gallant Field-Marshal will take this matter into his serious consideration. I have been in communication with the Inspector of Cavalry upon it, and I hope he, too, will go down and see Colonel Bower's experiment. If any of your Lordships are sufficiently interested in this question to go down and see it, a day can be appointed for you to meet Mr. Richard Westbrook, equipped and carrying his rifle in this style. I go further, and say it is the duty of the War Office and those interested in the efficiency of our cavalry to go and see it in practice.

The other matter I refer to in my notice is the question of the Lovat Scouts. Lord Lovat and I, unconsciously, were working at the same time at the same thing. We had the disadvantage, at the commencement of the war, of experiencing what were called "regrettable incidents," like that at Magersfontein. When these regrettable incidents took place through blind blundering, I had a strong feeling that what was wanted were men who knew how to use the telescope. Your Lordships will hardly believe it, but our Army was sent out to South Africa with hardly a telescope among them. They had, no doubt, field-glasses magnifying twelve times; but my old deer-stalking glass used to magnify thirty-five times. So clear was the atmosphere, a member of Lord Lovat's scouts told me they saw quite a dozen miles away, a body of Boers marching along a hillside. They looked at them with their deer-stalking glasses, and the question was whether these men were twelve or fourteen miles away. That gives your Lordships a notion of what a telescope can do in that climate; but, notwithstanding that, our soldiers, as said, were sent out without telescopes. After Magersfontein a General—I will not say who—wrote to Sir David Gill, the Astronomer Royal at the Cape and said—

"For God's sake send me as many telescopes as you can."

I know, as regards Lovat's Scouts, that one General—one of the good Generals out there—after he had inspected these scouts, said—

"Until I saw you at work I had no idea of the use that a telescope could be in war."

It was a telescope that enabled the Duke of Wellington to win the battle of Assaye and cross the Douro, and your Lordships know well the picture of him, painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, with blue frock coat and telescope in hand. Yet one hundred years afterwards the British Army went to war without telescopes, and a British General admitted that he was not aware of the use of telescopes in war!

The Earl of Wemyss.

Seeing all this, I felt strongly that what was wanted were scouts who knew how to stalk, men who knew the use of the telescope; for, after all, a soldier is nothing but a man-stalker, and the same qualities are necessary to make a man a good soldier and a good scout as are necessary to make him a good deer-stalker. I wrote a letter to *The Times* on this subject, in which I asked—

"Why don't they send out Highlanders, scouts accustomed to deer-stalking?"

And the next day Lord Lovat, whom I had not the pleasure of knowing before, came to me and said—

"What you have suggested I am busy doing. I am already forming such a body of men,"

And a very good body of men they proved to be. But my Question refers to another matter. The last thing that came into my head, or into the head of any sensible person, the last thing that could have entered Lord Lovat's head when he was getting this corps together, was that they would be kept together, like any other body of troops, as a fighting unit. The idea was that they should be the eyes of the Army and be scattered about in different directions. But they were kept together. I asked one of these scouts how this came about, and he said it was due to the action of the authorities. I asked which authorities, the authorities here or the authorities out there, and he replied—

"The authorities out there."

I have heard since that the authorities here and the authorities in South Africa differed on this point, but the latter had their own way and the men were kept together. A speech was made by my noble friend Lord Lovat in the Highlands which explains the whole thing so far as his knowledge goes, and I had intended quoting it. As however, the noble and gallant Lord is here to-night it would be absurd for me to read extracts from his speech; but I believe I am justified in asking how it happened that the Lovat Scouts were kept together as a fighting unit, and upon whom the responsibility of such a waste of power rests.

LORD LOVAT: My Lords, I rise with considerable reluctance to address your Lordships. I have very distinct views, and have not hesitated to express them on this subject, and I should be very sorry if, through not being accustomed to public speaking, I should say one word more than the case justified about any corps with which I have been associated. But as Lord Wemyss has asked me to do so, I will state exactly the manner in which the Lovat Scouts were treated, and how this question arose. Immediately after Magersfontein, in December, 1899, I went to the War Office and offered to raise a body of men, with ten or twelve officers and six or eight trained telescope men, stalkers, and others from the Highlands. This offer was rejected, the War Office informing me that they could only deal with units. They insisted that there should be 116 men, a bugler, two shoeing-smiths, and some farriers; and they declined to deal with any other force except a force thus composed. Accordingly I went out to South Africa with two units such as they desired me to raise.

I would like to put Lord Wemyss right by saying that there was no chance, when once in South Africa, of dividing these units. The responsibility as to their organisation in units rests entirely with the War Office here. I did not take as many stalkers as I would otherwise have taken; I only took sufficient to do the work for these companies. In order to meet the War Office views I went in for picked shots. If the force had been organised as I had intended, and only stalkers had been taken, I consider that they would have been of very much greater use. I say this for two reasons. In the first place, as is well known, on the whole of the Colenso side there were only three officers at one time who were able to use the telescope efficiently. I think that if some thirty or forty good men had been distributed throughout the Army the work would have been done a great deal more efficiently. There is another reason why I think the men could have done better service if they had been split up. On very many occasions we lent from the Lovat Scouts telescope men to various batteries, and as they asked for these men again in subsequent actions, I take it they were satisfied with the work the men did. On the point brought forward by Lord Wemyss as to the work of advance guards, I can only say this, that in two and half years experience I never knew any advance guard, possessing men with telescopes, which ran into the enemy. On each occasion that traps or ambuscades were laid they were discovered, not at two miles, as was generally the case, but at seven miles.

I have nothing further to add with regard to the regiment with which I am associated, but I would like just to say one or two words on the subject of telescopes in war. I do not believe that the War Office have realised the necessity, especially in an open country, of the telescope in war. It is certain that in the clear atmosphere of South Africa, provided climatic influences were favourable, a single horseman could be detected up to a distance of fourteen miles, a number of troops on the march and camps of white tents could be distinguished up to twenty or twenty-one miles, and a man's head and shoulders above an intrenchment at 7,000 yards. The magnifying power of the stalkers' glass runs to thirty-five times, but with the glass used by the forces in South Africa you cannot see equally well up to half that distance. There is another reason for substituting entirely the telescope for the glass now used. I know the present glass is very much easier learnt, and I do not think any man, unless he has had six months study, can do any good with the telescope. I found on several occasions when I issued telescopes to men who had no previous training that it was necessary to take them back and give them the ordinary glasses. They did better work, untrained, with the latter.

There is great need for increasing our powers of vision in the British Army. We continually blundered, quite unnecessarily, into the enemy in South Africa. Our artillery, on many occasions, fired on our own men, as also did the cavalry and infantry, and on several occasions

I saw the artillery wasting hundred of shells in searching positions. Both of these errors would have been avoided by the use of proper telescopes. I would say that the first step for the War Office to take is to entirely abolish the obsolete telescopes that are now in use. The telescope they issued to me during the second year of the war, when drawn out to the full length, was 4 feet 11 inches. It was perfectly useless except on a stage. It weighed three times as much as the ordinary glass, and I understand it cost a good deal more than the glasses that one can buy at the Co-operative Stores. No doubt a man must be trained in the use of the telescope, but it is safe to say that a certain number of men go into the Army every year who have had some training with the telescope, before they join, and if they were discovered and put into the artillery, cavalry, or those branches of the service in which the telescope is most essential, some advantage might be gained. If we are unable to get trained men in the Army, there is no reason why a certain number of trained Scottish stalkers should not be maintained, by paying them a fee or by other means, as a sort of Reserve to be attached to batteries in time of war. There can be no difficulty in maintaining a small force like this. These men, I suggest, could be attached to the Intelligence Department to help the advance guard in the line of march, and they could do outpost work with the troops when halted, or assist the general in seeing at great distances.

*Earl ROBERTS: My Lords, the noble Earl who began the debate brought forward two points—the equipment of Yeomanry and the employment of Lovat's Scouts. The last point my noble friend Lord Lovat has, I think, explained away. Lovat's Scouts were not employed as scouts in South Africa because they were not sent out to me as scouts. When the Yeomanry came out some were called sharpshooters, some rough-riders, and some scouts. I saw Lovat's Scouts for the first time at Kroonstad in May, 1900, and I inspected them there. Lord Lovat never said anything to me about their being scouts, and I gather from what my noble friend has stated that the men were not specially trained as scouts. I would certainly never have thought of employing men sent out as Yeomanry, as they were, who were perfectly unacquainted with the country, on the very difficult work of scouting. I employed men of the country whenever I could get them. With regard to the arms of the Yeomanry, I have seen a photograph placed on the Table by Lord Wemyss, and I admit it shows a pleasant way of carrying the long rifle. Moreover, I think it is the way it will have to be carried, as I said the other day, in peace time. In time of peace our men are not dressed for service, and to put the rifle on their backs in full dress would be ridiculous. It would wear out their clothes and make them very uncomfortable. For these and other reasons I should say that the proper way to carry the long rifle is very much like that shown in this photograph—namely, in a bucket on the saddle. But I am perfectly satisfied that when men go on service the rifle must be carried on their backs.

The Earl of WEMYSS: When under fire.

*Earl ROBERTS: When in front of the enemy. That was the order I gave in South Africa—that when they got near the enemy the rifle should be put on the man's back, so that if his horse was killed or wounded he would have his rifle free. With regard to telescopes, I can assure the noble Lord that I have used a telescope myself from my very early days of soldiering. I have no sight with one eye, and therefore a binocular would have been of no use to me. I have therefore always used a telescope, and I believe that it is of great advantage that officers particularly should use telescopes. It takes some time to learn to use them, and it would be useless to give them to all ranks; but it would be a great advantage if a certain number of officers and men, especially those belonging to the artillery and cavalry, were provided with telescopes. I feel sure that the suggestion will be taken up by the War Office, and that a certain number of men will be supplied with telescopes and taught how to use them.

*The UNDER-SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (The Earl of Donoughmore): My Lords, after the speech of the noble and gallant Field-Marshal I do not think I need detain your Lordships more than a few minutes in replying to the discussion which has been raised by the noble Earl. Four subjects have been touched upon, and in respect of three of them I have received no warning whatever in the notice standing on the Paper; but I make no complaint. With the exception of the question of telescopes and the employment of Lovat's Scouts, the other matters raised have been discussed previously this session, and I have very little to add to what has already been said. As regards the question of equipment, opinions are very much divided as to where exactly a cavalryman should carry his rifle and how he should carry it, and we are not prepared to give a decision on the point until we have received the result of the experiments which are now proceeding at Aldershot with the equipment known as the Patterson equipment, which, I believe from what I have seen in the newspapers, is the equipment that has been adopted by Lord Kitchener in India. It is an equipment designed to ensure that the weight of the rifle shall be shared by the man and the horse. We have not yet received any reports upon it, and until this equipment has been thoroughly inquired into it would obviously not be wise to give a final decision on the point. I can, however, assure your Lordships that we are extremely anxious to reach this final decision. Over these experiments no time will be wasted, but we must allow a sufficient interval for them to be carried out, and the War Office will come to a decision upon them with the least possible delay.

With regard to what Lord Lovat said on the subject of telescopes, I am entirely in agreement with him, and I can assure him that the authorities at the War Office fully understand the importance of this question. We are very much alive to it, and I will have the question of the length of the telescope inquired into and see if something cannot be done in the direction both of lightening and shortening the instrument. The noble Lord mentioned that there were only three officers on the Colenso side able to use the telescope, but he omitted to take into consideration the fact that there were on that side a number of sailors experienced in telescope work; and in this connection I may be allowed to remind your Lordships that one of the witnesses before Lord Elgin's Commission bore testimony to the usefulness, in long-range firing, of the telescopes used by the sailors. As to the suggested Reserve of stalkers, we already have a considerable number of stalkers in the new regiment which Lord Lovat has raised. I remember spending several pleasant hours last year in Perthshire in the company of one of the members of the noble Lord's regiment, and I am confident that these men will be of great use to us in any future war.

Now I come to the question who is responsible for Lovat's Scouts being kept together as a fighting unit in South Africa. The answer has, I think, already been given. I presume they were kept together on the authority of the Commander-in-Chief, but we have no record on the point. I am not surprised that we have no record, as it was obviously not for the War Office to dictate to the Commander-in-Chief in the field as to how he was to use his troops. With regard to the decision that was come to in London when the noble and gallant Lord originally made up his mind to raise this corps of stalkers, there again I am not able to give any information, for I find that, with the exception of a formal application, the negotiations were carried on by word of mouth between Lord Lovat and a distinguished officer at the War Office. There is no record whatever of the reasons which led to the decision not to send them out in the form originally suggested by the noble and gallant Lord. I should imagine myself that the reason was that the climate and atmosphere in South Africa were very different from Scotland, and that it was considered that the best people to use as scouts were local people accustomed to the light and atmosphere of the country. I think I have dealt with all the points that have been raised.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I only rise to ask the noble Earl on Question. Did Lord Lovat correctly describe the telescope which is now being issued to the British Army?

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: I said that I did not know, but that I would inquire.

The Earl of ROSEBERY: I beg the noble Earl's pardon. I did not catch that.

The Earl of ERROLL: My Lords, I should like to say a word with regard to what fell from the noble Earl who initiated this discussion as to the Yeomanry being entirely trained as cavalry. That hardly expresses the present mode of their training. It takes certainly a couple of years to make a good cavalry soldier, and I think it is impossible to expect Yeomanry, who are only trained for about fourteen days every year, to become really efficient cavalry. I was much struck a day or two ago by a Reuter's telegram from St. Petersburg to the following effect—

> "The Russians are beginning to regret that they spent so much time in exercising with the bayonet"—(and, I conclude, with the sword)—"and that they have not paid sufficient attention to their shooting."

This lesson, the result of very bitter experience in the field, I think we ought to treat with a certain amount of consideration. I think the Yeomanry will be the first to recognise that in the future their principal weapon must be the rifle, and that the time spent in their sword exercise is more or less a waste of time.

I remember two years ago, in inspecting Yeomanry regiments, that a great deal of the time was spent in marching past and in the practice of the sword exercise. I venture to think that the method of training which has been adopted during the last two or three years, in which scouting and reconnaissance and the use of the rifle have been taught, is a very great advance on anything we had in the old days. There is great difference of opinion among Yeomanry officers themselves as to what their second weapon ought to be. No one will accuse me of any hostility to the Yeomanry or of any want of sympathy with them, and it is just because I have this sympathy with the Yeomanry that I should like to see them develop on what I imagine to be the right lines, shake off all prejudices, and keep up to modern requirements. With regard to the method of carrying the rifle shown in the photograph placed on the Table by Lord Wemyss, I believe this is a very good way of carrying it; but, if the man has a sword, it will be extremely difficult for him to use the sword with his rifle carried in this manner.

*The Earl of WEMYSS: My Lords, I should like to say one word in reply to the remarks which fell from the noble Earl the Under-Secretary. The noble Earl said that the whole question as to the manner in which the rifle should be carried is now before a sub-Committee at Aldershot.

The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: Not before a sub-Committee; but experiments are going on at Aldershot.

*The Earl of WEMYSS: Well, I hope the War Office will send someone down to see the equipment to which I have referred. With regard to the telescope, the Coastguard have an excellent short telescope, the magnifying power of which is quite twice as great as that of the glass at present used in the Army. I would advise my noble friend to go to the Admiralty, who have revolutionised and now apparently control the War Office, and see if they cannot supply a much better telescope at a cheaper rate than that now being issued by the War Office. It may amuse your Lordships to know how I first became acquainted with the defect in the matter of equipping the Army with telescopes. Sir Alfred Horsford came over from Aldershot for our Wimbledon meeting, and he said—

> "I wish the Duke of Cambridge would order Sir James Scarlett to prevent me getting into Aldershot."

The order was given, and I went with Sir Alfred Horsford when he tried to get in. We came to a point with hills above us, on which there was a mass of something, but there was no means of knowing with the naked eye what it was, and in the whole of that force there was not a single glass of any kind. It turned out afterwards that these were ordinary spectators, carriages and carts. I only mention this as showing the importance of forces being equipped with telescopes. I recollect also that at subsequent manœuvres in Wiltshire I got off my horse, when on the right of the defending Army, took out my deer-stalking telescope, and saw the opposing Army flanking round the defending Army. I said to the officer commanding the videttes of the defending Army, "Is anything stirring here?" and he replied, "No, all is quiet here." That, again, shows the absolute necessity of telescopes.

The subject then dropped.

COUNTY COURTS BILL [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the day for the Second Reading read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY): The principal object of this Bill is to give power for putting into a workable shape the provisions of the Act of last year, which extends as from the 1st of January 1905 the jurisdiction of County Courts to cases involving claims of £100, the present limit of the jurisdiction being £50. The Act of 1903 confers the extended jurisdiction on all County Courts, but authorises the making of an Order in Council to provide that actions involving claims of over £50 shall be tried only in Courts where—

> "Due provision has been made for carrying on the business of the Court without interference with the ordinary jurisdiction of the Court."

This provision is so indefinite that it might not have the effect of giving the extended jurisdiction to the principal County Courts in the kingdom, that is to say, at the very Courts where it is most desirable that it should be exercised, and the question whether the jurisdiction was to be exerciseable at any particular Court would depend on the arrangements for carrying on the business of the court made by the Judge of that Court. The present Bill proposes that the extended jurisdiction should be exercised only at the principal Courts. The Courts falling within this category are to be determined by a scheme made by the Lord Chancellor with the consent of the Treasury, and confirmed by Order in Council. The salaries of Judges of those Courts are to be increased from £1,500 to £1,800. There is also a provision that where a deputy has been appointed in the case of the illness of any Judge, the Treasury may, on the recommendation of the Lord Chancellor, allow the deputy such remuneration as they think fit, and the remuneration so allowed shall be paid out of money provided by Parliament. The jurisdiction of registrars of the principal Courts who are not in practice as solicitors is somewhat increased, and provision is made for additional Courts being held by registrars, in the absence of the Judge, for the hearing of cases within the jurisdiction of the registrars. The Bill also contains various amendments of the law relating to the procedure in County Courts.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Earl of Halsbury.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Friday next.

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, this Bill embodies mainly the recommendations of the Committee of 1902, over which Sir Michael Hicks Beach presided. Your Lordships are probably aware that although the security of Trustee Savings Banks and the Post Office Savings Bank is absolutely complete, inasmuch as it rests upon the credit of the country, yet certain minor financial difficulties have arisen in regard to the administration of the banks. There has been a considerable amount of talk about reducing the interest which is now paid to the depositors, but my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has resolved, after very careful consideration, that he will not, at any rate for the present, propose to Parliament any such drastic remedy. At the same time certain alterations are called for in the interests of economy, and those alterations are contained in the clauses of this Bill.

There are, in the first place, certain minor changes calculated to reduce the expenses of management, which are unduly high, and the points in regard to which would rather arise in Committee than upon Second Reading. There is also the provision of the important clause—namely, Clause 10. Your Lordships probably know that in the early days of the Post Office Savings Bank, savings banks were not very economically administered; that is to say, in order to promote thrift a higher interest was given to the depositors than was earned by the National Debt Commissioners themselves, and there was therefore a growing deficit. This was not met at that time out of monies provided by Parliament but was a perpetual charge on the capital. At about 1878 the deficit due to that cause had risen to £2,500,000. About that year Sir Stafford Northcote introduced a Bill which provided that in future this deficit should not accrue, but should be met by monies provided by Parliament. That did not deal with the deficit which had already accrued, and which amounted to the very large sum I have already mentioned. In order to deal with that deficit Mr. Gladstone established a system of annuities which, it was then calculated, would get rid of this £2,500,000 deficit in twenty-eight years.

That is the state of facts; and having regard to the rather, in one sense, serious condition of affairs — not serious for the depositors, for they are secured in any case, but serious for the country, because, as your Lordships know, we have not too much money to spare nowadays, and we do not want to increase more than is necessary the sum of money which is demanded of the taxpayers — it has been thought by His Majesty's Government that the best course now to adopt would be to defer the paying off of these annuities for a few years, and to use, not the capital sums which are paid into that sinking fund, but the interest, or part of the interest, in order to meet part of this liability to make good the deficiency which arises from the difference between the amount of money which is paid to the depositors, and the less amount of money which can be earned by the National Debt Commissioners. Clause 10 effects that change.

The Marquess of Salisbury.

Of course, your Lordships' assent is necessary to this Bill, as it is to every other Bill before Parliament; but I am informed that, by our Constitutional practice, no Amendment on this head would be admitted, as the Bill deals with the amount of a charge thrown upon the taxpayers of the country. I have described, for Second Reading purposes, the important provisions of this Bill. There are a certain number of other provisions of a minor character, all of them of certain importance, which I shall be most willing to do my utmost to explain to any noble Lord who desires it when we come to the Committee stage. For the present, I hope the House will think that I have said sufficient in explaining the main provisions of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^{a}."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^{a}, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 18th July, 1904.

The House met at Two of the clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time To-morrow.

Bournemouth Corporation (Tramways) Bill [Lords]; Holywood Tramways Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Metropolitan District Railway Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; An Amendment made; Bill to be read the third time.

West Riding Tramways Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

Buxton Urban District Council Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Glasgow and South Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Govan Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Canal Rates and Charges (Regent's Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No 5) Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Considered; to be read the third time upon Wednesday.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time To-morrow.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill. As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Amendments to, Llanelly Harbour Bill [Lords]; Tynemouth Corporation Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Order relating to Stroud, Nailsworth, and Dursley not confirmed; remaining Orders confirmed] [Title amended]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Alderley Edge; Bacup (three); Balgownie; Bath; Beeston; Beverley; Bierton; Caldbeck (two); Cardiff; Facit; Fortrose; Kendal; Kilmarnock; Larkhall; Montford Bridge; Romford; Stacksteads; Strathaven; Thirsk; Thorn; Wigston; Wigton; and Winlaton; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petitions for alteration; from Bridport; and Great Yarmouth; to lie upon the Table.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897.

Petition from Longton, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PROSECUTION OF OFFENCES ACTS, 1879 AND 1884.

Return presented, relative thereto [Address 12th July; Mr. Cochrane]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 267.]

PAWNBROKERS' RETURNS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Returns from the City Marshal of Dublin for the year ended 31st December, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

GAS ORDERS CONFIRMATION (No. 1) BILL [Lords].

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 5th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 268.]

IMPERIAL REVENUE (COLLECTION AND EXPENDITURE) (GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 21st March; *Mr. J. A. Pease*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 269.]

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 3220 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRAMWAYS ORDERS CONFIRMATION (No. 1) BILL [LORDS].

Copy ordered, "of Memorandum stating the nature of the Proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]."—(*Mr. Bonar Law.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Importation of Vegetables and Fruit grown on French Sewage Farms.

SIR W. HART DYKE (Kent, Dartford): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that the sale of vegetables or fruit to be eaten uncooked has been prohibited in France when they are grown upon sewage farms; whether the attention of any of the Board's inspectors has been called to the importation of such fruit and vegetables from France; and if he will consider the advisability of taking steps to afford some greater security to the English consumer who may purchase them.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I have not received any representations as to the importation from France of fruit and vegetables grown upon sewage farms, and it appears to me that there would be considerable practical difficulty in identifying any produce so grown. I am advised that, speaking generally, vegetables and fruit grown upon sewage farms would not be unfit for food, though uncooked, unless they had been allowed to be in contact with the sewage; and I understand that one of the model regulations issued in France last year would forbid the disposal of matters from cesspools or sewers on land on the surface of which are cultivated vegetables and fruit intended to be eaten uncooked.

Compensation to Boers—Account of Expenditure.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any account has been furnished to the Colonial Office of the expenditure of the £3,000,000 voted by this House for compensation to, and repatriation of, the Boers; whether such expenditure has been audited by any authority responsible to this House; if not, what safeguards have been adopted to secure the application of all the moneys to the purposes for which they were voted by this House.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The account of the expenditure of £3,000,000 has not yet been furnished. The expenditure will be subject to audit by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, in accordance with the terms of the Vote, but this has not relieved the local Auditor-General of the duty of auditing these accounts in detail, and owing to the fact that the expenditure on repatriation includes very large amounts of loan money in addition to the grant, and to the exceptional circumstances, such as drought and cattle plague, which have greatly prolonged the work, it has not, I understand, been possible to complete this Colonial audit. The hon. Member will find explanations in regard to this expenditure at pages 11 and 12 of Cd. 2104.

Tenders for Supplies to Irish Public Institutions.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state what is the nature of the new arrangement under which the Board of Works in Ireland proposes to obtain tenders for the supplies for public institutions.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) As at present advised, the Board do not propose to alter the arrangements for advertising contracts except in the case of supplies of fuel in the smaller towns. Instead of inserting advertisements in local papers they intend to send notices to the local firms, whose names will be supplied by their officer resident in the district. In this way the necessary publicity will be secured and the expense of advertising avoided.

Irish Ancient Monuments.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state the number of ancient monuments in Ireland inspected by the Board of Works during the last twelve months; the condition in which they were found; the number on which money has been spent in that period and the amount spent on each; and the number of ancient monuments that have come under their charge, or are likely soon to come under their charge, through the operation of the Land Purchase Act of last year.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) One hundred and seventy-three ancient monuments in Ireland were inspected by the Board of Works during the year ended 31st March last, and were found to be in a generally satisfactory condition. £942 19s. 6d. was spent upon forty-two of the monuments in varying amounts. A list of the buildings repaired each year is published in the annual Reports of the Board. 206 monuments are now under their care. The Act of last year has not yet resulted in any addition to this number, and it is not expected to do so to any large extent, as county councils are empowered by the Local Government Act of 1898 to preserve ancient monuments of local interest.

Site of New Post Office at Gorey.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE: To ask the Postmaster-General if the Gorey Towns Commissioners have objected to the proposed site for the new post office at Gorey; if so on what grounds; also if he will state where it is proposed to build the new post office; and if any alternative site has been suggested by the Towns Commissioners.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I have received a resolution from the Gorey Town Commissioners objecting to the site suggested by the local postmaster for a new post office at Gorey on the ground that it is not sufficiently central. No alternative site has been suggested by the Commissioners, but the fullest consideration will be given to their views before any site is selected. The site already suggested is about 100 yards from the main street in the road leading to the railway station.

Overcoats for Auxiliary Postmen in Ireland.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): To ask the Postmaster-General why the auxiliary postmen in Ireland are not supplied with overcoats as is the case with the men on the regular staff.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) It has not hitherto been considered necessary to provide overcoats for rural auxiliary postmen who work less than five hours a day or for town auxiliary postmen who work less than three hours a day. The rule applies to the United Kingdom and not to Ireland only.

Memorial of Mr. Richard Meagher, junior, of Ratmacan.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he has received a memorial from Mr. Richard Meagher, junior, of Ratmacan, Tullaroan, county Kilkenny, recently; and whether any reply has been forwarded to the same; and, if not, whether he would state the reason why.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) A memorial relating to the postal arrangements of Tullaroan was received in the Dublin Post Office a few weeks ago. This is perhaps the memorial referred to by the hon. Member, though the name of the gentleman by whom it was forwarded does not correspond with that mentioned in the Question. The inquiries on the subject are not yet complete. The surveyor has been called upon for an early report, and I hope soon to be in a position to reply to the memorial.

Rules for Delivery of Letters to Persons of Similar Name in the Same Locality.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he will state what is the custom of the Post Office in regard to the delivery of letters the address on which might entitle them to be delivered to any one or more persons of the same name residing in a particular locality; and whether he has received any complaints from Ireland in regard to the custom referred to.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) A letter bearing an address which applies equally to two or more persons or firms, and leaves it a matter of doubt to whom the letter ought to be delivered, is endorsed "Insufficient Address" and returned to the sender, unless the persons or firms concerned have agreed that all such doubtfully addressed letters should be delivered at the same address. If the hon. Member will be good enough to give me particulars of any special case which he has in mind I will have the matter looked into.

Proposed Reduction in Class of Glasgow Telegraph Office Staff.

MR. JOHN WILSON (Glasgow, St. Rollox): To ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been called to proposals for a reduction of the class of clerks in the telegraph department, Glasgow, substituting the work of these officers by the employment of messenger inspectors in the delivery branch; and, seeing that representations were made by members of the staff showing the need of additional clerkships on certain duties, to which the late Postmaster-General promised sympathetic consideration, and in view of the stagnation of promotion, whether he will take steps to provide, in the event of reductions in superior appointments taking place, adequate compensation to the staff for the loss of promotion and the abolition of their opportunities to proceed to a higher salary.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I am having inquiry made, and will communicate the result to the hon. Member.

Charges for Letters Addressed to Tain Post Office "to be called for."

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will explain why the officials at the Tain Post Office required persons calling for letters on the 7th instant to fill in a form and pay a charge of threepence before they would undertake to search the caller's box; and, seeing that a similar error was recently proved to have been made at the Cromer Post Office, will he state how these irregular charges originated and what steps have been taken to prevent their recurrence.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I am having inquiry made and will communicate the result to the hon. Member.

Conditions for Supplying Brass Castings to the Admiralty.

MR. WHITE RIDLEY (Stalybridge): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, in view of the fact that forged steel, supplied to the Admiralty for ships' purposes under contracts with British firms, is stipulated to be of British-made billets, the Admiralty will take into consideration the desirability of similar practice in respect of brass castings for the same purposes, and stipulate that they be made from copper and tin of British manufacture.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) This matter has been considered by the Admiralty; but, in view of the large demands which would be made upon the inspecting officers in securing the actual carrying out of such a stipulation, the ease with which it could be evaded by contractors, the impossibility of verifying the origin of all materials used by them for such work, and the enhanced cost involved, the Admiralty are not prepared to adopt the course suggested.

Employment as School Attendance Officers of Persons Employed by Boards of Guardians or District Councils.

MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE, (Somersetshire, E.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he can now state in what cases he will be prepared to sanction the employment as school attendance officers of persons who are also employed by boards of guardians or district councils.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The question chiefly arises, I think, as regards relieving officers. The general principle upon which the Local Government Board have always acted has been that it is undesirable that a relieving officer should also be an officer of another local authority. Where, however, a relieving officer was a school attendance officer under a board of guardians, and has been transferred to a local education authority, I am willing that the arrangement should continue, subject to its being determined if it should be found to work unsatisfactorily in the particular case. As regards new appointments, whilst I approve of the general principle above mentioned, I do not propose to insist on it where two appointments would involve undue expense, and where, apart from the objection referred to, there seems to be no substantial reason why the two offices should not be held by the same person. I should propose in these cases only to assent in the first instance for a limited time. As a general rule the relieving officer should not be called upon to discharge duties outside his relief district.

Alien Sailors on British Ships.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he is aware that the Seamen's and Firemen's Union calculates that some 2,000 British and Irish sailors are now out of a berth in the United Kingdom, while in the last six months no less than 6,407 alien sailors arrived to ship on British boats; and if he can state how many of them were acquainted with the English language and the Merchant Shipping Regulations of the Board of Trade.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) I have no knowledge of the estimate attributed to the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, and I do not know on what materials it is based. Monthly returns published in the *Labour Gazette* indicate that the number of British seamen engaged at the chief ports of the United Kingdom in the first half of the present year has largely exceeded those in the corresponding period of any of the four preceding years. The number of alien seamen arriving in this country, as stated in the Question, includes sailors arriving to ship in foreign as well as in British vessels. The number of these is unknown, but is probably a considerable proportion of the whole. The Answer to the last part of the Question is in the negative.

Rules under Railway Employment (Prevention of Accidents) Act.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will state how the matters stand of making of rules under Section 1, the inspection of railways under Section 13, and the making inquiries and experiments under Section 15 of The Railway Employment (Prevention of Accidents) Act, 1900.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) In my reply to a Question by the hon. Member on the 8th of February,† I mentioned certain experiments to be conducted in connection with the rule proposed as to either-side brakes on goods waggons. These experiments have now been carried out, with the result that none of the brakes tested proved thoroughly satisfactory. Further experiments are in contemplation, and I hope a satisfactory either-side break may be found. A Rule granting the Taff Vale Railway Company some exemption from No. 8 of the Rules of 1902 has been prepared in accordance with the decision of the Railway and Canal Commissioners, and certain objections and suggestions which have been received are being dealt with in the manner prescribed by the Act. Since the 8th February inspections have been ordered of seventy-two stations and sidings in connection with either the lighting thereof or the operation of propping and tow-roping.

Custody of Children under Remand.

MR. TALBOT (Oxford University): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will give instructions that all children apprehended in London shall be sent to remand homes pending the disposal of their cases by the magistrates, and in no case be permitted to remain in the police stations, as frequently happens at present.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I cannot give the instructions suggested in the Question. As the law stands a child arrested after 5 p.m. cannot be taken to the remand homes until he has appeared, next morning, before the magistrate; and, even if the law were different, I doubt whether it would be desirable to send a child a long journey across London in police custody and often at a late hour in order that he might spend one night in a remand home. When a child has to remain for a night at a police station he is always well treated, and arrangements are made to prevent his coming in contact in any way with ordinary criminals. It is when the child is remanded for several days by the magistrate that full advantage can be taken of the remand homes, in establishing which the Metropolitan Asylums Board have done a most useful public service.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxix., 583.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his power over the Police Courts of the Metropolis extends so far as to enable him to issue orders for children to be conveyed to remand homes immediately on being charged instead of being detained at the Police Court, and to provide that the charges against them should be heard at a separate time and place from the ordinary police cases, as is done in many of the British Colonies and States of America.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) In reply to the first part of my right hon. friend's inquiry, I would refer him to my Answer to the previous Question, No. 68, in to-day's Paper, asked by my right hon. friend the Member for Oxford University, and the second part was dealt with fully in reply to a Question asked by the same right hon. Member, and circulated with the Votes for the 18th May last.†

Children Employed in Street Trading in London.

SIR JOHN GORST: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the increasing number of children of school age engaged in street-selling in the City of London; whether the City has made by-laws under The Employment of Children Act, 1903; and, if so, at what date they were submitted to the Home Office; and whether there is any special reason for delay in giving effect to proper by-laws under The Employment of Children Act within the City of London.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I am informed on inquiry that there has been no appreciable increase in the number of children engaged in street trading in the City. Draft by-laws under the Employment of Children Act were submitted to me by the Court of Common Council at the end of March; there were various points in the by-laws on which I desired to have information or which appeared to me to require amendment, and my observations with regard to them are now before the council.

Specialists called in by Coroners to perform Post-mortem Examinations.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will grant a Return of the inquests held during the last year in which coroners have called in specialists to perform post-mortem examinations in place of the medical men specified in Section 21 of the Coroners' Act, namely, the medical man in attendance on the deceased or some medical man in actual practice in or near the place where death happened, and a Return of the coroners so acting; and whether he can take steps to insure an uniform practice by coroners in this matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I have no materials in my possession from which such a Return could be framed, and I do not think I ought to ask the coroners throughout the country to make a Return on the subject, which would involve much labour. I have no power, even if I thought it desirable, to require coroners to follow an uniform practice in this matter.

Land Concessions to East Africa Syndicate—Rights of the Masai—Wages of Native Labourers.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the 500 square miles in the East Africa Protectorate leased to the East Africa Syndicate, or any part of this land, includes grazing land over which the Masai have been in the habit of pasturing their flocks; and, if so, whether the Masai have agreed to surrender this right and have assented to the sale to the East Africa Syndicate; whether, in view of the report of Major Burnham to the East Africa Syndicate that the Kikuya furnish a fairly good quality of labour at the rate of four rupees per month per man, it is intended to lay down a minimum rate of wage when natives are employed by the East

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 163.

African Syndicate equal at least to that paid to Chinese in the Transvaal.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) If the hon. Member will refer to Africa, No. 8 (page 7), he will find that the Answer to the first two paragraphs of his Question is in the affirmative. The Answer to the last paragraph is in the negative.

Proposed Alteration of Income-Tax Districts.

Mr. ELLIS GRIFFITH (Anglesey): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the circular, recently issued by the chief inspector of taxes to surveyors, suggesting the division of all districts where the collectors of income-tax cannot complete their collections before the 30th April (instead of 30th June as formerly) has been issued with his approval; and whether, in view of the fact that such earlier closing of accounts will involve increased pressure and the making of a number of distraints, and having regard to the present rate of the income-tax and the depression of trade, he will consider the advisability of postponing any action in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) No such circular has been issued.

Petitions of Pandit Adya Prasada Misra, Bandaru Appala Charyulu, and Muthia Gounden.

Mr. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for India, having regard to the fact that on the 12th April last a petition from Pandit Adya Prasada Misra for the redress of grievances was laid upon the Table of the House, will he state what action has been taken in the matter.

Mr. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for India, having regard to the fact that petitions from Bandaru Appala Charyulu and from Muthia Gounden for redress of grievances were laid upon the Table of the House on the 3rd February last, will he state by whom the petitions have been considered, and what decision has been arrived at.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) So far as I am concerned no action has been taken in regard to these petitions, which were not addressed to me. I beg to refer the hon. Member to the Special Report of the Select Committee on Public Petitions, ordered by this House to be printed on the 29th June last.

Removal of Headquarters of London Recruiting District.

Sir WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the Secretary of State for War when it is proposed to move the headquarters of the London Recruiting District from St. George's Barracks; and whether, if there is no prospect of early removal to a new building, some suitable temporary quarters could be procured.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) Negotiations in reference to a site for the new headquarters of the London Recruiting District are now in progress. I have every hope that this will render any provision of temporary quarters unnecessary.

Acreage of Land and Rental Value of Realty held by War Office in Malta.

Mr. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the annual rental value of the realty held by the War Office in Malta for barracks, officers' quarters (including the auberges), and Governor's palaces, for which no rent or other payment is made to the Malta Government; and what is the acreage of land, including bastions and fortifications now disused as such.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) As the Colonial Government have not valued or considered the rent of buildings held by the military authorities without payment no reply can be given to the first part of the Question. As regards the acreage, the area of the old fortifications may roughly be estimated at about 560 acres, but no further detailed information is readily available.

Sums Voted by Imperial Government for Railway Development, etc., to Canada, Australia and South Africa.

Mr JOHN ELLIS: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will state the total sums which have been voted by Parliament by way of loan or free grant respectively since the year 1850 to the States now comprised in the Dominion of Canada; to those making up the Commonwealth of Australia; and also to the two self-governing Colonies of South Africa for purposes of railways, or agricultural or mineral development.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) Assuming that the last nine words of the Question apply to the whole of the rest, it is believed that apart from certain Parliamentary grants for "British Columbia," "Vancouver Island," and "Northern Australia," all made previous to the year 1865, some portions of which may have been devoted to the objects specified by the hon. Member, the advance of £400,000 made to the Cape Government in 1885 for the completion of the Kimberley Railway under the authority of the Imperial Act (48 Vict., cap. 7), is the only sum voted by Parliament, either by way of loan or as a free grant, which comes directly within the terms of the Question.

Home Office Vote.

MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury when the Home Office Vote will be taken.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) I do not think it is possible to make this Vote first order on either of the next two days of Supply; but, subsequently, I will do my best to see what arrangement can be made to meet the hon. Member's request.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Corporal Punishment in the Royal Navy.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he will state the number of floggings by caning inflicted on board the ships of war and training ships of the Royal Navy in the years 1900, 1901, 1902, and 1903, with a classification of the offences for which the floggings were inflicted and the age of the offenders who were thus punished.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): I regret to be unable to accede to the request of the hon. Member. As intimated in my reply of the 5th July,† the advantage of obtaining such a Return would not justify the very considerable labour entailed in preparing it.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Does the hon. Gentleman understand I ask only for classification and not for particular offences?

MR. PRETYMAN: Yes, but the hon. Member does not realise that what he asks for would involve an examination of the punishment returns of every ship in the service for a period of four years—a very great labour indeed.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Then is this punishment resorted to for very minor offences?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Then I will put a Question which is perfectly orderly. Why does the hon. Gentleman refuse this information when he has granted it in regard to other kinds of punishment?

[No Answer was returned.]

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Has the hon. Gentleman ever experienced this kind of punishment.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

The Mission to Tibet—Negotiations with Russia.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether an understanding has been arrived at between the British and Russian Governments regarding the British expedition to Tibet, on the basis of an undertaking by Lord Lansdowne that the Mission will be withdrawn from Tibet as soon as its object has been accomplished; that no attempt will be made to enter Lhasa if an agreement can be arrived at before that capital has been reached; that the Russian Government has been assured that if the object of the Mission can otherwise be obtained no occupation of Lhasa is intended; and that the British officials will be withdrawn as soon as they have obtained an agreement on the questions of the delimitations of the boundary and the facilities that will be offered in the future; and whether the Russian Government is understood to be satisfied with these assurances.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvii, 636.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): With a view to preventing any misunderstanding the Russian Government was informed on June 2nd that His Majesty's Government still adhered to the policy laid down in a telegram to the Government of India of 6th November, 1903 (published at page 294 of the Parliamentary Papers relating to Tibet), though it was obvious that their action must to some extent depend upon the conduct of the Tibetans themselves, and that His Majesty's Government could not undertake that they would not depart in any eventuality from the policy which then commended itself to them; His Majesty's Government stated, however, that, so long as no other Power endeavoured to intervene in the affairs of Tibet they would not attempt either to annex it, to establish a Protectorate over it, or to control its internal administration.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: The right hon. Gentleman has referred to the correspondence between the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Russian Government. I now ask will he lay it.

MR. BRODRICK: I do not propose to lay any Papers.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: This a matter of order.

*MR. SPEAKER: It is quite obvious that it is not necessary to lay the Papers referred to.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: But it is usual to publish *in extenso* Papers which are referred to by Ministers in this House and that should be done in this case.

*MR. SPEAKER: I have come to a different conclusion.

The March on Lhasa.

MR. FLYNN (Cork County, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the officer in command of the Tibetan expedition has definitely decided to at once begin the march on Lhasa; and, if so, has the Chinese Government, as the Suzerain Power, been communicated with, with a view to give its sanction to the advance.

MR. BRODRICK: The advance of the Mission to Lhasa has begun, the Tibetans having failed to send competent negotiators to Gyangtse. The Chinese Government has been kept duly apprised of the action of His Majesty's Government in Tibet.

MR. FLYNN: My Question is, have the Chinese Government sanctioned this advance or not?

MR. BRODRICK: It is not a case for obtaining Chinese sanction. The negotiations are being conducted with the Chinese and Tibetan representatives and the advance has begun because of the failure of the Tibetans to send competent representatives.

MR. FLYNN: But is not China the Suzerain Power?

MR. BRODRICK: Yes, it is true China is the Suzerain Power, but it has committed its interests to the Amban, who is taking part in the negotiations.

Indian Contribution to the Imperial Institute.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if he can state whether the various contributions and donations made from India to the Imperial Institute amount altogether to £150,000; whether of this total the sum of £41,309 was appropriated to the endowment fund, the balance having been expended in construction; and, if so, will he state what the income of the endowed sum of £41,309 is per year and in what way it is being spent for the benefit of India; and will he, in future, allocate that sum towards the annual contribution of £1,525 which is now required from the Government of India for the Institute.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): The contributions from Indian sources to the Imperial Institute (including those paid into the general fund and subsequent donations for specific purposes) amounted roughly to the sum named in the Question. The contributions to the general fund, amounting to £114,528, were devoted in common with those received from other sources to the erection of the building and the formation of an endowment fund, but I have no knowledge of any definite apportionment of the Indian contribution as between these two objects. The income from the endowment fund is devoted to the general objects of the Imperial Institute as laid down in its Charter, from which it is believed that India derives a substantial benefit. There is no income available for allocation as suggested in the last part of the Question.

Indian Contribution for Research Work at the Imperial Institute.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the annual contribution of £1,525 now made from the Indian Exchequer for the research work done at the Imperial Institute was volunteered by the Government of India, or whether they raised any objection in regard to it; and will he place the Papers relating to this payment upon the Table of the House.

MR. BRODRICK: The Government of India were consulted, and the amount of the grant was settled with their concurrence at £1,725 a year, since reduced to £1,525 in consequence of establishment changes, for five years ending March, 1906. It provides only £200 a year for research work, the balance representing the establishment and maintenance charges of the Indian section. Papers on the subject are contained in the Annual Report for 1901–2 of the Indian Section, Imperial Institute, presented to Parliament in 1902.

Training of Indian University Graduates in the Imperial Institute Laboratories.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, in consideration of the contribution amounting to upwards of £150,000 made by the Government, princes, and people of India to the Imperial Institute, and of the annual payment now made by India, he will move the Board of Trade to arrange for the reception and training of three or four graduates of Indian Universities in the laboratories of the Institute in such chemical research work as is now performed there for Indian purposes.

MR. BRODRICK: I am not aware that graduates of Indian Universities desire to be trained in the laboratories, and I have no reason to believe that the laboratories are adopted for instructional purposes. I consequently do not feel it necessary at present to move in the matter.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: Will the right hon. Gentleman consult the head of the laboratories?

MR BRODRICK: I have no objection to communicating with the authorities, but I should first require to be assured that the graduates do desire this training.

East Africa Protectorate Service—Sub-Commissioner Bagge.

MASTER OF ELIBANK (Edinburgh-Midlothian): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Sub-Commissioner Bagge of the East Africa Protectorate Service, whose views in regard to land grants in the Masai Country were recently sustained by Lord Lansdowne as against those held by Sir Charles Eliot, had, immediately previous to the latter's resignation as Administrator, been removed from his post at Naivasha to the less desirable district of Kisumu; and, if so, whether that official will be reinstated in his former post if, in the opinion of Sir Donald Stewart, there was no adequate cause for such transfer.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): The collector at Kisuma was in ill health and he was therefore sent to Naivasha, which is a healthier station than Kisumu. Mr. Bagge was sent temporarily to take his place.

Russian Warships and British Vessels in the Red Sea.

GENERAL LAURIE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to the fact that a Russian warship, the "St.

Petersburg," has overhauled and searched British vessels in or near the Red Sea; and, if so, can he state whether this is the same vessel, also named the "St. Petersburg," that recently passed through the Bosphorus under the Russian commercial flag; and, if so, whether it is in conformity with international law that the same vessel can at one time fly the commercial flag and at another time assert the authority of a warship; and whether this transformation can take place on the high seas, or whether it is obligatory that a vessel holding a commission as a warship should be commissioned as such in a port of the nation to which she belongs.

EARL PERCY: The subject to which the hon. Member draws attention is one of the utmost importance and is engaging the earnest attention of His Majesty's Government. As, however, our information is still incomplete on certain points I should be obliged to him if he would postpone the Question.

Buckland Friendly Society and the Treasury.

MR. A. K. LOYD (Berkshire, Abingdon): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been drawn to the correspondence which passed in May, 1902, and June of the present year between the secretary of the Buckland Friendly Society and the Treasury, in which the former complained of income-tax being deducted from the dividends on the society's investments, although the total income was below the statutory limit of £160; and whether any decision has been arrived at by the Treasury as to the exemption of the income of unregistered friendly societies from income-tax where the total income is below £160.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): I am consulting the Law Officers of the Crown on the subject. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will put the Question down for a later date.

Stony Stratford Postmastership.

MR. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether, seeing that the weekly official Post Office Circular states that candidates for postmasterships are reminded that they are strictly prohibited from applying except through their immediate superior officers, and that applications through any other channel are calculated to defeat rather than promote the object in view; and that the postmaster of Stony Stratford secured his promotion by the help of Lord Kitchener, who is unconnected with the Civil Service, he will direct that when vacancies for postmasterships are next advertised the regulation shall be withdrawn in order to provide equality of opportunity for all postal servants.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The name of the officer who is now postmaster at Stony Stratford was brought officially before the Postmaster-General in 1902 by direction of Lord Kitchener, in respect of services rendered in South Africa under Lord Kitchener's orders, and without reference to any application for a postmastership. The rule to which the hon. Member refers was in no way infringed, and I have no intention of altering it; on the contrary, I mean to enforce it rigorously.

MR. NANNETTI: But does the noble Lord consider—in the case of men who cannot get such influential friends to recommend them—that——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Southampton Postmastership.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will state the reason for the transfer of Mr. Kent, postmaster of Cork, to Southampton.

LORD STANLEY: The Southampton vacancy was advertised in the Post Office Circular in the usual way, and I selected Mr. Kent from among the candidates who applied for the post as being in my opinion the best qualified for the appointment.

MR. SLOAN: Will the noble Lord see that an Irishman gets the vacant position at Cork?

LORD STANLEY: No, Sir. These positions are open to the whole service—English, Irish, and Scotch—and I shall always endeavour to select the best men I can for promotion.

West Ham Police Station Birch.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will state what is the weight of the birches used in the infliction of twelve strokes each, in accordance with the sentence of the magistrate at West Ham Police Court on Wednesday last, on two boys for altering a railway signal at Silvertown Tunnel, which passes through the Royal Albert Docks, the signal being altered from danger to all clear, with the result that the driver entering the tunnel would not lessen speed.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): The weight of the birch used on this occasion has been ascertained to be 4¾ ounces.

Workmen's Compensation Bill.

MR. SAMUEL EVANS (Glamorganshire, Mid.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, after disposing of all the stages of the Bill which gives compensation to brewers and licence-holders, he will introduce his promised Bill to give compensation to workmen for injuries received in their employments where no compensation is now recoverable.

*MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: I have not yet received the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Workmen's Compensation Acts, and considering the period of the session we have reached, I can hardly hope to introduce, much less carry, any measure this year.

Alien Immigration.

MAJOR EVANS GORDON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether in view of the inaccuracy of the statistics admitted by the officials of the Board regarding the number of alien immigrants coming to reside in and of transmigrants passing through this country, he will take steps to improve the method of collecting the figures and classifying the different categories of persons included in the Returns.

MR. GERALD BALFOUR: The statistics of alien immigration published by the Board of Trade cannot properly be described as inaccurate; they do not profess to show the number of alien immigrants coming to reside in, and of transmigrants passing through, this country, there being no power at present to require these particulars to be furnished. Pending fresh legislation giving additional powers to the Board of Trade, I fear that the method of collecting the figures cannot be materially improved, but the Department is considering the possibility of modifying slightly the form in which the statistics are published, so as to obviate any misunderstanding as to their basis.

Motor-Bicycles in Dublin—Inefficient Means of Identification.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been directed to the shifting of motor-bicycle numbers that the riders might escape in case of an accident, and to the evidence in the case of "The King *v.* Flood," tried by Sir Frederick Falkiner, K.C., the Recorder of Dublin, on 9th July, in which a boy was seriously injured by a motor-bicycle on which there was a fraudulent number; and whether he will, in accordance with the recommendation of the jury in that case, in which the Recorder concurred, initiate legislation to remedy defects in the law regulating the numbering and registration of motors, and to provide that the numbers be incised in or enamelled on the metal portion of the motor.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): At my right hon. friend's request, I will reply to this Question. There would be much practical difficulty in giving effect to the suggestion made by the Recorder. The numbers if marked as proposed would not be visible when the motor bicycle was in motion. They would, therefore, have to be in addition to the plate now required to be carried, and if the ownership of the bicycle changed the latter might be altered and would not correspond with the incised or enamelled figures. The penalty for conviction of the offence of using a false number is very heavy and I have no doubt acts as a deterrent.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the practice is growing in Dublin and that several persons have been injured lately.

MR. WYNDHAM: I quite agree that every effort should be made to render these persons amenable to justice, and the suggestion has been referred to the Local Government Board. There are other checks.

Land Purchase in County Kerry—Landlords' Applications to the Congested Districts Board.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that in reply to applications from landlords in Kerry offering to sell their estates, the Congested Districts Board has contented itself with sending a printed acknowledgment of the landlord's communication and has done nothing further; and whether the Congested Districts Board is prepared to negotiate when the price asked by a landlord is a sum which, invested in any of the stocks which trustees are at liberty to invest in, would produce an income to the landlord equal to his net income from second-term rents, in view of the fact that such an offer has been made.

MR. WYNDHAM: Where such an offer is made to the Board, the case is referred to the inspector for investigation and report. The price to be paid for an estate is only one of the elements for consideration in determining whether an offer shall be accepted or rejected. Account is also taken of the circumstances of the tenants and the need, if any, that exists for the enlargement of their holdings.

Land Purchase in County Sligo—Mr. Webber's Skreen Estate.

MR. WILLIAM MCKILLOP (Sligo, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether Mr. William D. Webber, of Mitchelstown, county Cork, landlord of an estate at Leekfield, Skreen, county Sligo, has applied to the Estates Commissioners in connection with the sale of his property; and whether, seeing that the estate in question comprises a large grazing farm which the bailiff, Mr. J. Higgins, is endeavouring to secure for himself, steps will be taken to secure that this farm will in case of sale be used for the enlargement and improvement of uneconomic holdings adjoining it; and whether he will see that in this matter the intentions of Parliament in passing the Land Act of 1903 will be carried into effect.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir; this property is before the Estates Commissioners. They have satisfied themselves that Mr. Higgins has been a *bona fide* tenant in occupation for many years, and are aware of no sufficient reason for dealing with his application differently from other similar applications for advances.

Land Purchase in County Clare—Westropp Estate.

MR. SHEEHY (Meath, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the reply to the request of the Estates Commissioners for particulars of the Westropp Estate, county Clare, by the Judge of the Land Court, was a recital of the steps taken by the Court regarding this estate under the 40th section of the Act of 1896; whether the Commissioners did receive the particulars for which a request was made; and, if so, what steps do the Commissioners propose taking with the view of purchasing the estate.

MR. WYNDHAM: The particulars have not been received, and the Commissioners are now considering what further steps, if any, they are empowered to take.

Evicted Tenant's Farm in County Meath.

MR. SHEEHY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have considered the application of Frederick Morris, an evicted tenant from a farm in Collierstown, county Meath;

whether the farm is untenanted; and what action, if any, the Commissioners have taken with the view of purchasing the farm on behalf of the evicted tenant.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The estate containing this holding has not yet come before the Estates Commissioners. An application has been received from the evicted tenant and will be duly considered.

Kilbride Canteen Licence.

Mr. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has considered the action of Mr. James Shanks in signing a licence certificate for a canteen situated in the county Wicklow, Mr. Shanks not being a magistrate for that county, and the local magistrates having refused to grant the licence on the ground that the canteen had been conducted in a disorderly manner; and whether he can now state what decision the Lord Chancellor has come to in regard to Mr. Shanks' action.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The correspondence in this matter is not yet concluded.

Irish Political Prisoners and the Bertillon System.

Mr. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any, and, if so, what arrangements have been made for the introduction of the Bertillon system into Irish prisons; whether it is intended to apply it in the cases of untried prisoners and of political prisoners; and, if not, whether steps will be taken to expressly warn untried prisoners that they are not bound to submit to the tests.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The system of taking measurements and finger prints has been adopted in Irish as in English prisons. In the case of an untried prisoner the statutory regulations provide that if no objection is made by him the measurements and finger impressions may be taken in the prescribed manner on the application of a police officer. There is no class of prisoners known as "political prisoners" and the regulations in force are identical with the English regulations. First-class misdemeanants are exempt from the regulations. The object of the system is to establish the identity and antecedents of prisoners. The identity of persons charged with offences falling within the category to which the hon. Member presumably refers is not a matter of doubt, and obviously, therefore, it would be unnecessary for the police to ask that their finger prints should be taken. There are no such prisoners in Ireland and the question of warning them, or the police, in the sense suggested, does not arise for consideration.

Mr. MACVEAGH: Will steps be taken to expressly warn untried prisoners that they are not bound to submit to the test?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I do not think any such action is necessary.

Mr. FLAVIN: Then will the right hon. Gentleman see that instructions are given to the prison warders not to take photographs of untried prisoners. It can be done whether the prisoner consents or not. The police are very expert at that.

[No Answer was returned.]

Ex-Sergeant Sheridan and Constable Anderson, Royal Irish Constabulary.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland where is Constable Anderson, who was one of the three constables who received an indemnity at the secret investigation which preceded the dismissal of Sergeant Sheridan for procuring by perjury the conviction of innocent men for crimes perpetrated by himself, who was allowed to remain on at the depot of the Royal Irish Constabulary and discharge the duties of a constable of that force, not withstanding the fact of his being Sheridan's accomplice in the fabrication of perjured evidence and the perpetration of crime; why was not Anderson compelled to resign like the two others accomplices of Sergeant Sheridan, Keegan who received a compassionate grant of £200; and Reid who received a compassionate grant of £50;

does Anderson still wear the uniform of the Royal Irish Constabulary and receive the pay of a constable of that force, and under what circumstances has he been permitted to retain his position; and what safeguard have the public against this person.

MR. WYNDHAM: This constable is still serving at the depot in Dublin under the conditions previously explained by me. The hon. Member will find information on the other matters in the numerous statements made by me in the session of 1902.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: The right hon. Gentleman gave a pledge that this man should not be associated with young recruits.

MR. WYNDHAM: Any undertaking given by me is being adhered to. I gave no such pledge, however.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this man is brother of the Anderson of Kiltimore fame?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I will put that Question down.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must not put down an irregular Question.

Catholic Head Constables at Cork.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the four head constables stationed in Cork are Roman Catholics; and, if so, whether he will consider the advisability of enforcing the regulation that at least one of them should be a Protestant.

MR. WYNDHAM: It was recently arranged that one of the head constables should be transferred to another county, and the man selected to replace him is a Protestant. There is no regulation to the effect stated in the Question.

Father Gleeson and the Irish Police at Roundstone.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the written statement of the Reverend Father Gleeson to Sir Antony MacDonnell demanding the transfer of Sergeant Ryan and Constable Laidley from Roundstone was refused to the latter in the first instance; and that, after repeated appeals from the men to be heard, the district inspector was ordered to hear them; and, if so, will he state the result of their evidence.

MR. SLOAN: I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Reverend Father Gleeson, P.P., of Roundstone, county Galway, wrote a statement to Sir Antony MacDonnell, and demanded the removal of Sergeant Ryan and Constable Laidley from his district; and that a secret inquiry was held by the district inspector which resulted in the transfer of Constable Laidley and the sergeant being threatened with reduction from his rank; and, if so, will he cause an inquiry to be held in this case.

MR. WYNDHAM: Both Questions refer to the same incident which occurred nearly a year ago. The Rev. Mr. Gleeson wrote to the Under-Secretary on the 17th August last, and complained of the conduct of Sergeant Ryan and Constable Laidley in respect to a display of flags and banners from licensed premises at Roundstone. The rev. gentleman did not demand the removal of the men. The Under-Secretary referred the complaint to the Inspector-General. The district inspector to whom the complaint was referred by the Inspector-General, made a report on it, and the county inspector in submitting the report recorded his personal opinion of the action of the sergeant and constable. The Inspector-General saw no reason to differ from the view of the county inspector, and his opinion to this effect was communicated to the men concerned. The sergeant was at the same time informed that if he acted in a similarly indiscreet way in future the Inspector-General would consider him unfitted for his rank. The constable was not warned for removal in connection with this incident. As a matter of fact, the Inspector-General's decision to remove the constable was written on the 15th August, two days before the Rev. Mr.

Gleeson made his complaint. The sergeant and constable represented to the district inspector that he had not given them an opportunity of explaining their action, and the county inspector of his own motion considered their explanations. These were forwarded to headquarters, and as a result the sergeant was exonerated from blame by the Inspector-General. In reply to the concluding query, I do not propose to intervene in a matter affecting discipline, with which the Inspector-General is competent to deal, and with which, as a matter of fact, he dealt nearly a year ago.

Major Fox's Estate in King's County.

Mr. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state when the promised inspection of Major Fox's estate at Ballymacrossin, King's County, will be made; and whether due notice will be given of such inspection to the evicted tenant, Miss Masterson, who is claiming reinstatement under the Land Purchase Act of last session.

Mr. WYNDHAM: A date cannot be fixed. The Inspector will make his inspection as soon as possible. He will inform the evicted tenant of the date.

The Estates Commissioners and the Ballymacrossin Evicted Tenant.

Mr. DELANY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have approached Langford, who is in possession of the farm upon the estate of Major Fox, Ballymacrossin, King's county, from which Miss Masterson was evicted in 1884, with a view to his surrendering the holding upon payment of reasonable compensation; and if he can state how long Langford has been in possession.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The reply to the first part of the Question is in the negative. Langford's tenancy is described as a leasehold created prior to 1st January, 1901; I am unable to say how long he has been in possession. He has lodged an agreement to purchase the holding, and the inspector will report what arrangement can be made to provide the evicted tenant with a holding.

Mr. DELANY: Was this farm sold with the other property in order that they might grab Miss Masterson's farm?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I have no knowledge of that.

Mr. DELANY: It is the fact.

Processions in the Moy Townlands.

Mr. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the recent police inquiries in the district, he can state if, in the four townlands along the road leading from Moy to the station at Trew and Moy, the population consists of thirty-four Catholic families, including 134 persons, and fifteen families, including fifty-four persons, of all other denominations; whether he is aware that on 15th August, 1898, two Nationalist bands proceeded by this route and that no disturbance occurred; whether he can state on what grounds the road has been closed against processions since that date; and whether, in view of the inconvenience to which some of the contingents will otherwise be put on 15th August, he will give instructions to have the road open on that date.

Mr. WYNDHAM: There are ten townlands between Moy and the station known as Trew and Moy. The proportion of Catholics to persons of other religious denominations in this area is as one to five. The proportion is reversed in two other townlands which adjoin the road, but in the aggregate the Catholics are in a minority. One Nationalist band proceeded to the station in August, 1898. But the intention to do so was concealed, and a large hostile crowd assembled at Trew in the evening. The band returned, however, by road from Dungannon. With this exception, I understand that no Nationalist demonstration has either entrained or detrained at Trew during the past forty-five years. The hon. Member is doubtless aware of the melancholy fatality that occurred in a railway train at this station in 1875. In reply to the concluding inquiry, I have nothing to add to my statement in answer to his previous Question of Monday last.†

Belturbet Artisans' Dwellings' Scheme.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Belturbet Urban Council applied for a loan to erect artisans' dwellings in the year 1899, and made a second application last year; and, if so, whether, seeing that the usual inquiry has not yet been held, and having regard to the want of suitable housing accommodation in Belturbet and the delay in dealing with this matter, he will take steps to secure an early inquiry.

MR. WYNDHAM: The housing scheme of 1899 was accompanied by proposals for a water supply and street improvement. The carrying out of the latter works would have almost exhausted the council's borrowing powers, and the Local Government Board suggested a reconsideration of the proposed housing scheme. In the opinion of the Board, the provision of a proper water supply to replace the polluted water at present in use, is of primary importance to the district. The Board is in communication with the council on the subject.

Economic Holdings for Herds on Grazing Lands purchased under the Land Act of 1903.

MR TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have, in the case of the division of grazing lands or untenanted lands, made any provision for economic holdings for the herds, or members of the families of the herds, who worked on those grazing lands; and, if so, if he can state in how many cases such provision has been made since the passing of The Irish Land Act, 1903, up to the 30th June last.

MR. WYNDHAM: Advances have been made in two such cases. Other cases are under consideration.

Fair-Rent Appeals in County Tipperary.

MR. KENDAL O'BRIEN (Tipperary, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the cause of delay in the hearing by the Land Commission of some sixty fair-rent appeals which have been lodged on the Earl de Montalt's estate, county Tipperary, for upwards of three years; and whether, seeing that the tenants whose appeals are pending have been threatened with proceedings for the recovery of the half-year's rent recently due, by reason of their refusing the landlord's demands for the sale of the estate, steps will be taken by the Land Commission to expedite the hearing of the appeals.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Land Commissioners hope to be able to arrange a sitting for the hearing of appeals in Tipperary during the present year. I am informed that no threats have been held out to tenants such as alleged in the Question.

Dr. Starkie.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether Dr. Starkie, who is in receipt of £1,500 from the Irish Primary or Education Board as a paid commissioner, acted with his sanction in absenting himself from his duties in the Education Office, Dublin, while accompanying Messrs. Dale and Stephens over the country on the business of another, the Intermediate Board; whether Dr. Starkie, during the period of such abstention from the duties of his office, drew his salary out of the National Education Vote, together with his expenses of support and locomotion; and, if so, to what extent from May last to the present date.

MR. WYNDHAM: Dr. Starkie mentioned to the Under-Secretary that he had been invited by Messrs. Dale and Stephens to accompany them. As a member of the Board of Intermediate Education he had a right to visit intermediate schools, and the sanction of Government is unnecessary to his making such visits. The reply to the second part of the Question is in the affirmative. I have no information as to the duration of his absence from Dublin.

Hastings v. Beegan.

MR. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvii., 1212.

Ireland whether the attention of the Local Government Board has been directed to the recent decision of the Court of King's Bench in the case of "Hastings *v.* Beegan"; whether the Local Government Board can explain why the Application of Enactments Order applying to this matter differs from Sub-section (c) 2, Section 46, of the 56 and 57 Vic., cap. 73; and whether it is the intention of the Local Government Board to issue an amending order assimilating the law of the two countries in this respect.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The case intended to be referred to is presumably "Hastings *v.* Cogavin." The decision turned on the interpretation of the expression "Public work" in the concluding lines of Article 12 (4) (e) of the Application of Enactments Order. These lines do not occur in the corresponding English enactment, Section 46 (1) (e) of the Local Government Act, 1894, because the procedure in relation to public works is quite different in England. The law, therefore, does not require assimilation, but in any case there is no power vested in the Board to amend the Application of Enactments Order.

Imprisonment for Cruelty to Animals in County Roscommon.

Mr. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state in how many cases during the last five years sentences of imprisonment without option of fine have been imposed by benches of magistrates in the county Roscommon, on charges preferred by the police for alleged cruelty to animals; and who was the resident magistrate chairman at the petty sessions Court where such a sentence was imposed.

Mr. WYNDHAM: This information will be procured, but some days must elapse before it is ready. It will be communicated to the hon. Member.

Dungann School Attendance Committees.

Mr. DOOGAN (Tyrone, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the fact that one of the committees, composed of five Catholics and five Protestants, appointed to administer the provisions of the Compulsory Education Act in Dungannon Rural District, has, after a number of meetings, failed to agree as to the choice of a chairman; and that, as a means of solving the difficulty, the secretary of the Tyrone County Council suggested the casting of lots for the position, which suggestion the Protestant members refused to adopt; and if he will state what action is proposed to be taken to remove the deadlock at present existing to the working of the Act in this portion of the district affected.

Mr. WYNDHAM: It is a fact that the school attendance committee failed to agree in respect to the selection of a chairman. The local authority for the purposes of the Irish Education Act, 1892, is the county council, and in February last the Commissioners of National Education informed the council that it was competent to that body to submit for approval a regulation designed to provide a settlement of the difficulty. No reply has been received from the council in the matter and the Commissioners have no authority under the Act to determine the question.

Telegraphic Delays in the North of Ireland.

Mr. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he has received a joint protest from the proprietors of the *Northern Whig* and the *Belfast News Letter*, complaining of delay in the transmission of their telegrams by the Post Office; and, if so, will he order an inquiry to be made into the circumstances of these delays.

Lord STANLEY: The communication referred to has been duly received and the matter is under investigation.

Female Learners in Irish Post Offices.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he will state what is the period of probation for female learners in the post offices in Dublin and Belfast; what is the remuneration given to such learners during the probationary period and afterwards; whether the same conditions as to probation and payment apply to the rest of

Ireland outside Dublin and Belfast, or, if not, in what the difference consists.

LORD STANLEY: The situation of female learner in Dublin and Belfast is not an established one, and the appointment is not, therefore, subject to a fixed period of probation, but the whole service as learner is regarded as probationary; promotion to the established class of sorting clerks and telegraphists is not made unless the service as learner is satisfactory. The pay of female learners is 5s. a week. On obtaining an established appointment the pay is increased to 10s. a week or upwards, according to length of unestablished service and qualifications. The same conditions apply to the paid learners at all other offices in Ireland and elsewhere.

Sunday Letter Delivery in Johnstown Sub-District, Kilkenny.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he is aware that there is no Sunday delivery of letters in the district of Galway and Crosspatrick, county Kilkenny; that there is no delivery there from Saturday morning till Monday morning, and that letters reaching Johnstown by the mid-day and night mails on Saturday, and by the mail on Sunday morning, have to lie in the post office until Monday morning before being delivered; and, if so, whether, seeing that other districts with a smaller population have the benefit of a Sunday delivery, and in view of the small extra expense involved, he will endeavour to meet the wishes of the people of the Johnstown sub-district by instituting a Sunday delivery forthwith.

LORD STANLEY: I will have inquiry made on the subject, and will acquaint the hon. Member with the result. May I ask that in such cases as this I shall have more notice. I cannot possibly nvestigate the facts at such short notice.

Shamble Barracks, Galway.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what regiment now occupies the Shamble Barracks, Galway; and how many men live within the building.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT, Chester, Macclesfield): Ten non-commissioned officers and men of the Connaught Rangers live in these barracks with their families.

Anglo-French Convention.

* **MR. GIBSON BOWLES** (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when it is proposed to exchange the ratifications of the Convention between England and France of 8th April, 1904, relative to Newfoundland, the Gambia, the Isles de Los, the Niger and Lake Chad; in case the Convention should not be ratified, will the stipulations it contains in Articles IV. to VIII. as to the Gambia, the Isles de Los, the Niger, and Lake Chad become inoperative as well as the stipulations in Articles I. to III. as to Newfoundland; and have any steps been, or are any being, taken to carry out the Articles IV. to VIII.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): As soon as the necessary legislation has been passed between the two countries steps will be taken with a view to ratification as contemplated in Article IX. of the Convention. The Answer to the second Question is in the affirmative—that is to say, the stipulations will become inoperative. The Answer to the third Question is in the negative, no steps have been taken.

* **MR. GIBSON BOWLES**: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury are the two Declarations, one respecting Egypt and Morocco and the other concerning Siam, Madagascar, and the New Hebrides, essential parts of the Agreement with France represented by those two Declarations and by the Convention of 8th April, 1904, relating to Newfoundland the Gambia, and the Niger; and is it understood between His Majesty's Government and the French Government that the two Declarations will retain their effect and be carried into execution even in case the Convention fails to be ratified.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think it will be very desirable to discuss a contingency which is not, I think, probable—which I firmly believe will not arise.

Newfoundland Fisheries.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury have the Government of Newfoundland made any representations to His Majesty's Government or raised any difficulties affecting the rights conceded to the French under Article II. of the Anglo-French Convention of 8th April, 1904, in respect of Newfoundland local regulations as to bait, fishing, or access to ports on the so-called French shore, or in respect of the policing of the fishing; and was any agreement come to by His Majesty's Government with the Government of Newfoundland on these points before the Convention was signed.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No representations have been made to His Majesty's Government. The concurrence of the Newfoundland Government was obtained during the course of the negotiations.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Was any agreement come to with the Government of Newfoundland on these points before tho Convention was signed?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have said that the concurrence of the Newfoundland Government was obtained.

The Colonial Vote.

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can now say definitely when the Colonial Office Vote will be taken.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I am not in a position to give the hon. Gentleman a definite answer. I rather think, from rumours which have reached me, that he suspects me of some sinister intention to postpone this Vote unduly.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: I have no such idea.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I can assure him I am anxious to consult the convenience of hon. Members.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): Take it on Thursday, then.

Criminal Aliens Bill.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the general support on both sides of the House accorded to the Criminal Aliens Bill he can provide the necessary facilities for its passage.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that in the course of the proceedings of the Committee upstairs some sort of compact, not distantly resembling this, was suggested, but that it was rejected by the Committee. It was understood that the very lengthy, talkative opposition to the Bill would cease if some kind of compact of a character resembling this was accepted, but that suggested transaction was rejected by the majority of the Committee. [OPPOSITION cries, "By the Government."] By the majority of the Committee. I also understand that this particular proposal is objected to by some Gentlemen on the ground that it goes too far and by oth rs on the ground that it does not go far enough; in these circumstances to expect the passage of the Bill in the course of the present session appears to me hopeless.

The Port of London Bill.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, having regard to the magnitude of the public and private interests involved and of the grave injury arising from uncertainty and delay, he will now say definitely whether the Port of London Bill will be proceeded with or whether it may be considered as abandoned, and in that case when its discharge from the Order-book will be moved.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have already told the hon. Gentleman that the prospects of this particular Bill seem to me exceedingly gloomy, but I cannot give him the date when we shall remove it from the Order Paper.

MR. JOHN ELLIS: Cannot the right hon. Gentleman say something more definite in view of the fact that the uncertainty is a very grave matter from a commercial point of view?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, I do not think the uncertainty has any ill effects. I think the non-passage of the Bill may have ill effects, but not the uncertainty, which does no harm whatever.

Shop Hours Bill.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can state when the Report stage of the Shop Hours Bill will be taken.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTSON (Hackney, S.): May I also ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Shop Hours Bill passed through Grand Committee in two sittings; and whether he can say when the Report stage can be taken.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: While I cannot fix a date when the Report stage of the Shop Hours Bill will be taken, I should hope that opportunity will be found for taking the remaining stages of what I believe to be wholly an uncontroversial measure.

Mr. Kruger's Burial Place.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the desire expressed by the late President Kruger that his body should be interred in the burial place of his family in the Transvaal will be allowed by the British Government to be fulfilled.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No request of the kind alluded to has been received from President Kruger's family, but I need hardly say that were it received we should do our best to give effect to it.

Mr. POWER (Waterford, E.) Have the Government considered the desirability of offering a warship for the transport of the body to South Africa?

Mr. SPEAKER Order, order! That Question hardly arises.

Army Reform Debate.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can state when the consideration of the proposals of the Secretary of State for War for the reduction of the land forces of the Crown will be resumed.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope to take both this Vote and the Colonial Vote in the course of next week, but I cannot give any pledge at present.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL: I presume the right hon. Gentleman intends to give an entire day to the Army Vote.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, I certainly cannot give a pledge of that character, but it will be put down as the first Order.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is aware that, owing to the discussion of a very important private Bill last Thursday, the War Office Vote only occupied four and three-quarter hours, of which two and a quarter hours were occupied, very properly, by the Secretary for War himself?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no grounds for doubting the hon. Gentleman's calculation.

The Post Office Wages Committee's Report.

Mr. FORDE RIDLEY (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, having regard to the fact that the Report of Sir E. Bradford's Committee has been laid upon the Table, when the Post Office Vote will be taken.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I must give as unsatisfactory a reply to my hon. friend as I have given to an hon. Member opposite. I am not yet in a position to fix the date. I believe a certain interval has been promised before the debate is taken.

Mr. FLYNN: Can the right hon. Gentleman explain how it is that this Report was in the hands of the newspapers last Friday, although it is not yet available for Members of this House?

Lord STANLEY: I think I can explain that. There was one advance copy in print, and I sent it down here to the Vote Office, believing the House would order the printing of the Report at once. I find I ought to have sent it to the Stationery Office and have had it printed from there. Having discovered my mistake I have given instructions to the

Stationery Office to print it as soon as possible and place it in the hands of hon. Members. I hope my right hon. friend will carry out the pledge that the discussion on this Vote shall not take place until the Report has been in the hands of hon. Members a fortnight.

Mr. FLYNN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this practice of ignoring the claims of the House to see these Reports is growing more and more, and that hon. Members are thus ignored?

Lord STANLEY: In this case it is entirely my own fault. I sent it down here myself under the impression that I was doing something for the benefit of hon. Members.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): You sent this copy to the Vote Office, but how did the public Press get access to it?

Lord STANLEY: I am afraid that I am not responsible for what happens in the Vote Office. I sent it there, and I should have recalled it before anybody had seen it, had I known it was wrong to send it.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: Do I understand that the copy which was sent to the Vote Office was the one which was sent to the representatives of the Press?

Lord STANLEY: That was the only copy that I know of that came down.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: How did it get to Printing-house-square?

Mr. FORDE RIDLEY: Can the right hon. Gentleman give approximately the date when the discussion will be taken?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I should be very glad to satisfy my hon. friend if I could, but he will see that in the present state of public business I can give no pledge.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): In view of the difficulty of preventing the Press getting these Reports, would it not be better to remove the restrictions altogether?

[No Answer was returned.]

Army Scheme—No Resolution to be Submitted to Parliament.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government intends to follow the same course of procedure with regard to their present Army Organisation Scheme as they did with regard to their last scheme of 1902, and to submit a Resolution of approval for the consideration of the House.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I imagine the Question in which the hon. Member is interested would be in order upon the War Office Vote, and I hope an opportunity on that Vote will be found to deal with it.

Mr. BUCHANAN: Will the right hon. Gentleman invite the opinion and the Vote of the House upon the merits of this scheme as was done in regard to the last?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: If the hon. Member is suggesting that I should devote a day outside Supply and put down a separate Resolution, my reply is that I do not propose to take that course.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL: Does the right hon. Gentleman contemplate fixing both the War Office Vote and the Colonial Vote for the same day?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir. I said there would be two days.

The Government and the Taxation of Food—A Vote of Censure.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I would ask the Prime Minister whether he will give a day for the discussion of a Motion, which will be placed on the Paper in the course of this evening, calling attention to and complaining of "The action of certain members of His Majesty's Government who have accepted official positions in an association which has formally declared its adhesion to a preferential fiscal policy involving the taxation of food."

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course, it is not for me to judge as to whether the subject of the vote of censure which I understand the right hon. Gentleman proposes, is wise or unwise, in accordance with practice or the reverse. I raise no objection to that. Such Motions must obviously be in favour of the side which is least divided on matters of important policy. While I am not at all puzzled as to whether I should or should not accede to the right hon. Gentleman's request, I am a little puzzled as to the method in which I can most conveniently carry it out in the present position of public business. I think it is in the highest degree important that we should finish the Licensing Bill so as to send it up to another place by the 26th inst. at the very latest. It is necessary that the Budget should be passed by the House of Commons on the 29th, and even if it passed its last stage on the 29th, that would involve a Saturday sitting on the part of the House of Lords.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Oh! [Ironical cries of "Shame" by hon. Members.]

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It would involve a Saturday sitting on the part of the House of Lords in order that it might become law before 1st August, which is necessary. We must also take two days in Supply in the course of the present fortnight. I do not see how I can take Thursday in this week for that purpose; it will have to be devoted to other business, and it will therefore be necessary to take two days for Supply in the course of next week. If the right hon. Gentleman will consider all these facts together I think he will see that I am driven to one of two alternatives. If the House will consent to finish the Committee stage of the Budget Bill to-night ["Oh"]—it is but a hypothesis—then I could give Thursday for the vote of censure. But I am afraid, if the Committee does not take that course, I see no alternative but to put off the vote of censure till the first week of August.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL asked whether, before the vote of censure came on, the Prime Minister would circulate the memorandum with reference to dear food which he laid before the Cabinet.

[No Answer was returned.]

Canada and Lord Dundonald.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I desire to ask the Secretary for War a Question of which I have given private notice—namely, whether the name of Lord Dundonald is on the active list of the War Department, whether his services were dispensed with by the Canadian Government, whether it has come to the knowledge of the War Office that Lord Dundonald has been making inflammatory speeches in Canada against the Government of Canada at meetings, largely attended by the Opposition, at which he was cheered and hooted by the various Parties.

MR. SPEAKER: I hope the hon. Member's Question does not continue in the same tone, because these controversial expressions are not admissible.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON: I only desire further to ask whether the Secretary for War was warned that the action of Lord Dundonald would be resented and would greatly endanger the loyal feeling of the Dominion towards this country.

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: The hon. Member must feel that his Question is one which cannot be anwered without fuller notice in the absence of my right hon. friend.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Will the right hon. Gentleman state what are the arrangements for business this week?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am sure it would be a pity to put off the vote of censure, and I hope we may come to some arrangement about it to-night. ["No, no!"] Well, then it must be put off. If the Committee on the Budget is not concluded to-night it will be continued to-morrow, and the Report on the Licensing Bill will be taken on Wednesday and Thursday. If, on the other hand, we finish the Budget to-night, then the Licensing Bill will be taken to-morrow and on Wednesday, and the vote of censure on Thursday.

AN HON. MEMBER: Why not take the vote of censure on Friday?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I should be glad, but I am afraid objection would be raised to that, as it is a short sitting.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: There is an important private Bill to-night?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope a very small one.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: May I point out that the amount of time spent on the Finance Bill depends not on the Opposition, but on the proposals of the Government.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am making no complaint of two days being devoted to the Budget, but on a more fitting occasion I may complain of the general course pursued. I am only saying if we do not complete the stage to-night, I am afraid we cannot take the vote of censure this week.

ERITH URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL *v.* CAPTAIN MILES BARNE.

Petition of Parish and Hickson, of 6, Laurence Pounteney Hill, in the city of London, solicitors for the plaintiffs, praying for leave for the proper officer to attend before the Court of summary jurisdiction for the petty sessional division of Dartford, in Kent, and produce plans and books of reference, etc.—(*Sir W. Hart Dyke.*)

Leave given to the proper officer to attend accordingly.

NEW BILL.

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY BILL.

"To provide for the regulation of Wireless Telegraphy," presented by Lord Stanley; supported by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster, Mr. Gerald Balfour, and Mr. Pretyman; to be read a second time upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 275.]

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 2:—

Amendment again proposed—

> "In page 2, line 3, to leave out from the word 'pound' to the end of the clause."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'and the duties payable under the same section on' stand part of the clause."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.) said that several questions were put to him in the last debate with reference to the tax on stripped tobacco, on which Amendments stood in the names of the hon. Members for the Kirkdale and Exchange Divisions of Liverpool, and the Rotherham Division of Yorkshire. The deputations which waited upon him, and which were, as he was told, fully representative of the interests concerned, thought that his proposals dealt harshly with the owners of strips in bond as at the date when the Budget was introduced, as, of course, they had no notice of the intended change; at the same time, they did not complain of his proposals as a whole. Since then he had had interviews with several hon. Gentlemen, but he had thought it only courteous to the Committee that they should have the first information of any change or modification in the original proposals. He hoped the Committee would appreciate how much he regretted the delay which had occurred. Nothing could be more disconcerting or injurious to trade than uncertainty as to the intentions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer or of the House. He very much regretted that the trade should have so long suffered from that uncertainty. The Amendments on the Paper referred to the case of the importers, not of the manufacturers, and their apprehension was that, while the manufacturers might be quite able to protect themselves by increasing the price, the importers were not in an equally fortunate position, and that they could not raise, at any rate to the full extent, the price of their goods. He thought there was some force in their argument, and he was prepared at the proper time to move the following Amendment as a new sub-section to Clause 2—

> "A rebate at the rate of 1½d. for every pound of tobacco shall be allowed on any increased duty under this Act paid on or after 19th July, 1904, in respect of any stripped tobacco which is shown to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Customs to have been deposited in a bonded warehouse before the 20th day of April, 1904."

The Committee would see that while in one respect he went less far than the Amendment on the Paper, in another respect he went further. He was not prepared to admit these stocks at the old rate of duty, but he would allow a rebate of one-half the additional duty. His hon. friends proposed to limit this relief to stocks in merchants' hands. He thought there would be extreme difficulty in defining what were stocks in merchants' hands, and it would be undesirable to leave that matter to subsequent litigation, whilst it would not be satisfactory to the trade if in a matter of so much importance and perplexity the discretion of the Customs were absent. He proposed to make the rebate general as regarded stocks in bond previous to the announcement of the increased duty.

MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR (Liverpool, E. Toxteth): What is the exact date?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The 20th April, 1904. I made my Budget statement the evening before.

*SIR FREDERICK WILLS (Bristol, N.): The right hon. Gentleman mentioned in his Resolution the 19th July.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he thought hon. Gentlemen were under a misapprehension on this point. It was the importers who certainly had a claim to relief, but the difficulty in confining it to the importers would be very great indeed. He did not recommend that course, and he proposed to make the rebate as from the next day. Probably the Committee was familiar with the fact that there had been no sales of strips since the Budget announcement, and during the time the uncertainty had prevailed; therefore, by making the rebate begin to-morrow they would not be deprived of any relief which they thought they were entitled to. If they had made no sales there could be no duty on which a rebate could be made. If he dated the rebate back he would be making it not to the importers, but to the manufacturers, who probably had already been able to recover it by an adjustment of their prices. It was a custom of the trade that tobacco should be sold by the importer in bond and that the manufacturer who bought it should pay the duty on withdrawing it from bond. If, therefore, the manufacturer had purchased and withdrawn any tobacco from bond it was to the manufacturer that relief would have to be given; but if the manufacturer had guarded himself by offering a smaller price for the strip he would, if he received the rebate, get relief twice over. He had felt it his duty to make this explanation at the earliest moment, although it was not immediately germane to the Amendment under discussion. He hoped that this very considerable concession, a rebate of no less than 50 per cent. of the duty imposed, would be felt by those interested to be a sign that he had given not unfavourable and even not ungenerous consideration to the arguments which had been placed before him. He hoped even that he might not be too sanguine if he trusted that it might somewhat ease the discussions in Committee and relieve him of some part of the burden which would otherwise fall on his shoulders in that House. But he wished to impress on the Committee that he had made the concession out of a desire to do no injustice to any section of any trade, and at the proper time he would commend it to the careful consideration of the Committee.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) asked what was the estimated cost of the rebate.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he would not like to speak definitely on that point, but from the proposals as a whole he originally anticipated an additional revenue of £550,000; if the rebate now proposed was accepted, he estimated roughly that the net gain to the revenue would be £350,000. The calculation must, however, to a certain extent be a matter of conjecture, and his proposals must be considered as a whole.

The Committee was entitled to the best information he could give, but he hoped he would not be pressed too hard as to the accuracy of those figures.

Mr. LOUGH (Islington, W.): On a point of order, is it possible for such a change as this to take place to-morrow. Would it not be necessary first to have a Resolution in Committee?

*The CHAIRMAN: No. This proposal so far from imposing a fresh charge relieves an existing one.

Mr. LOUGH: It is a change in the law.

*The CHAIRMAN: No.

Mr. LOUGH: The duty is now being collected at 3d., so it amounts to a change in the law, which should be brought in in the manner I suggest.

*The CHAIRMAN: No; if that were so it would be impossible at any time to make any reduction or any change, and surely the hon. Member would not wish that.

Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) asked if it had been possible to ascertain how much the holders of stocks would suffer under the amended proposals. The duty represented £15 per hogshead in bond, and the right hon. Gentleman only proposed to remit £7 10s. It seemed to him that their loss would still be very serious in view of the large stocks they held. No doubt the concession of the right hon. Gentleman was a step in advance, and in view of the serious effect of the original proposals on a small class of merchants no one would regret that the discussions had been prolonged. He would give the right hon. Gentleman a concrete example of the effect of his proposal. There was a firm in his constituency which held very large stocks of stripped tobacco; and the effect of the duty in their case would simply have been ruinous. It was noteworthy that a Government which professed itself so solicitous for the interests of other forms of property—such as licensed houses—should in the case of the tobacco trade come forward with a proposal little short of confiscation. The speech of the hon. Baronet the Member for Bristol and the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee had shown that the original proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have been a great injustice to the importers of tobacco. As they stood the proposals were purely protectionist. There was no question of raising revenue, but there was a question of differential duties in order to give British employment. It was extremely doubtful if even in their modified form they would give much employment, and undoubtedly more would have been secured by a small increase of the drawback. This first attempt to introduce protection in the Budget was not only a violation of the understanding that there should be nothing of this kind during the present Parliament, but the right hon. Gentleman's proposals had given rise to a general feeling of insecurity, had stopped trade, and were still a gross injustice to a certain class of traders.

Mr. ROBSON (South Shields) said that the Committee would no doubt be glad to hear the announcement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The rebate would no doubt be of great value to the importers. But the question raised by the Amendment was of far wider import than any question of transient injustice, however severe, on any particular class. The Amendment under discussion did not relate simply to the incidence of the tax upon importers or manufacturers; it dealt with the tax as a whole, and he was inclined to think that the announcement of the right hon. Gentleman helped their arguments against the tax as a whole, although it did diminish the injustice upon a particular class of persons. During the past fortnight there had been a startling corroboration of the arguments advanced against this tax. The right hon. Gentleman introduced the tax first of all as a non-protective tax. He said that so far as his intention was concerned he did not mean it to be protective, and in order to accept that statement they were obliged to suspend the application of the well-known rule, that a reasonable man must be taken to foresee the obvious consequences of his own action. Those obvious consequences had been shown again and again, and beyond all doubt and argument the tax had been proved to be pure protection. There had been the case put forward by the Tobacco Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, which had proved that statement to an extraordinary degree.

It was worth while to review briefly the history of this matter. It might be called almost a "Comedy of Errors" were it not for the widespread loss and misery which the tax had already imposed and was likely to produce. They had, therefore, better call it a "Tragedy of Errors." First of all the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced it as a revenue tax. The statement he had made that afternoon had an important bearing on that argument. It was a disadvantage to the revenue that stalks should not be imported; but that argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's was disposed of before he had finished his Budget speech, because it turned out in the latter part of the speech that he was providing for an increased drawback on these very stalks. Instead of the import of stalks being an advantage to the Exchequer, the right hon. Gentleman was so far misinformed as not to know that the import of stalks was a loss to the manufacturer and to the State because of the drawback. He made these remarks not out of any desire to point out errors into which the right hon. Gentleman might have fallen, but in order to draw the attention of hon. Members opposite, who were opposed to protection, to the fact that they had been led into voting for this tax under the mistaken impression that it was a non-protective duty. The next argument of the right hon. Gentleman was that, although it was desirable to have stalks in order to increase the revenue, it was necessary that he should establish a parity between the whole and the stripped leaf in the matter of duty. Here again the right hon. Gentleman forgot his drawback. He forgot that, although the whole leaf was said to have been at a disadvantage, that disadvantage was wholly removed by the increased drawback which he was prepared to give. The Tobacco Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce had declared that the revised scale of drawbacks was not advantageous. Let the House observe the situation. The right hon. Gentleman brought in a Budget in which he revised the scale of drawback, and enlarged it so that, according to the opinion of his own Committee and his own experts, he left stalk tobacco under no kind of disadvantage as compared with stripped tobacco so far as the drawback was concerned. The drawback was put at a figure which not merely covered any disadvantage which might attach to stripped tobacco but actually tended in the direction of a bounty. And now on the top of the drawback the right hon. Gentleman proposed to put a tax of 3d. on one of these kinds of raw materials. The reason he advanced was that he wished to establish parity between the two kinds. What had happened? Trade in strips had been paralysed; it had been absolutely stopped as if by a ukase. That was a remarkable result of an effort to establish parity. And the right hon. Gentleman that day actually relied on those circumstances in order to show how generous was the concession he was giving to the importers.

The trade in strips had ceased. The average import in June for five years past was 2,459 casks, whereas in June this year the quantity was only 344 casks, and even that was imported under contracts previously made. Hence the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his first essay in scientific taxation had not merely hampered, but actually paralysed and stopped a great branch of English trade. And what was likely to be its effect in the future? Could anybody believe that any substantial revenue would be drawn from the tax? The import had stopped; it was to the shipment of strips the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to look for his revenue, but he would be unable to induce merchants to resume shipment. What did free-trade Unionists think of all this? The tax was not a revenue or a continuing tax. Was it likely that people would continue to import strips with a differential duty of 3d. against it, when the drawback upon unstripped had been raised to such an adequate figure as to bring both classes upon an exact par? The wholesale cost of tobacco was 6d. or 7d. per pound, so that the duty on strips represented about 50 per cent. upon its wholesale price. As the cost of stripping was only about ½d. per pound, the duty of 3d. was absolutely prohibitive to the import of strips. What could be the Chancellor of the Exchequer's conception of business that he should believe it possible to put a tax on a commodity, equal to half its value, without affecting its price in relation to other commodities of almost the same class? On a previous occasion the right hon. Gentleman greatly impressed the Committee by reading quotations from certain price lists to show that the relative prices had not changed. It was pointed out at the time that the figures could only be upheld upon the assumption that there had been no sales of strips, and hence no alteration of price, and that had turned out to be the fact. According to the *Tobacco Journal* the sale of strips had been at a standstill since the introduction of the Budget, and the quotations referred to sales prior to that date.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN was understood to say that the *Tobacco Journal* gave the prices under the heading "Latest Market Sales," which in the circumstances was a misleading description.

MR. ROBSON said he had no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman himself was misled. He had no desire to cast the slightest reflection upon the ability, vigilance, or intention of the right hon. Gentleman. The whole strength of his argument lay in the fact that it was impossible for any Chancellor of the Exchequer safely to interfere with the movement of trade. As soon as a Minister began to interfere with trade for the purpose of giving more employment or for any other purpose, he entered a sphere to which the ability of any human being was wholly unequal. That was one of the fundamental propositions of the free-trade belief, which was traversed by protectionists who believed that they could tap a source of enormous wealth by the burden which they placed upon the shoulders of the people.

Let the Committee apply business instinct to the question. According to the Tobacco Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, there had been practically no business in imported strips since the introduction of the Budget, and merchants were unable to find buyers for their existing stocks except at a reduction in price of 3d. per pound, which, on the old figure, meant a loss of hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling to a small group of importers. It was the tobacco trade that was hit to-day; it might be the shipping trade tomorrow, and the iron trade after that. No single trade was safe when once ideas of this kind found place in the proposals of statesmen. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had based his calculations upon a statement that the whole leaf came into this country substantially moister than the stripped leaf. The tobacco trade declared that statement to be inaccurate, and that if there was any difference at all, it was rather in favour of there being a slight theoretical excess of moisture in the leaf as compared with the stalk. That being so, the Committee were entitled to know from whom the right hon. Gentleman obtained his information. The statements were those of people interested in the creation of a fiscal burden, who had come forward not in the capacity of business men hoping to make a profit for themselves, but as public advisers. Who were they, and what was their interest in the matter? The Chancellor of the Exchequer in a letter had stated that "many manufacturers" had been advising him. Who were the "many manufacturers?" They must not lurk behind the fiscal throne of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The conduct of Mr. Gallaher bore favourable comparison with that of the "many manufacturers;" because he stepped boldy into the arena of public controversy and challenged comment on his action. He claimed to have outlined the idea of a differential duty which should have the effect of encouraging stripping in this country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement to the effect that Mr. Gallaher had given no such advice, while hardly consistent with that gentleman's own assertion, made no difference to the proposition which he (the hon. Member) had made both in the House and elsewhere in regard to fiscal morals. He entirely disputed the right of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say that he was acting upon the advice of gentlemen whose names he refused to give to the public. In a technical constitutional sense the right hon. Gentleman was doubtless the responsible person; but in the real sense, which alone was of importance in this controversy, the responsible persons were those who had advised him and supplied the information upon which he had acted.

In view of the present protectionist agitation and the policy inaugurated in the Budget it was necessary for the Committee to consider their standard of fiscal morals. The tobacco trade declared that no important manufacturer would give such information to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That disposed of Mr. Gallaher, because he certainly was a manufacturer of importance. It was necessary to know who these many manufacturers were, and what was their interest in the matter, in order that the Committee might test the value of their opinions. All protectionist taxes were put forward on high-sounding pleas of patriotism, Empire, and so forth. If those who advocated such taxes were absolutely disinterested, he was prepared to listen to their perorations about Empire; but if their object in suggesting fiscal burdens was simply to make private profit he preferred that they should keep all their talk about Empire to themselves. Was the advice given by these people real patriotism, or a mendacious travesty of patriotism inspired by greed? Was it or was it not fiscal corruption against which the country ought to be on its guard? He was afraid the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce would ask in vain for the names of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's advisers. Personally, he would not press the right hon. Gentleman further, but he did ask free-trade Unionists to take note of this the first example of protectionist methods.

MR. CHARLES McARTHUR (Liverpool, Exchange) was understood to say that he had always held that the prospective loss to which a number of gentlemen were rendered liable was an obstacle which had to be removed before the proposal could be considered on its merits. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had previously held that no loss whatever would fall on the holders of strips. He had now abandoned that position and offered a compromise to the extent of one-half of the tax. That was an entire abandonment of his former position, and no ground whatever had been given for the change. The right hon. Gentleman had not adopted the principle for which the merchants had contended; he had taken up a new position for which there was no support whatever.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was quite prepared to go back to his former proposal.

MR. CHARLES McARTHUR said it was impossible for the right hon. Gentleman to go back after the statement he had made that day. He fully recognised the spirit in which the right hon. Gentleman had made his offer, but it was, after all, an arbitrary proposal based on no ground or reason. The right hon. Gentleman had put forward certain calculations showing that one pound of strips made from imported leaf would pay 3s. 4d., while each pound of strips imported would pay 3s. 3d, and, therefore, instead of imported strips being penalised to the extent of 3d., strips made from imported leaf would pay a penny more. Both statements could not be true. Having, with all the expert advice he could obtain, gone into the matter thoroughly, he believed the Chancellor of the Exchequer was mistaken. The right hon. Gentleman had assumed as the basis of his calculations that there was more sand in leaf than in strips, whereas experience showed the contrary. Experience showed that the amount of moisture in leaf and in strips was about equal. In support of that he would quote the Government Blue-book which gave various samples of Virginia leaf compared with Virginia strips, and Western leaf compared with Western strips. They showed in each case that there was more water and more sand in strips than in leaf. His own feeling was, that although the holders of strips might be disposed to accept the offer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet they recognised that the offer was not a fair one. It did not free them from loss, but rather divided the loss between them and the revenue. Why should innocent merchants be placed in the position of having to bear part of the loss themselves? Why should they be subjected to a compromise of that character. He ventured to point out that in connection with all previous Budgets, there had been full allowance made in cases where the tax could not be passed on from the person who paid the tax to the consumer. He instanced the case of the export duty on coal. In that case an allowance was made in the case of pre-Budget contracts, the amount refunded being not merely sixpence but a shilling. Why should not an equally generous course be taken in this case? Why not say if the merchants or manufacturers could prove satisfactorily to the Customs officials that, having incurred this loss of threepence and being unable to recover it, they should be allowed the amount in full. He thought it would have been far more satisfactory if this tax had been withdrawn altogether. The difficulty would then have been removed. That was the opinion of the whole of the tobacco trade. They would be thankful to the Chancellor of the Exchequer if, instead of dividing the loss with them, he would withdraw the tax.

This tax was proposed with two objects. The first was to add to the revenue. He thought it had been clearly shown that in this respect it had been a failure. During the present year the tax could not be raised without inflicting a very unjust burden on certain persons who did not deserve to be treated in that way. But with regard to the future it was generally admitted that the differential duty would be entirely protective, and for this reason. It would put an end to the importation of strips, and; of course, when the importation of strips ceased, the differential duty would cease. The second object of the imposition was to transfer the business of stripping tobacco from the United States to the United Kingdom. He admitted that that object would be to a certain extent attained. It would not be entirely attained. Of course, when the importation of stripped tobacco was put an end to, the business of stripping, as far as was necessary, would be done in the United Kingdom. It would give employment to British labour, and to that extent the tax would attain its object. It would only succeed partly, because it would probably lead to stems being ground in by manufacturers, and accordingly the quality of tobacco would become degraded. Tobacco would become a mixture of stem and leaf. It was clear that the tax would become entirely protective in its nature, and that it would fail for the purpose of raising revenue. It was only useful as a tax for the purpose of fostering a home industry. Therefore it seemed to him to be entirely inconsistent with the declaration of the Government when they introduced the Budget that it was entirely a free-trade Budget. It was not entirely a free-trade Budget if this particular tax was in its essence of a protective nature. He believed this proposal was intended to be an object-lesson of the advantages of protection, but instead of that it was an object-lesson of the evils of protection. It showed how very dangerous it was to attempt to interfere with trade by fiscal arrangements. Although the trade might be compelled to accept the offer which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made—and he acknowledged the spirit in which it was made—he could not pass from the subject without placing on record his opinion that even the modified tax would involve substantial injustice, and that the tax should be removed altogether.

MR. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said he desired to associate himself with everything that had fallen from the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down. With him he gladly accepted the offer made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for what it was worth, because to some extent it did save something from the wreck of the fortunes of the merchants. But there were some obvious questions which he thought the Committee ought to ask for itself. Why did the Chancellor of the Exchequer make this reduction of 1½d. a pound on stocks in bond? If it was true, as the right hon. Gentleman alleged when this question was last debated, that the duty cost on strips was 3d. more than the duty cost on leaf—the phrase was the Chancellor of the Exchequer's—it was clear to everyone that there was no reason for taking anything off stocks in bond, because the owners of strips in bond had agreed to give him 3d. on the existing duty. Why then relieve them? Did the Chancellor of the Exchequer admit that the duty cost on stocks was not 3d. but 1½d.? Was that the reason for giving the exemption of 1½d. a pound on stocks in bond? If that were the right hon. Gentleman's reason it was an admission that to the extent of 1½d. a pound this duty was a protective duty. The point was well worthy of the careful attention of this Committee. They had to decide what the financial proposals for the year were going to be, and if the case put forward by the Tobacco Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce were true, this Committee would become responsible for a gross injustice, and the inflicting of undeserved hardship upon some twelve or twenty men. The hardship, it was true, would be reduced by the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—a hardship which would unfortunately, if his statements were true, amount to something like £150,000. It therefore became their duty to examine with the utmost care what ground the Tobacco Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce had for the case put forward.

What had been the answer made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer? The right hon. Gentleman alleged that the difference in the duty cost on leaf and strips was 2½d. a pound in the case of ordinary tobacco, and 4d. a pound in the case of bright Virginia. He based his case upon samples which he had taken in four cases of bright Virginia. As regarded the other class of tobacco the right hon. Gentleman had not given the Committee any case at all up to the present. In regard to bright Virginia the right hon. Gentleman said there was an additional cost of 4d. a pound, and if that was so why on earth take 1½d. off the pound? The right hon. Gentleman had endeavoured to prove this by stating that in 100 pounds of strips there was more smokable tobacco than in the corresponding weight of leaf. The duty of 3s. a pound on stripped remained, and the duty of 3s. on leaf became 3s. 4d. The right hon. Gentleman justified his case by the samples he had taken. He appealed from the right hon. Gentleman's samples to the Report of his own Committee. Anyone who took the trouble to read that Report would find in it absolute proof, so far as proof could be given, that the case put forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a mistaken one. The right hon. Gentleman had declared that the moisture in the strips was less than the moisture in the leaf, and quoted from examples in support of that contention. There were forty-three samples of American tobacco mentioned in the Blue-book, and he supposed that they were taken by the same gentleman who took the four samples. The four samples showed more moisture in the leaf than in the strips, but the forty-three samples, which covered a much wider area of American tobacco, showed the exact contrary. The case that the Chancellor made out—based on the excess of moisture in the leaf—therefore fell to the ground.

As to the case of sand he admitted that in bright Virginia there was considerably more sand in leaf tobacco than in the strips. He was glad that statement was confirmed by the hon. Baronet the Member for North Bristol, than whom they could find no greater authority on this matter. The Chancellor had quoted a difference of upwards of 4 per cent. in sand on his four samples. There was a series of about forty samples taken for sand in bright Virginia leaf, and these showed, not upwards of 4 per cent. of sand, but only just a little over 3 per cent. But how about other leaf tobacco? The Committee had got to remember that bright Virginia was a special article, but the great article of commerce in the tobacco trade was Western leaf. It was from Western leaf that the right hon. Gentleman ought to have taken an example. He found from the Blue-book that out of sixteen to twenty samples of Western strips, the percentage of sand was 5·05 and of Western leaf from corresponding samples only 2·19 per cent. So that on Western leaf the exact reverse was the truth to what was put forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—viz., that there was more sand in the leaf than in the strips. Now they had it on evidence, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not find it necessary, between this and the next stage of the discussion, to reconsider his attitude, it would become necessary to bring before the Committee in detail that evidence given before his own Departmental Committee, to prove up to the hilt that he could not make out a case, except a protective case, for this differential duty. Witness after witness before that Committee came forward and said that all they asked for was for a fair chance to be given to the industry of stripping in this country, for leaf and strip to be put on an equal footing, and that an amendment should be made in the drawback, and this the Chancellor of the Exchequer had done. That being so, were they not entitled to turn to the arguments of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce—arguments which were supported by the whole course of business for the last fifty years?

What did the Chamber of Commerce say? They maintained that if it were true that there was a difference in the duty cost, on the average, of 3d. per lb., that duty cost would be a mark of the price more than the cost of the duty on strips. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had not attempted to answer that. It was quite obvious that nobody would buy leaf at 3d. per lb. more than duty cost except there was 3d. per lb. less duty than on strips. All the tobacco dealers for the last fifty or 100 years would have been fools to go on importing leaf with this additional duty cost when they might have had strips so much cheaper. As he had shown from the evidence in the Blue-book there was no ground for the belief of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that his four samples represented either the average facts in regard to bright Virginia tobacco or the actual facts in regard to all other kinds of tobacco. Was it not more reasonable to suppose that the tobacco merchants and manufacturers had known their own business and that there had been no such differentiation in price between leaf and strips as the difference in duty cost would justify? Was it not reasonable to suppose that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was mistaken and that the difference in duty cost was not what the right hon. Gentleman suggested it was; that such difference in duty cost as might exist had been shown by the difference in price, and that difference in price had been five-eighths of a penny in the lb., and that that difference was absolutely taken away by the Amendment as to drawback in the Bill. If that were so—and it ought to be inquired into—was this Committee going to be a consenting party to the plunder of a number of innocent gentlemen, who had carried on a trade for numbers of years under the sanction of Parliament, of from £150,000 to £200,000? It was only they who would bear this loss. They had stocks in bond sufficient to last for two years. The remaining 1½d. per lb. would have to be paid by them, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have got a certain amount of revenue, not from the public, but out of their pockets. Was it reasonable that the Committee should consent to this protective duty, when they had been assured on the highest authority, on behalf of the Government, that no protective legislation would be introduced in this Parliament? They ought not to. He was convinced that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to give his attention to the subject; if the right hon. Gentleman were really to take the trouble to understand what were the true facts about the tobacco duty; if he were even to master the contents of his own Blue-book and its Appendices, the right hon. Gentleman would discover that there was no justification for the case put forward by him. That being to, it was nothing but a gross injustice to the nation and the trade to continue this tax at all.

*MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR said that the discussion naturally divided itself into two sections. First, that which concerned itself with the unfortunate position of the holders of strips in bond, and second, the general question as to whether the differential duty on strips and whole leaf was a desirable departure in our fiscal system. As to the position of holders of strips in bond, whether merchants or manufacturers, he was inclined to think that the concession which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced was, on the whole, not an ungenerous appreciation of the position in which the holders of strips in bond were placed. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for the Exchange Division that it would by no means recoup them for the loss to which they were at present exposed; but he thought it would go a certain distance in that direction, and possibly, for a Chancellor who was on the look-out for revenue, it was as much as they could expect. Therefore, he hoped they would not look a gift horse too closely in the mouth, but as far as they were concerned, would accept this concession as on the whole, an alleviation of a position which by unanimous consent was altogether intolerable. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer was going to concede to holders of strips something like a quarter of a million of the revenue he anticipated, perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would say how he proposed to make up the deficiency.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that he proposed to sacrifice that part of the revenue.

*MR. AUSTIN TAYLOR said he gathered that the calculations of a surplus which the Chancellor of the Exchequer made at the beginning of the financial year would be sufficient to justify him in making that sacrifice. He thought the holders of strips in bond would be well advised to accept this concession.

But, with regard to the differential duty which was proposed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rested his whole case upon the alleged excess of moisture and sand in the whole leaf as against imported strips. On this point his right hon. friend and his experts were at issue with the tobacco trade, and the question naturally arose whether the tobacco trade knew its business. He had been himself in business for a good many years, and on such matters he would be much more disposed to take the evidence of a practical man who had been handling a particular article from the profit and loss point of view, than the evidence of the most careful experts in the most elaborately organised Government Department. From that point of view, the differential duty fell to the ground. Even on the analysis of the Departmental Committee it was perfectly clear that in strips, as against leaf, there was often rather an excess of moisture and sand than a deficiency, and, taking the evidence of that Committee as a whole, he did not think there was anything whatever to make out the necessity for the imposition of a differential duty of 3d. per lb. in order to place stripped tobacco and leaf tobacco on the same footing. The fact that for a long course of years whole-leaf tobacco had been imported into this country at a similar rate of duty with strips was conclusive evidence that there could not have been that enormous difference in favour of strips which his right hon. friend seemed to think prevailed. One point had been omitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his calculation — namely, the fact that the cost of whole leaf tobacco was from a penny to twopence per pound less than the cost of strips imported. That was a natural handicap in favour of leaf as against imported strips, which made it still more unnecessary for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to come to the rescue of whole leaf and put on that differential duty. Therefore they were driven to the conclusion that the differential duty was, in fact, a protective proposal. It was quite true that the Chancellor of the Exchequer disavowed any intention of advocating or illustrating protectionist principles when he first introduced the differential duty, but the proof of the pudding was in the eating. It was perfectly well known that large firms of tobacco manufacturers on this side of the water had already made arrangements to cease to carry out the operation of stemming in the United States. It might be considered a good thing from the point of view of employment in this country that coloured ladies in America should no longer strip the tobacco plant, but they had no security that, even if this were the case, there would be an increase of employment here. He was given to understand that manufacturers would be able by means of their machinery to utilise stem and stalk for the purpose of tobacco manufacture. Therefore the Chancellor of the Exchequer, having displaced the labour of coloured persons in America, would have the melancholy satisfaction of knowing that the only increase in labour in this country would fall upon the smoker, who instead of smoking leaf would have to go to the additional trouble of smoking stems and stalk as well.

If protection was to be tried he would prefer to see it tried on a large scale. Personally he did not want to see it tried at all. He was an entire opponent of a protective system for the country in any shape or form. But let them not have peddling experiments, let them not have what was called "the thin end of the wedge" introduced in a popular free-trade Budget. If the controversy was to be fought out on some practical and complete scheme of protection in this country, he preferred to have to face a large and concrete effort emanating from that home of protection, Birmingham, where it was understood the forges were already at work. He was glad that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had seen his way to meet the case of those unfortunate individuals who held stocks of strips in bond in this country. He regretted that the tax had been introduced, because he thought it was entirely needless. The extra threepence now proposed would merely prevent the import of strips into this country, and possibly would displace labour in America without really leading to an increase of labour in this country. Then from the point of view of revenue, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer said at the beginning of the session was his main object as Chancellor, he ventured to predict that Mr. Chamberlain would have reason to remember before many years had passed the warning given by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer who solemnly cautioned him as to the danger of meddling with such a delicate subject as the tobacco duties. He earnestly trusted that even yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer might reconsider this proposal. It was evident that the revenue he anticipated from it was a diminishing quantity. The more it was examined the less fruitful it would be found. It introduced an element of discredit and doubt into the fiscal policy of the Government as agreed upon during the present Parliament, and if it were swept away it would leave them more free to deal in future Parliaments with larger controversies, about which so much was said at the present time.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said he must traverse all the plausible arguments of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and endeavour to show the Committee that the right hon. Gentleman had not the slightest ground for his proposal. In his opinion the right hon. Gentleman ought either to give back the whole amount on the uncleared stocks in bond or nothing at all. It was quite clear that if he did not give the full rebate the right hon. Gentleman would only take out of the pockets of one class money he was not justified in taking. It was nothing more nor less than robbery. Before this proposal the right hon. Gentleman was able to say, "I have not injured any one," but that was not so now. In his opinion there was no real fiscal reason for this tax in regard to what the right hon. Gentleman had called the fiscal gap between the raw material and the manufactured article. Such a gap was non-existent because there was no system in this country whereby the duty was so arranged as to accord with the amount of manufacture given to the raw material. The right hon. Gentleman had founded his case for the differentiation of these duties upon the practice of other countries, but in France, Germany, and Austria no such differentiation was made; in the case of Belgium the excess of duty was nine-tenths of a penny more, and in Holland it was one-twenty-eighth of a penny. If that could be done in Holland the right hon. Gentleman could have arrived at the result desired equally well by the imposition of an extra penny where he had imposed 3d. A penny at the outside would have covered all the cost of the manipulation of the tobacco. But putting aside the question of the threepence, it would afterwards be practically within the free choice of the importing merchant and manufacturer to decide whether he would buy stripped or unstripped tobacco. And that was the whole position, beyond which the right hon. Gentleman did not wish to go. He had said that the drawback would adjust itself to the various qualities of tobacco, the proportion varying from 18 to 32 per cent. After the Report of the Departmental Committee and the evidence of the witnesses—who, without exception, when asked the question, said they would be satisfied if the drawback was brought up to the proper amount—he thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer had no argument in regard to the question of disability. If he was going to support the tax he must do so on different grounds. He was aware that it was quite within the power of the right hon. Gentleman by continuing the tax to create greater employment. This proposal practically gave a differential duty in favour of unstripped tobacco, it followed that this would not only bring a larger amount of stripped stalks into the country but that although we should give more employment we should get worse tobacco.

Coming next to the primary object of the right hon. Gentleman's proposal, that of revenue—a laudable object, especially with the present expensive Government—the right hon. Gentleman had to prove that this gratuitous change, and what they regarded as a protective change, would produce a considerable and permanent source of revenue. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed a uniform addition of threepence to all raw tobacco there would have been no particular objection. He would have had a permanent £1,000,000 a year, whereas now he would get only £500,000 and give away £250,000, and in subsequent years at the outside he would get £100,000 to £150,000. Putting it roughly, the additional threepence duty on raw tobacco brought in about £1,000,000. That would be a revenue duty. It was clear from the figures already given by the right hon. Gentleman that this was not a revenue tax for the reason that if it had been instead of £500,000 he would have estimated it at £750,000. If it had been a revenue tax without any ulterior object—as any tax ought to be—threepence on the whole of the raw material would have produced about £1,000,000, as the percentage at the present moment of strped tobacco was about 70 per cent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had this been a revenue tax might have anticipated £750,000 instead of £500,000. Even on the basis of the gross amount of his tax it was not in the least likely that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would get the £100,000 that he had estimated. Before the Budget was introduced the proportion of imported leaf tobacco was something like 23 per cent. and stripped tobacco 77 per cent. Last April those figures were almost reversed; the imported stripped tobacco was 35 per cent., the leaf was 65 per cent. In May the leaf imports had risen to 71 per cent. whilst the stripped had fallen to 29 per cent. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated that he would get £500,000 on the 70 per cent. proportion of stripped tobacco, which then came in with certain deductions, he could not possibly have anticipated the enormous fall that had been caused by the tax. It was clear that if threepence would produce £1,000,000 on the whole of raw tobacco imported, and there was only going to be 39 per cent. of stripped tobacco, the gross amount that he could expect would only be £300,000 and not £500,000. There was the further fact that in the last few weeks the falling off had been still more remarkable. Whilst last year in the same month the number of imported casks of stripped tobacco to London, Liverpool, and Glasgow was 2,460, this last month it was only 344 casks.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: You omit Bristol.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said it was admitted that there had also been a decrease with regard to Bristol, but the figures he had given were enough for his purpose. If that falling off were to continue there would be no revenue whatever from this tax in the coming year, as the gross amount would be only £250,000, and the right hon. Gentleman was going to give away the whole amount. This tax would damage the position of the tobacco trade and yet at the end of the year it would yield no revenue at all. The right hon. Gentleman presumably desired to keep stripped tobacco out of the country in order to give additional employment to home workers. If he was successful in that endeavour he would get no revenue. The only way to get a revenue would be for his plan to be unsuccessful, and if that was a good free-trade fiscal system he (Mr. Buxton) could not understand it. As a rule a trade cried out before it was hurt, and as a rule it managed to throw off the duties imposed upon it on the consumer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was bound to admit that this could not be done in the present instance, and he proposed to give them a rebate of £250,000, whereas in justice he ought to give them £500,000. What was the position of these unfortunate importers? The money was not going into the pockets of the taxpayers. it was only passing from the pockets of one set of taxpayers into those of another set. There would be something to be said in favour of this proposal if the tax would form a good permanent basis which could be used in the future, but it would only injure one section of the trade to give a benefit to another section, and no revenue would be received from it.

Then looking at it from the point of view of a protective duty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was very indignant at their allegation that this was a preferential or protective duty. The right hon. Gentleman had had a long correspondence with the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce in regard to this matter. He (Mr. Buxton) was not very competent to deal with the complicated figures that had been stated, but at all events, he thought they were entitled to say with reference to those figures that the Report of the right hon. Gentleman's own Departmental Committee showed the fallacy of his argument, and that the whole of the trade was entirely against him. The speech of the right hon. Baronet the other night absolutely knocked out the whole case for the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. If it were true, as the right hon. Gentleman had argued, that stripped tobacco had a benefit of from 2½d. to 4d. per pound at present, he could hardly believe that there would be any leaf whatever in the country. But whatever basis was taken, any existing disability would be met by the drawback. An infinitesimal amount of revenue would be derived from the tax, and he strongly objected to a proposal which upset and, to a large extent, destroyed a flourishing branch of industry for the miserable return which the right hon. Gentleman would obtain in the present case.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the contention of the hon. Gentleman was that if there was a proper and adequate drawback there was no reason whatever for a differential rate of duty as between the different stages of manufacture. He ventured to say, however, that the two questions, the drawback and the difference of duty, were quite distinct. The drawback was given in respect of tobacco exported; but for the purposes of that discussion it was more important to note that it was given in respect of offals returned to the Customs in order that the duty paid upon them might be paid back. The drawback had been confessedly inadequate hitherto, and they were making it much more adequate; but he did not think they should in cases even now return to the manufacturer the full amount of duty, because if they were to make their scale high enough to do that it would be too high in other cases, and people would set to work to import those tobaccos out of which they could make a profit on the rebate. They were therefore obliged to keep the rebate at a moderate but, he thought, a reasonable figure. Now came the question whether it was right to have a differentiation between raw tobacco and tobacco which had undergone a process of manufacture. If there were no difference they would protect not the manufacturer here, but his competitors abroad. They would, in fact, penalise the home manufacturer and make it impossible for him to compete with the manufacturer abroad. As to the principles, therefore, they were agreed; it was only a question of degree.

The process of manufacture took time. Before it could be carried through in this country the manufacturer must already have paid duty. He would be out of pocket with regard to the interest on his duty, not merely for the time that he would have been if he had manufactured straight from the strips, but for the additional time required to convert the whole leaf into stripped tobacco, and he would be out of pocket with regard to the interest on the money he had paid in duty on stalks and offals for a still longer time until he could recover that duty from the Customs. Then they came further to the question of moisture and sand. Hon. Gentlemen opposite were extremely suspicious of statistics which he gave them, and he did not know that anything he was likely to say would carry conviction to minds which did not desire to be convinced, but he would say that the figures upon which he had gone were the result of samples fairly taken, not for the purpose of this particular tax, by the Customs authorities and analysed in the Government laboratory. Samples had been quoted from which very different results were obtained. But those samples were of a particular class of tobacco not characteristic of the tobacco which generally came into the country. It was extremely improbable that fair samples of stripping would contain more sand than whole leaf, because the process of stripping would shake loose a certain amount of the sand contained in the whole leaf. They had in this matter to make allowance for the loss of sand and for the loss of moisture in regard to the great bulk of the tobacco imported. As regarded sand, hon. Members thought that his figures were too high, and they rightly attributed great weight to what his hon. friend the Member for North Bristol said. But he thought his hon. friend would accept the evidence of the Imperial Tobacco Company before the Drawback Committee, in which it was shown that the percentage of sand in Virginia leaf was no less than 6·63 and in strips 3·56.

MR. McKENNA: You have put it at 2·08.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the figures he had given were the result of experiments made by the Drawback Committee themselves. But he differentiated altogether the drawback question from the rate of difference between strips and the whole leaf. The fact that they had made the drawbacks fair was no reason why the difference between the leaf and the strip should not be marked and that the process of manufacture should not be marked, just as the difference between the fully manufactured tobaccos and the raw leaf from which they were made was marked. His contention was that hitherto strips had received a preference and whole leaf had been penalised. He thought from the first that, if they treated both fairly, the natural result would be that a greater quantity of the whole leaf would come in and a smaller quantity of strips. He never ventured to say exactly what the proportions would be, but it was quite obvious that if they removed the disabilities under which the whole leaf had suffered it would be more able to compete in this market with strips than it had been in the past.

MR. SIDNEY BUXTON said he was dealing with the question of revenue. The effect of the additional duty would be to destroy the importation of strips, and hence no revenue would be derived from the tax.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he had refrained from forecasting what the ultimate importation of either strips or leaf would be, and had said that the additional revenue must be dependent on the extent to which strips held their own. He himself believed that, though they would cease to enjoy the unnatural favour they had enjoyed in the past, there would still be room for a considerable importation of strips. The concession he had proposed to make in reference to strips in bond at the date of the Budget statement had been received in a spirit that was not encouraging, and that certainly would not tempt another Chancellor of the Exchequer to try and meet the representations made to him with fairness or even with generosity. The hon. Gentleman who spoke last said that all he had done by making this concession was to show that he was wrong, and that he ought to give up the whole duty. That, the hon. Gentleman said, would be following the precedent of the coal tax, which excluded pre-Budget contracts for the sale of coal. He thought the hon. Gentleman hardly carried in his mind what the coal tax precedent was. It relieved of the duty a man who had contracted to sell coal to the foreigner before the date of the Budget and who had covered that contract by actually purchasing the coal. That was because in the case of the foreigner he could not, with regard to a pre-Budget contract, add the price of the tax to the contract price. That was in order to put him in the same position in which any trader, who had a contract to sell a dutiable article, was here when the duty was raised. He was able to add that duty to the price in such a case. It was difficult, if it was not impossible, to adjust a duty of this kind so that it should be in all cases the exact additional dutiable cost of the article and nothing more. It must be a rough-and-ready adjustment. He had desired to meet those Gentlemen who felt that they had a great grievance and whose friends in the House apparently thought that they had a great grievance. He had not tried to discover exactly to what extent they might be unable to recover the tax or to limit the relief to the exact amount by which they would be the losers. He had attempted to deal with them fairly and generously, so that they might not have a sense of injustice left in their minds, and he hoped they would receive the concession he had offered in the spirit in which it was made. He did not think the attempt to put him on the horns of a dilemma was in the interests of those on whose behalf the hon. Gentleman was speaking. After all, the proportion which the tax would bear, when it was in full force, to the value of strips was less than the proportion which the tax bore to the value of the whole leaf. The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce informed him that the value of a pound of leaf might be taken at 5d. On that the duty would be 3s. The value of a pound of strips they put at 6½d. On that the duty he proposed was 3s. 3d.—3s. 1½d. as regarded stocks already in bond. It would be seen, therefore, that, while the duty on the whole leaf was 720 per cent. greater than its value, the value of the duty on the new strips was not more than 620 per cent. He did not think that that bore out the contention that he had put on an unduly high duty in proportion to the value of the article, nor did it suggest to him the ruin which had been predicted. He ventured to hope that, whatever their differences, the Committee would facilitate further progress and enable them to deal a little more rapidly than they had done with the consideration of this Bill.

*MR. REA (Gloucester) said the Chancellor of of the Exchequer, while possibly making the tax less oppressive, had made it more illogical and more protective by making it less productive. The controversy as to its merits stood where it did before the rebate was announced, and that controversy was doubtless a difficult one for the Committee to judge of. The arguments depended upon abstruse arithmetical calculations which were difficult to follow, and upon delicate experiments which the Committee had not the means of testing. The right hon. Gentleman had no doubt made two or three dialectical points in his argument with the trade, but they were extremely small when compared with the general principle of the tax. The points which the Committee could not judge were vital, and upon them rested the decision whether or not the tax was protective, whether or not individual firms were about to be ruined, and whether or not the tax would be abortive as a productive tax in future. But though the Committee could not judge on the technical argument involved in this matter, they could judge what the effect of the tax on the trade had been, and to his mind that was a convincing argument. From 20th April this trade had ceased—it had been killed. No strips had been taken out of bond except small quantities, which had gone mostly to the Continent and to America. This kind of taxation rather reminded one of the mixture of dentistry and taxation that was practised upon the Jews in the time of King John. What was the unfortunate owner of stocks of tobacco to do? The best thing appeared to be for him to take his stripped tobacco out of bond, and to ship it to some country where they had not yet learned to discriminate between stripped and unstripped tobacco. There would be a temporary revenue from the imposition of this tax, but no permanent addition to the Revenue. There would, however, be a great disturbance of trade, and an enormous loss to individuals. There might also be the disappearance of a great part of our two years selected stocks of tobacco. If that happened some Members of this House would ask what they were to smoke for the next two years.

It was said that there would be one net gain from this tax, and that was the rise of a great British industry. He had his own idea as to the wisdom of importing parasitic and exotic industries at the cost of the taxpayers. What kind of industry was going to be imported through the operation of this tax? One of the very lowest classes of industry, below that practised by any of our pauper aliens. He was told that the stripping of tobacco was at present done by old black women and small black children, who got about ¼d. per lb. for it on an average. The policy of the Government with reference to coloured labour was really wonderful. In one direction they were importing the yellow man to help the black man to do the work which the white man would not condescend to do; on the other hand, they were taking over an industry which was too low for the black man, who left it to the old women and children, and giving it to the white man. These were not the first fruits—the Sugar Convention was the first fruits—but the second fruits of the new economics. The proposal involved great economic injustice, and was a fiscal futility.

Mr. LOUGH (Islington, W.) said the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to complain that the offer he had made was ungratefully received by the Committee. That was an unfair complaint to make. They were not there to discuss what consideration should be given to the unfortunate merchants in Liverpool. They were engaged in the consideration of the question whether they would have this tax as a whole. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not hurry the Committee to a conclusion on that question. The right hon. Gentleman told them three months ago that there was no hurry and that the merchants of Liverpool were not suffering at all.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I said exactly the opposite.

Mr. LOUGH said the right hon. Gentleman explained that there was no urgency for bringing forward the Bill. He did not then make any case for relieving the pangs of the people on whose behalf he now appealed to the Committee. The Amendment as a whole raised the question as to this new tax and he wished to ask two questions in regard to the matter. First of all was it of such a protective character that the House should refuse to touch it? He knew that in discussing this question they were told that all tobacco duties in this country were protective; to some extent that was true, but they were not so protective as this tax would leave them. The defence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was remarkable, for he seemed almost to have abandoned the idea that this was a tax to produce revenue. The right hon. Gentleman said he wished to mark a stage in the manufacture of tobacco, and he had done so by a piece of pure and undisguised protection. He did not think this was the time when the Committee should allow a proposal to pass which was commended on such grounds. The hon. Member for South Shields had said that tax was suggested by Mr. Gallaher, the tobacco manufacturer. He did not find that that was absolutely proved by Mr. Gallaher's evidence, but he gave some very remarkable evidence. In Question 2121 he used these words—

> "Lord Goschen said "the people of this country were all for free trade . . . . I said the sooner we drop the idea of free trade the better."
>
> "(2147) They might give employment . . . which is just the very same thing that the Chamberlain Commission is proposing to do."
>
> "(2148) (*Chairman.*) Your arguments all tell in favour of encouraging the importation of tobacco in the leaf in order that the stripping may be done in this country? (*Mr. Gallaher.*) Yes."

That evidence was given before the Committee by Mr. Gallaher, and when they were considering this proposal they should remember in the first place that it had a purely protective origin. It had been defended in this House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as a protective tax. If the Committee's Report was carefully read, hon. Members would see there was no other reason for the tax. It was their duty to recall the simple free-trade arguments against the tax. It was assumed that if it did not do any good it would not do the country any great injury. He believed it would tend to diminish exports. It would be far better to allow this industry to be carried on by the old negro women who were at present engaged in it. Let our merchants import tobacco from where they pleased. The Committee ought to have a little more regard for the argument as to the revenue side of the question. What were they there for? They were there simply to get revenue. The hope of the tax producing revenue was gone already. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not accept the argument that no more stripped tobacco would be brought in. If the right hon. Gentleman maintained the tax, it was as sure as day that no more of it would be brought in. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had asked the Committee to agree to the tax on the ground that there was an inequality between whole-leaf and stripped tobacco, and that the trade in whole-leaf tobacco was unfairly handicapped. The argument against that was that for fifty years there had been a great importation of whole-leaf tobacco into this country. During that time the duties had been the same on both classes, and they did not find that whole-leaf had been banished from the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer told them that the difference between the two was 3d. a pound. That was 50 per cent. of the value. If it was true that the whole-leaf trade had been labouring under this disadvantage there would have been evidence of it in the state of imports. The truth was that every year 16,000 hogsheads of this whole-leaf tobacco was imported. A duty of 3d. a pound on that quantity would give something like £200,000 a year which our foolish silly merchants and manufacturers had been throwing away. This showed that the origin of this tax was something quite new for the Committee of this House to consider. The impost was not required for any purpose of equalising or stimulating the trade; there had been a large trade done in whole-leaf tobacco up to this time, and that trade could very well be left alone. It was a purely protective tax, and as such he did not think the Committee should have anything to do with it.

*SIR **FREDERICK WILLS** recognized that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had endeavoured, from his point of view, to meet the case which had been presented to him on a former occasion in stating the concessions the right hon. Gentleman proposed to make to merchants, and the rebate proposed to be given to manufacturers with stocks. At the same time the right hon. Gentleman was still going to place a heavy fine on the tobacco merchants—not so heavy as he proposed originally — a fine, however, which, instead of being £300,000 or £400,000, would now be £200,000. He could easily understand the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who wanted to get money; but was it a right thing for the right hon. Gentleman to try to get money in this way? Would it not be even safer for the right hon. Gentleman to say that he hoped the general revenue of the country would turn out better than his expectation, and that he would forego an additional £200,000, rather than introduce a measure which would impose a fine on a really deserving body of men to whom the country was to a very considerable extent under obligation? They were men who, by their enterprise, had imported three or four years stock into this country without which the manufacturers would not have been able to carry on their business, and without whose enterprise the Government could not have collected a revenue of £12,000,000 a year. It was a very serious matter for the Government to interfere with that trade. He, himself, was placed in a very difficult position, for he was there as a supporter of the Government; but he could not see this act of injustice done to these men who really did not deserve it. Of course he would rather that they were fined £150,000 than £300,000; but he did not like that they should be fined even £150,000. He was very sorry that his right hon. friend had not seen his way to do away with this extra taxation altogether. His right hon friend had upset the tobacco trade to a very considerable extent. All the prices had had to be readjusted as between retailers and the manufacturers, and the trade in stripped tobacco had become absolutely stagnant. The merchants were at their wits' end. They had blank ruin staring them in the face. He did not suppose that all of them would go into the Bankruptcy Court, for some of them were rich men. But if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not made the concession he had done now, several of the merchants would have found their way into the Bankruptcy Court. That was a thing which, he was sure, his right hon. friend would thoroughly deprecate. He appealed to his right hon. friend to see whether he could not find a way to abstain from altering these tobacco duties altogether. He knew that that might involve a loss of £250,000 to the revenue; but, after all, that would not be a very heavy loss, while his right hon. friend would avoid placing a loss of from £150,000 to £200,000 on innocent people who had served their country exceedingly well, and who, through their trade, provided the country with a revenue of £12,000,000 a year. To judge from the expressions of opinion on both sides of the House, he was sure that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be justified in not carrying out his proposal in regard to the alteration of the duties on tobacco.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury) said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had told the Committee that everyone in the trade had suffered from the uncertainty caused by the proposal contained in the Amendment to strike out the extra duty of 3d. per lb. on stripped tobacco. That was, however, a very strong condemnation of the proposal of the Government. It was not the fault of the Opposition that the Budget had not been pushed on; but of those who were responsible for arranging the business of the House. The whole arrangement was made with the object of pushing the Licensing Bill forward. So far as he could gather from the Report of the Departmental Committee, the grievances in the tobacco trade could have been amply dealt with by drawbacks. No grievance had existed in that respect, from the days of Mr. Gladstone, which could not have been met by drawbacks. He gathered from page 10 of the Report of the Departmental Committee that they were of opinion that had the drawbacks been adjusted with this object in view, it would have cost the Chancellor of the Exchequer only £7,000 a year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, having to face this position, set himself to devise some way of counterbalancing this loss. But the effect of the new duties showed that the right hon. Gentleman could have little understood the circumstances of the trade with which he was dealing. The men engaged in the importing business in stripped tobacco might not only lose £150,000 to £200,000, but the whole of their business, built up by many years of effort, might be wiped out by a stroke of the pen of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. To sum up the grievances, the tax damaged the importers; it caused great confusion and uncertainty; and it was not worth the trouble it caused.

What were its effects on the financial arrangements of the country? It had been shown that had the duty been placed on the whole of the tobacco imported the tax would have yielded considerably over £1,000,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had now made the sacrifice of £250,000 on the year's revenue, so that the surplus he had anticipated was almost wiped out. He did not want to trouble the House with any remarks on the general financial situation. It was serious enough, he knew, but let this be taken as an example of what the Chancellor of the Exchequer would experience if ever he had to deal with a protective Budget. He had found that when he came to deal with drawbacks, which were essential to protection, he would have a battle of wits with those engaged in the trade, and he thought that those who studied the papers would find that he would come off second best. Such a battle of wits would not always be to the advantage of the country. In the United States, when an industry was fighting for its life, it frequently happened that its leaders were ingenious enough to get to the windward of the Government officials, however great their devotion to the public interest. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was hardly likely to find himself better equipped in the details of a business than those who had studied it all their lives. He hoped the country would take notice of the fact that in the first example of this kind of strife the Chancellor of the Exchequer had got distinctly the worst of it and had made a hopeless bungle of it.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON said he ventured to point out that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given no answer to the point he had endeavoured to raise as to the justice of the tax. If it was unjust to tax the importer or to confiscate the property of the importer of stripped tobacco to the extent of £15 per hogshead, why was it just to confiscate it to the extent of £7 10s., which was what the Chancellor of the Exchequer would do under his amended proposal? When the tobacco was rendered unsaleable the right hon. Gentleman proposed to bear one half of the loss. If it was just to take off one half, justice demanded that the other half should be taken off. The tax would only be raised on stocks available for taxation; the trade in strips would be killed, and the only good purpose served by the debate would have been to show the preposterous character of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposals.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 223; Noes, 173. (Division List No. 242.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow)
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn J. A. (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley-
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Sir John Eldon
Graham, Henry Robert
Greene, Sir E. W (Bury S Edm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hamilton, Rt Hn Lord G. (Midd'x
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.)
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse, Rt. Hn. H. (Somers'tE
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kerr, John
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants. Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick, N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W.
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriesshire
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (Bute
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Niell, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Pease, Herbt. Pike (Darlington)
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge)
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.

Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.SirC.E.H.(Sheffield
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley,H.(Ashton und.Lyne)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley(York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham,William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asher, Alexander
Asquith, Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C.B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bowles,T.Gibson (King's Lynn)
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin,CharlesRamsay(Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt.E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Harcourt,Lewis V.(Rossendale)
Harcourt,Rt.HnSirW(Monm'th
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,David Brynmor(Swansea
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire)
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kemp, Lieut.-Colonel George
Kennedy,VincentP.(Cavan,W.)
Kilbride, Denis
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leese,Sir JosephF.(Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Morley,Rt.Hn.John (Montrose)
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary,Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J, (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly,James(Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas,DavidAlfred (Merthyr)
Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley,George (York, W. R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Woodhouse,SirJ.T.(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur

MR. MCKENNA said the Amendment he now proposed to move was to reduce the duty on strips from 3d. to 1½d. per lb. After the announcement which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made he would have supposed that it would hardly be necessary for him to support this Amendment by argument. The right hon. Gentleman in the announcement he made admitted that the duty on strips in bond should be reduced to 1½d. per lb. and all that was now asked was that all strips on which duty had not been paid should be subject to the same reduction. The Chancellor of the Exchequer appeared to have based his argument on the ground that as there was less smokable tobacco in leaf than there was in strips, there ought to be some differentiation, and that differentiation he had put down at 3d. on the lb. If that difference was necessary to put these two kinds of tobacco on an equality, why was this rebate now given to the merchants. This rebate had been referred to by the right hon. Gentleman as a concession to the merchants and manufacturers in response to protests on their behalf by Members of this House. But if this 1½d. gave them something to which they were not entitled, the right hon. Gentleman was most unfairly putting money into their pockets at the expense of the public. The right hon. Gentleman had said there was in practice a differentiation against leaf in our present scale of duties because there was more sand and moisture in leaf than in strips. The right hon. Gentleman was wrong there, however, as he would presently prove. But if there was a differentiation of 3d. in the lb. and the right hon. Gentleman gave up 1½d. of that to the merchants, he gave to them something to which they were not entitled even if the figures were true and accurate. But the facts were different. It was not true that in leaf before the stem had been taken out there was more sand and moisture than in strips. The evidence given before the Committee was the extract contrary with regard to Western leaf. As regarded bright Virginia it was true the sand was shaken off in the process of stripping, but on the Western leaf what was called sand would more properly be described as dirt and it did not shake off in the process of stripping. In fact there was less sand on the midrib than on the lamina. But even if the right hon. Gentleman had proved that there was more sand and moisture in the leaf than in the strips he had not proved that it was equivalent to a duty of 3d. The right hon. Gentleman now submitted that the duty should be 1½d. What he wanted the Chancellor of the Exchequer to do was to give a clear relevant argument in favour of this tax. At present they had not had a word in favour of the duty being 3d. which might not have been equally revelant to a duty of 1d. or 6d. or any other sum. With regard to moisture, forty-three samples were taken by the right hon. Gentleman's own Committee, and the average result showed less moisture in the leaf than in the strips. In the face of that, what was the good of the right hon. Gentleman founding his case upon the result of four samples only? The Chancellor of the Exchequer was convicted by his own Departmental Committee, and by the experiments of his own experts; the evidence of the witnesses before that Committee showed that there was no greater duty cost upon leaf than upon strips than was met by the improved rate of drawback. He begged the right hon. Gentleman not to take two bites—at the leaf. He was already giving 1½d. on stocks in bond; let him for the very same reason allow 1½d. on all imported strips. Curiously enough, by reducing the duty he would increase the revenue. In consequence of the duty of 3d. the imports of stripped tobacco had fallen from 2,725,000 lbs. in April to 1,610,000 lbs. in May, and to 1,193,000 lbs. in June. The duty had all but killed the imports of strip; it would absolutely kill them hereafter. The reason of the slight respite was that there were accumulated in the United States considerable stocks of leaf stripped for the English market; those stocks would soon be exhausted, and not another pound of tobacco would be stripped abroad. Where, then, would the revenue come from? Was this to be a revenue or a protective tax? If protective, it was a breach of faith. If revenue, it would produce no revenue. Hon. Members opposite were on the horns of a dilemma. They must make up their minds whether they would choose protection and dishonour or honour and no revenue. They could take their choice but they could not have both. If the duty were reduced to 1½d., though the great bulk would be shut out, there would remain certain kinds of tobacco which on account of excessive moisture and sand it would still pay to import stripped, and from those revenue would be derived. In his Budget speech, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said—

> "In the first place I think it is demonstrable that there was an error in the calculation on which Mr. Gladstone worked. He himself, indeed, subsequently corrected his error but he did not alter the rates which he had proposed, and the result is that the home manufacturer, making for home consumption, has a larger measure of—shall I say compensation?—than Mr. Gladstone had intended."

From the context it was clear that by "compensation," the right hon. Gentleman meant "protection." He concluded by saying—

> "It is clear that the stripped leaf has a definite and distinct value differing from that which the whole leaf enjoys. It is not right that this separate value, this process of manufacture which the leaf has undergone, should not, like all other processes of manufacture, which add to the value, be marked on our scale and find its reflection in the proper way."

That meant getting "compensation" or "protection." How much of this threepence was protective? The right hon. Gentleman had not attempted to prove that the alleged loss by virtue of sand and moisture in the leaf was worth 3d. in the duty; he had simply instanced bright Virginia, which was the only case that could be established. The Amendment suggested that the protective part of the tax would amount to 1½d., and asked for its abandonment to that extent.

Amendment proposed—

> "In page 2, line 6, to leave out the words 'three pence' and insert the word 'three-halfpence.'"—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that the hon. Gentleman was prepared to make a difference of 1½d. between strips and whole leaf, and had admitted that that would do no more than place certain kinds of whole leaf and strip on a parity as regarded duty cost. He differed from the hon. Gentleman as to his results, but he was grateful to him for the admission that there was a case for a difference of duty between the two, and that the basis of his argument had been correct. In the course of his remarks the hon. Member had quoted a passage from the Budget speech with the object of showing that it had been the intention to make this new duty on strips as protective a duty as the duty on manufactured tobacco. The rates on manufactured tobacco were undoubtedly protective, but if he had fixed the rate on strips on the same basis as Mr. Gladstone fixed his rates on manufactured tobacco he would have put it at from a 1d. to 3d. higher than he had done. He hoped, therefore, he had avoided the error, if error it were, in which the later stages of manufacture were involved under our present Customs duties. He must point out once more that different kinds of tobacco varied enormously among themselves, and that it was impossible to devise a rate either of duty or drawback which worked out exactly in the same way upon every sample of tobacco, but this rate of 3d. was fair having regard to general average samples. It had been said that, having offered a rebate in respect of stocks in bond, he was precluded from arguing that stocks not in bond should pay a higher duty than those in bond. Strips had hitherto been favoured at the expense of whole leaf, and it was not unnatural that the great imports had been of strips and that there was a large accumulation in bond at the present time. To facilitate the distribution of these large stocks he had offered a rebate which, in his opinion, still gave preferential treatment to strips over leaf. That was not a reason why for other strips not now in bond the same preferential treatment should be continued. He hoped the Committee would support his view.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said the Opposition had always contended that any adverse discrimination ought to be, and could be, met by a proper drawback. The right hon. Gentleman had not in any way met the figures put forward by the hon. Member for North Monmouth showing that threepence went further than the discrimination demanded, and that to that extent it was a protective duty. The Report of the Drawback Committee went to show that on the question of sand and moisture the facts were against the contention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. By imposing this tax the right hon. Gentleman expected to at once very largely reduce the import of strips, so that it would have a considerable fiscal effect in regard to the trade. The mere proposal to impose the tax had carried the matter further. The trade in strips had been greatly demoralised, and day by day during the past month less strips had been coming into the country. In a very short time they would be prohibited altogether. The right hon. Gentleman had not met the figures and arguments which had been advanced in regard to this matter by hon. Members on his own side of the House. He had already given away more than half the revenue he expected to receive, and the other half he would only get for the current year. He was creating a disturbance in the tobacco trade, and it would be better to drop the tax and meet the deficit by some proposal consistent with what they were promised—a free-trade Budget.

Mr. RUNCIMAN said the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the last quarter of an hour had admitted that the tax which he proposed was to a certain extent a protective tax. What he and his colleagues desired to know was how much of threepence did he think was protective? To that they had had absolutely no reply. Let him put to the right hon. Gentleman the question which had been put to him again and again, and which he had as frequently evaded. He was reminded by an hon. Member near him that while they were discussing the sand and the leaf the Chancellor of the Exchequer was endeavouring to throw dust in their eyes. Why had the Chancellor in his calculations asserted that in the whole leaf there was 15·85 per cent. of additional moisture. What justification had he for that? If that was the percentage which was obtained from four samples would he be so good as to lay the report of the analyst before the House in order that hon. Members might judge whether those samples were representative or not. How did he arrive at the figure that stripped tobacco, as regarded additional moisture, stood at 13·50 per cent.? Certain figures which the right hon. Gentleman had given in regard to the whole leaf were entirely upset by his own Committee's Report. That did not state that the percentage of moisture was 15·85 per cent. He gathered from the Committee's Report that of all the samples of leaf there was not a single one over 13·70, a discrepancy of over 2 per cent., which was enough to entirely destroy the virtue of the Chancellor's calculations. If this was his justification for stating that threepence was a justifiable margin between the two kinds, would he give the Committee some definite answer as to how much of the threepence was protective? What they urged was that the readjustment of the drawbacks would have been sufficient to redress the grievances of the different qualities which came in under this tax. The effect of this threepence would be to destroy the business of a large number of importers of stripped leaf. He noticed the right hon. Gentleman appealed always to the precedent of Mr. Gladstone and he had actually told them that his appetite for protection was rather less than Mr. Gladstone's. Really that was more than they could honestly believe. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman could persuade anybody inside or outside that House that, if there was a protective element in the tobacco taxes as they at present stood, he was justified in increasing them, so far as stripped tobacco was concerned.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said if the proposed tax would give a permanent increase to the revenue he should be very much in favour of it, but it was denied that it involved any permanent increase at all. If he was wrong in that he should like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary of the Treasury, or some other competent financial authority to contradict him. The hon. Baronet the Member for North Bristol had stated that the trade in strips was killed. Did it not follow that no more duty on strips could be expected. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had offered a rebate of half the duty on all the stocks on hand when the Budget Resolution was passed. What was the effect of that? That only duty amounting to £250,000 would ever be levied at all. Consequently the Chancellor of the Exchequer was ruining or half ruining a great many merchants in the stripped tobacco trade in order to get £250,000. Was it worth while? He would not go into the questions of sand, and moisture, and rebates. The broad question for a statesman in the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to consider was, whether what he was doing was worth doing. It seemed to him that it had been demonstrated that it was not. The tax was liable to the suspicion of being protective. He did not go into that, but as a financial operation by the Chancellor of the Exchequer it was absurd. The levying of £250,000, which would not be a permanent annual addition to the revenue, was not the opening of a new rill to fill the fiscal river. This was merely a destructive and injurious tax which in its nature was of an evanescent and dying character. This was an irritating and yet evanescent tax, and he was very sorry that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had disregarded the warning of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, and had put his finger into the hornet's nest for so small a sum. Falstaff warned a great historical character not to imperil his soul gratis; and he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not imperil his soul for the sake of £250,000.

Mr. McKENNA said that there was now a preferential treatment of leaf as against strips amounting to 4d. per pound—3d. per pound originally proposed, the further advantage given to leaf on the drawback—five-eighths of a penny per pound—and the cost of stripping, which amounted to three-eighths of a penny per pound. If there was this preferential treatment, then strips must be 4d. per pound dearer than leaf. He maintained that a protection of 2½d. per pound was given to leaf as against strips.

Sir JAMES JOICEY (Durham, Chester-le-Street) said that he regretted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not seen his way to abolish this tax altogether. In putting on a tax the Chancellor of the Exchequer should first consider whether it could be equitably levied; and he thought it was a monstrous injustice, which the Committee ought not to sanction, to impose a tax amounting to half a million of money which would have to be paid by twenty people. It was all very well to say that the Chancellor of the Exchequer must have money, but he ought not to get money regardless of the injustice done to the people who had to pay it. He believed that the principle of this tax was bad, and, as an independent Member, he protested against raising a tax in this way on such a small number of people.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 228; Noes, 166. (Division List No. 243.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hn Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow)
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hn. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliott, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest

Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon,Hn.J.E.(Elgin & Nairn)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Graham, Henry Robert
Greene,SirE.W.(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Gunter, Sir Robert
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton,Rt.Hn.LordG.(Mid'x
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.)
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A (Stafford,W.)
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside)
Horner, Frederick William
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys,Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson,J. Grant (Yorks.,N.R.)
Lee,ArthurH.(Hants.,Fareh'm)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long,Col.Charles W. (Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol,S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,Reginald J.(Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver,SirLewis(EdinburghW.)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,W.J.H.(Dumfriesshire
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner,Rt.Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell,Edw.(Fermanagh,N.)
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu,Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
Morgan,DavidJ(Walthamsto'w
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt.Hn.A.Graham(B'te
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, HerbertPike(Darlington
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hon.M.W.(Stalybridge)
Ridley, S.Forde(BethnalGreen)
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rollitt, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith,H.C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith,James Parker (Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley,Edward Jas.(Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.SirC.E.H.(Sheffield
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Asquith,Rt.Hon.HerbertHenry
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C.B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Broadhurst Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M.Vaughan-(Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Elibank, Master of
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles

Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Grant, Corrie
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, RtHnSirW(Monm'th
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchison, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leamy, Edmund
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire),
Morley, Rt. Hon. John (Montrose
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary M'd
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald.
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robson, William Snowdon
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel, W)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Thomas, F. W. (York, W. R.)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

Tellers for the Noes.—Mr. M'Kenna and Mr. Runciman.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 6, at the end, to add the words, '(2) A rebate at the rate of three halfpence for every pound of tobacco shall be allowed on any increased duty under this Act paid on or after the nineteenth day of July, nineteen hundred and four, in respect of any stripped tobacco which is shown to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Customs to have been deposited in a bonded warehouse before the twentieth day of April, nineteen hundred and four.' "—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. LOUGH said he expected the right hon. Gentleman to move the next Amendment standing in his name on the Paper. Was that to be dropped?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN explained that the present Amendment was moved in order to give effect to the compromise regarding the stocks of tobacco in bond at the date of the Budget.

Mr. LOUGH certainly thought the Committee ought to look into this matter, with regard to which no explanation had been given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Why did the right hon. Gentleman only give half? Surely that was not only most unjust but against all precedent. In every one of the cases in which it had been found that a tax which had been proposed in the Budget should not be levied, the precedents were in favour of the full rebate being allowed. Some explanation really ought to be given as to why only 1½d. in the lb. was to be given instead of the whole.

Mr. McKENNA pressed the Chancellor of the Exchequer for an explanation of the conclusions which led him to believe that 1½d. would be the clear loss which the owners of stocks in bond would suffer, because if it was more than the loss they would suffer, they would receive more than they were entitled to, and if it was less they would not get enough.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said owing to the preference that strips had had over leaf the imports into this country had been mainly strips, and the stocks here were out of all proportion. It was in order to facilitate the clearing of those stocks that the rebate was given.

Mr. McKENNA said the right hon. Gentleman had given the Committee not the slightest reason why he had fixed the rebate at 1½d. If the right hon. Gentleman was right in his argument that there was a reason for levying another 3d. per lb., then he clearly ought to give no rebate whatever. If the right hon. Gentleman believed that strips got a preference of 3d. did he think buyers of leaf would pay more than 3d. as the difference in price between leaf and strips? His case was unanswerable. If there was any preferential treatment of strips as against leaf there must be the same difference between the price of the two articles, and if that difference in price was 1½d. it was ridiculous to say there was a difference between the two of 3d.

And, it being now half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

MILWR AND DISTRICT MINES DRAINAGE BILL [Lords] (by order).

As amended, considered.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTSON (Hackney, S.) said he desired to move the insertion of a compensation clause in this Bill for the benefit of those persons who might be injured or injuriously affected by the execution of the works which were to take place under this Bill. The House would remember that the object of this Bill was to take powers to drain the area in which was situated St. Winifred's Well and the Holywell stream upon which there were many mills. It could not be proved definitely one way or the other as to whether the making of the tunnels for the purpose of draining these hills with the object of clearing certain mines of water would have the effect of draining the Holywell stream or not. The contention of the opponents of the Bill was that in all probability they would do so. Having regard to the fact that this area was composed of carboniferous limestone and it was proposed to tunnel at an altitude of about twenty feet above sea level, it was contended that in all probability it would affect the Holywell stream which was 200ft. above sea level. As they could not drain this land without the consent of Parliament, he suggested that when the promoters came and asked for powers to execute works which might injuriously affect others, Parliament should say at once they would not grant the powers prayed for unless the promoters agreed that if any person's interest was injuriously affected by their operations such persons should be compensated. That was the object of this Amendment. Of course there would always be a difficulty in proving or showing whether damage had been done by tunnelling in this area or not and the onus of proof would have to rest upon the owners of the lands and mills who were damnified. The hon. Member drew attention to the fact that originally a person entitled to subterraneous water was not entitled to any *locus standi* before Parliament on an occasion of this kind, but years ago that practice was altered and they were now allowed to appear before the House in opposition to Bills which might have the effect, if granted, of destroying their source of supply. That *locus standi* would not have been given had not Parliament considered that the public rights in this underground water were likely to be injured. The form of compensation which he asked for was money, because it was perfectly obvious that once the water had been drained off to a level of twenty feet above sea level it could not be again brought up to its former level of 200 feet. In arriving at the amount of compensation to be given they had ascertained that the smallest flow of water from St. Winifred's Well into the Holy-well stream per day was 2,750,000 gallons and he did not ask for any compensation whatever until the delivery of water from that source was reduced to 2,500,000 gallons. If the stream was run dry the owners of the mills upon it would be ruined and the workmen discharged to find their living in some other way. Mortgagees of properties in the neighbourhood were even now considering the advisability of calling in many charges on the land, on the simple ground that the Bill, if passed, would seriously depreciate the value of the land. Therefore, as the promoters of this Bill for their own purposes came and asked for powers to carry out certain works, he submitted that if it was shown that in carrying out those works there was a danger of injuriously affecting other people, compensation ought to given. He begged to move.

SIR WILLIAM TOMLINSON (Preston) said on a previous occasion he had voted in favour of the promoters because he did not think that it was clear that any damage would be done. But he had come to the conclusion, having regard to the nature of the soil, there would be considerable danger in certain circumstances of damage being done, he therefore thought compensation should be provided for, and that being so, he begged to second the Amendment.

A Clause (Compensation to owners and occupiers on the Holywell Stream)—

"(1) If at any time or times, in consequence of the making of any tunnel or the execution of any works authorised by this Act or of any works connected therewith, the flow of water from Saint Winifred's Well into the Holywell Stream is reduced below an average daily quantity of two and a-half million gallons, then the company shall pay compensation to the person or persons injuriously affected thereby, and the amount of such compensation shall, failing agreement, be determined in the manner provided by The Waterworks Clauses Act, 1847.

"(2) Any compensation which the company may become liable to pay under this section the subscribed capital of the company shall shall be a first charge upon the uncalled capital of the company, and 25 per cent. of remain uncalled until the expiration of one year after the completion of the tunnels authorised by this Act."—(*Mr. Herbert Robertson.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

*MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire) said the clause which had just been moved would, if passed, impose upon the promoters of this Bill an unlimited liability with regard to any claims that might be made against them. He submitted that such a clause as this was not one which this House was accustomed to pass, and the precedent it would create would not be useful. He objected to the statement that the mills on the Holywell Stream were driven by the stream; so far as those mills were concerned, water was only a secondary power; they used steam and electric power to a large extent. The natural variation of the amount of water in Saint Winifred's Well was enormous, and if the quantity of water diminished it would be extremely difficult to assert that the well had suffered owing to the action of the promoters. He did not say that this scheme might not diminish the amount of water in the well, but, on the other hand, it was impossible to say that it would do so. It was on these grounds that the Committee declined to provide for compensation. The object of the promoters was to drain mines which were believed to contain rich mineral ores, and he asked the House not to prevent the execution of a work which would be beneficial to the district. It was not suggested that the well was likely to be so seriously interfered with, that it would be run dry. Even if the flow went down to 2,500,000 gallons no great injury would be caused to anyone. The interests of the people of Holywell would be served better by the passage than by the rejection of the Bill, because in consequence thereof a great field of industry would be opened up and a rich mineral tract worked to the great advantage of the inhabitants of the district. Why should the locality be denied this chance of becoming prosperous? He entirely demurred to the statement that the Bill was promoted for the cause of one or two great landowners, or that the Committee had not consulted the greatest interest of the greatest number. If the clause were inserted, the Bill would probably be dropped, and with it would go the limitation which had been inserted by the Committee. In that case much worse injury would be done than was possible under the Bill as it stood. He made no complaint of the course taken by the hon. Member for Hackney. Parliament was quite right to preserve its control over its Committees. But Parliament was also generous to its Committees, and unless some new principle was involved, or some new facts disclosed, this House was in the habit of upholding the decision of its Committees. Here there were no new facts and no new principle. He trusted that as the House had been generous in the past it would be so on this occasion

Mr. BRIGG (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley), who was almost inaudible in the Press Gallery, was understood to support the Amendment. From practical experience of taking water in similar circumstances from limestone formation, he had come to the conclusion that the limit of 2,500,000 was a very reasonable limit for compensation.

*The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES (Mr. J. W. Lowther, Cumberland, Penrith) hoped the House would not accept the clause. The law in reference to underground water was, he admitted, in an unsatisfactory state, but a private Bill of this character was not the occasion to amend the general law. To accept the clause would be to admit a claim put forward by Holywell to underground water at least a mile away. Clause 7 of the Bill drew a line a mile from the town within which the company could not carry on work, and this had satisfied the Committees of both Houses. It appeared that the works would be of great industrial advantage to the district and it would be matter for regret if, in consequence of the introduction of such a clause, the Bill should be dropped by its promoters and the locality be deprived of the advantage that might be hoped from it. The clause went too far, for it not only gave a title to compensation for reduction of water in consequence of works authorised by the Act, but for the reduction in consequence of "any works connected therewith," nothing being said as to those by whom the works were "connected." The inhabitants of Holywell themselves might connect works, and, although causing their own destruction, might take advantage of this clause to do a wrong to the company. He would vote against the clause.

Mr. CRIPPS (Lancashire, Stretford) said that the suggestion of the Chairman of Committees was almost too ludicrous, for under the Bill itself no works could be connected with those it authorised unless by the consent of the promoters. He could not assent to the principles laid down by the right hon. Gentleman in connection with a matter of this sort. When special statutory powers were being conferred care ought to be taken that everyone affected was fairly dealt with. It was admitted that until the works had been carried out no one could tell what damage, if any, would be done, and the only way in which persons interested could be fairly treated was by the insertion of such a clause as was now proposed, under which it was for the persons complaining to prove that the alleged damage was in consequence of the works. If such damage could be proved it was only equitable and right that the persons damaged should receive a fair measure of compensation. With regard to Sub-section (2), if it would throw any obstacle in the way of the promoters raising money, he hoped it would not be pressed.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTSON said he would be prepared to drop Sub-section (2).

Mr. CRIPPS said that if that course were taken it would leave only an ordinary form of clause which he thought might very properly be introduced for the protection of persons who were liable to be injured.

*Mr. TOMKINSON (Cheshire, Crewe) said there was much misapprehension as to the real purpose of the Bill. It was not to grant special powers without which the promoters could not carry out their works. As a matter of fact, having an agreement with the landowners, the promoters could make practically all the tunnels they wanted without the Bill, but they would not have the power to levy royalties on the owners of the mines which would be rendered valuable, and thus they would be simply throwing their money away. If the clause were inserted in the Bill the last state of the owners would probably be worse than the first, because the promoters by making further agreements would be able to carry out the works without any of the limitations imposed by the Bill.

Sir JAMES JOICEY (Durham, Chester-le-Street) said there was much in the Bill that was similar to provisions contained in every ordinary mining lease. It was usually provided that in the event of water being taken from a well in consequence of the works of a mine the owners of the well should be compensated for their loss. At the same time, it was very difficult to prove that the water had been taken away by the operation of the mine. The effect of such a clause would be to compel the mine-owners to come to reasonable terms with persons who believed they had suffered loss, and that, he thought, was a very reasonable method of dealing with the matter. If special Parliamentary powers were granted to a company, care should be taken to protect other people from being injured by the exercise of those powers, and, though he had some hesitation in going against the decision of two Committees, he thought this was a case in which the clause should be accepted.

Colonel PRYCE-JONES (Montgomery Boroughs) regretted that the promoters of the Bill had not come to terms with the owners of property who might be injured by the powers granted by such a Bill. Personally, he would prefer to see the Bill dropped than that compensation for injury should not be given.

Mr. HUDSON (Hertfordshire, Hitchin) was understood to say that a stream which had been a flowing stream for the best part of a century had been drained dry by a well of the New River Company seven miles away. He thought, therefore, that the limit of one mile in the Bill would not do away with all risk of injury.

Mr. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Glamorganshire, Rhondda) said that many Members appeared to be influenced by a desire to safeguard the sacred interests of property, and others by a fear of injury to a supply of water of supposed miraculous and medicinal power, but the great interest of labour was practically ignored. He hoped the House would seriously consider before they accepted a clause which would have the effect of preventing the opening up of a great industry,

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 169: Noes, 142. (Division List No. 244.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Balfour, Kenneth, R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Burke, E. Haviland-
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.)
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Charrington, Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cullinan, J.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flower, Sir Ernest
Flynn, James Christopher
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Greene, Sir E. W, (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hayden, John Patrick
Heath, James (Staffords. N. W.)
Heaton, John Henniker
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Howard, John (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea)
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W,
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Levy, Maurice
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
Lundon, W.

Macdona, John Cumming
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
Maconochie, A. W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn.W.F.
Maxwell,W.J.H.(Dumfriesshire
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.
Mooney, John J.
Morgan,DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Alymer
Moulton, John Fletcher
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murphy, John
Murray,Rt.Hn.A.Graham(B'te)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nolan, Col. John P (Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Malley, William
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Pease, HerbertPike(Darlington
Percy, Earl
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Renwick, George
Ridley,S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robinson, Brooke
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sharpe, William, Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J.M'Taggart
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tully, Jasper
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Whiteley, George(Yorks,W.R.)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Young, Samuel
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Mr. Herbert Robertson and Colonel Lockwood.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt.Sir Alex. F.
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Asher, Alexander
Asquith,Rt.Hon.HerbertHenry
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,Rt.Hn.GeraldW(Leeds
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beach, Rt.HnSirMichaelHicks
Bell, Richard
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Bond, Edward
Brown, George M.(Edinburgh)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Cautley, Henry Strother
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn.J.A.(Worc
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (AntrimS.
Crooks, William
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalziel, James Henry
Davenport, William Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dobbie, Joseph
Duke, Henry Edward
Duncan, J. Hastings
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke,Rt.Hon.Sir William Hart
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
FitzGerald, SirRobert Penrose-
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone,Rt. Hn.HerbertJohn
Grant, Corrie
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hardy, Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Harwood, George
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Helder, Augustus
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Houston, Robert Paterson
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Jones,William(Carnarvonshire)
Kitson, Sir James
Langley, Batty
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, John Grant(Yorks.NR
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lee, Arthur H(Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Leese, SirJosephF.(Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lough, Thomas
Lowther,RtHnJ W(Cum.Penr.)
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
Markham, Arthur Basil
Milner, Rt.Hon.Sir FrederickG.
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh, N.)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Newnes, Sir George
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Parkes, Ebenezer
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Pierpoint, Robert
Pirie, Duncan V.
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridley,Hon.M.W. (Stalybridge)
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H. (Renfrew
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith,H.C.(North'mb.Tyneside
Soares, Ernest J.
Spear, John Ward
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Tennant, Harold John
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
White, Luke (York, E. R.)

Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Woodhouse,SirJ.T.(Huddersf'd
Wylie, Alexander

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Charles Morley and Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda)

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTSON said that in accordance with his undertaking in the previous debate he desired to move the omission of Sub-section 2.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out Sub-section (2)."—(*Mr. Herbert Robertson.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Motion made, and Question put "That the clause, as amended, be added to the Bill."

The House divided:—Ayes, 179; Noes, 138. (Division List No. 245.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork,N.E.)
Acland-Hood,Capt.Sir Alex.F.
Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Boland, John
Bond, Edward
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Burke, E. Haviland-
Butcher, John George
Campbell,J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish,V. C. W.(Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Charrington, Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cullinan, J.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin,CharlesRamsay(Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt.Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hon. EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flower, Sir Ernest
Flynn, James Christopher
Forster, Henry William
Foster,Philip S.(Warwick,S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon,Hn.J.E. (Elgin&Nairn)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Greene,SirE.W.(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene,W. Raymond- (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hayden, John Patrick
Heath, James (Staffords. N. W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope,J.F. (Sheffield,Brightside
Howard,John(Kent,Faversh'm
Hozier, Hon. Jas. Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,David Brynmor(Swansea
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Levy, Maurice
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth)
Lundon, W.
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
Maconochie, A. W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,W.J.H.(Dumfriesshire
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn.J.Scott (Hants.)
Mooney, John J.
Morgan,DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Moulton, John Fletcher
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murphy, John
Murray,Rt Hn.A.Graham(Bute
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nolan,Col. John P. (Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Malley, William
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Peel,Hn.Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley,S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robinson, Brooke
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel,Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Smith,Abel H.(Hertford, East)

Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tully, Jasper
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.Col. A.C.E.(Taunton
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H.(Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Young, Samuel
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Robertson and Colonel Lockwood.

NOES.

Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Asher, Alexander
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bell, Richard
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Crooks, William
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Davenport, William Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Duke, Henry Edward
Duncan, J. Hastings
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Emmott, Alfred
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Grant, Corrie
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Harwood, George
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Helder, Augustus
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Houston, Robert Paterson
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kitson, Sir James
Langley, Batty
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. N.R.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliot (Birkenhead)
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lough, Thomas
Lowther, Rt Hn. J W (Cum. Penr.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
Markham, Arthur Basil
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Newnes, Sir George
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Pierpoint, Robert
Pirie, Duncan V.
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H. (Renfrew)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, H. C (North'mb. Tyneside
Soares, Ernest J.
Spear, John Ward
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Tennant, Harold John
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Woodhouse, Sir J T. (Huddersf'd
Wylie, Alexander

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. William Abraham (Rhondda) and Mr. Trevelyan

Bill to be read the third time.

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 2.

Amendment again proposed—

"In page 2, line 6, at the end, to add the words, '(2) A rebate at the rate of three halfpence for every pound of tobacco shall be allowed on any increased duty under this Act paid on or after the nineteenth day of July, nineteen hundred and four, in respect of any stripped tobacco which is shown to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Customs to have been deposited in a bonded warehouse before the twentieth day of April, nine hundred and four.' "—(*The Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON moved an Amendment to the Amendment to substitute 3d. for 1½d. The proposed rebate of 1½d. was a sort of sop to the importer in order to allay the feeling of irritation which might otherwise have existed. It appeared to him that in this case there must be some principle on which this rebate should be given, and he could not understand the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the matter. The rebate offered was either fair or unfair. If the importers had a claim to it they were entitled to the whole rebate, and if they had no claim they were entitled to nothing. The Committee had not been able to gather from the arguments and speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on what basis he founded the proposal for the rebate, but he was glad that, at all events, the right hon Gentleman had changed the attitude which up to that afternoon he had taken on the matter. He now admitted that the importers had a grievance and he practically admitted that this was a protective duty which had already so far demoralised the trade that it had been actually necessary to give a certain sop to the importers in order that the tax should go through at all. He had agreed to give away half of what the tax would produce. That was not the way in which they were accustomed to have Revenue taxes dealt with in this House. The whole difficulty had arisen because this was not a Revenue duty, but a protective tax. He could see no equity in the right hon. Gentleman's proposal, which was either too great or too small. He appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to press this tax, which had been clearly shown to be not a Revenue duty, but a protective tax. It was leading to great disturbance in the tobacco trade which, certainly, the amount of revenue derived from it did not justify.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

"In line 1, to leave out the word 'halfpence,' and insert the word 'pence.' "—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton.*)

Question put, "That the word 'halfpence' stand part of the proposed Amendment."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said they had discussed this matter so fully that there was very little left for him to add at this stage. Of course if the Amendment were carried he would not be likely to receive any revenue from the tax this year, and it was to obtain money for the present year that he had proposed the tax. It was in his search for revenue that he had hit upon this anomaly in the tobacco duties. He did not pretend that the figure he had chosen for the rebate was the result of an elaborate or accurate mathematical calculation.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: It is not scientific.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he had never pretended that this Budget was scientific. On the contrary, he had said that there was no trace of scientific taxation about it, but that it was a Budget entirely in accordance with the old lines of our fiscal policy. He had proposed a rebate of 1½d. because he wished to treat generously, as a Finance Minister ought, interests affected by his proposals. His whole contention had been that by the existing scale of duties the natural course of trade had been diverted and our manufacturers had been obliged to use strips instead of leaf because of the unfair advantage which was given to strips. The result was that the import of strips had very largely exceeded, during past years, the import of leaf, and the stocks of strips were very much in excess of what they would have been if the duties had been absolutely fair as between the two. He proposed for the future to remove the anomaly which absolutely penalised the man who wished to carry on the processes of manufacture here. But he recognised that strips had accumulated out of proportion to whole leaf, and after full consideration he thought it reasonable that the change should not take immediate effect. It was with that view that he made this proposal of a rebate of 1½d. It did not pretend to be the result of any accurate mathematical calculation. It was proposed to meet a difficulty which arose out of the anomalies of their past duties. He believed it would meet that difficulty fairly, and that, from what had reached him, those who were particularly interested in these stocks felt that he had not unfairly dealt with their representations. He did not himself believe that the importers would have had to make anything like the sacrifices which they themselves anticipated if his proposals had remained in their original form. He felt sure that in the amended form he had suggested their stocks of strips had a preference over the whole leaf, and even if that were not the case he did not believe that the place of these stocks of strips could be taken by any supplies of leaf which were now available. He was convinced that, with the concession he had proposed, the importers would not undergo the kind of loss which had been so frequently alluded to during these debates. He desired to make this personal explanation in answer to the remark of the hon. Gentleman opposite, that when the hon. Member for Leith rose to move to report Progress on the last occasion when this subject was under discussion he himself rose at the same time in order to make the very statement he made at the beginning of this afternoon's sitting. He thought, however, in the circumstances, and seeing that it was then about 2 o'clock in the morning, it would be better to defer the statement. He desired to make this explanation in order to assure the Committee that he had not been suddenly converted or that he had deliberately withheld information from the House.

Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON said that the manufacturer could recoup himself by raising the price on any extra duty, but the importer could not do so. The rebate would, therefore, produce inequality as between manufacturer and importer. There had been anomalies under the old system, but they would be quite as great under that now proposed.

Mr. DAVID MACIVER (Liverpool, Kirkdale) said that the importers of Liverpool appreciated the fair way in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had met the difficulty. If his right hon. friend could see his way to give them another halfpenny, their losses would not be so great, and they would be still more grateful. [Opposition cries of "Move."]

Mr. McKENNA said he quite recognised that the hon. Member opposite should be grateful to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the concession which he had made. But they on that side of the House had another duty to perform. They had to look upon this question from the point of view as to whether it was right or wrong. He still thought that this tax was wrong, and that the concession was not sufficient. Clearly, this year, the duty would fall on the owners of existing stocks in bond. The evidence given before the Departmental Committee was that if an additional drawback was given for which the witnesses were asking, it would become more profitable to import unstripped tobacco than stripped; but it was not suggested that there should be a difference between the duty on the two kinds. He asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer how in the face of that evidence, and how in the face of the particular argument put forward by himself, he hoped to establish a case for putting a duty of three halfpence on existing stocks in bond? It was quite clear that once the existing stocks were exhausted there would be no revenue from strips. He asserted without fear of contradiction that this penny-halfpenny duty would fall on the owners of these existing stocks, and that they would have no chance of getting it out of the public.

Mr. RUNCIMAN said that the concession of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give a rebate of 1½d. up to the next day (Tuesday) was one of considerable importance; but he thought the concession should have been notified earlier through the medium of Question and Answer. He could not go to the extent of pleading for great gratitude from the importers for the concession. No doubt they would be glad to escape from a large obligation, but how they could be grateful for bearing £175,000 of taxation which would not be borne by any other citizens of the Empire passed his comprehension. They would still feel the burden of £7 10s. a hogshead on stocks in bonded warehouses, and that was an obligation they were not likely to be extremely thankful for. The Chancellor of the Exchequer could have exempted all existing contracts as his predecessor the right hon. Member for West Bristol did in regard to the coal tax. That action was appreciated, and he hoped it was not too late to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to do the same for importers of stripped tobacco. He could not see how the importing firms could shift the tax on to the consumers. If they could he would not object. Why the Chancellor of the Exchequer had probably not gone the whole way was because, having made this original suggestion, he was too much devoted to it to give it up at the last moment.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 194; Noes, 152. (Division List No. 246.)

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hn. Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley-
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E. W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N. W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield. Brightside
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, John (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson John Grant (Yorks. N. R
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N. S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriesshire
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (Bute
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H. C (North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)

Spear, John Ward
Stanley,Edward Jas.(Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon.Lord (Lancs.)
Stewart,Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.SirC.E H.(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby,Lt.Col.A.C.E. (Taunton
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wilson,A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd,Sir W. H.(Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley,Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir Alexander Acland-Hood
and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Asquith,Rt.Hn. Herbert Henry
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin,CharlesRamsay(Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt.E.C(S.Andrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, SirFrancisH.(Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Hardie,J.Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol,E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kitson. Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, SirJosephF. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh, N.)
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Charles (Breconshire)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan,Col. John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary,Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor,James (Wicklow, W.
O'Dowd, John
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Soares, Ernest J.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David Alfred(Merthyr
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse,SirJ.T.(Huddersf'd

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. M'Kenna and Mr.
Runciman.

MR. RUNCIMAN said he wished to add to the Amendment the words "or is on the high seas consigned to an United Kingdom port on." This would extend the right to rebate to tobacco shipped before 20th April. A merchant who was not fortunate enough to get his goods in to the bonded warehouse, but who had shipped them before the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were known, should have the same advantage, for it was not possible for him to intercept the vessel before its arrival in the United Kingdom. The concession he suggested was a very small one, as it only covered the tobacco which was afloat at the date of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's original proposal. He proposed the Amendment with the idea of covering the merchants who were in that position.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

"After the word 'before' to insert the words 'or is on the high seas consigned to an United Kingdom portion.'"—(*Mr. Runciman.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the proposed Amendment."

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he would accept the Amendment.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said he was glad that the right hon. Gentleman had accepted the proposed words. He asked whether an estimate had been made of the amount of tobacco on the high seas at the time, and how much further rebate would be given. In his view the right hon. Gentleman could hardly help accepting the Amendment, and its acceptance was merely a further argument in favour of the tax being withdrawn.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he thought the remarks of the hon. Gentleman were not generous, nor would they facilitate the harmonious progress of the discussion. He had made the concession in response to appeals from both sides of the House. It was quite manifest that the hon. Member (Mr. Runciman) moved his Amendment in no spirit of hostility, and, being anxious to meet the views of the hon. Member, he at once accepted it. He was not in a position to say what amount of tobacco would be on the high seas in that particular form, but it could not under the circumstances bear any very large proportion to that which was the subject-matter of the original Amendment. Whilst anxious to meet hon. Gentlemen in this matter he hoped they would not make the concession a ground for prolonging the debate.

Sir JAMES JOICEY said he approved of the action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer who, when a grievance was brought to his notice, was always ready to accept a remedy for it.

Question put, and agreed to.

Words, as amended, added.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 6, at end, to add the words 'in this section the expression, "stripped tobacco" means any leaf tobacco of which the leaf is not complete by reason of the removal of the stalk or midrib or of some portion thereof, but tobacco shall not be deemed to be stripped tobacco solely by reason of its having been subjected to such process of butting as the Commissioners of Customs allow.'"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Motion made, and question proposed, "That Clause 2, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) said he did not think that the Government could possibly be surprised that those who found themselves opposed to this tax on tobacco should consider it necessary, in view of all that had passed, to divide against the clause as a whole. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's courtesy must be acknowledged, but the concessions in view of which he appealed to the Committee were not to be regarded as favours. If it was right and proper that he should have made these concessions, he had only done his duty. Why had he made these concessions? Was it because he thought it a right and proper thing to do? If so, he should be grateful to his critics who had pointed out to him the means of improving taxation. The right hon. Gentleman had animadverted on the prolongation of the debate. The prolongation was due to interruption and the switching off of the House on to another topic of an exciting kind. The concessions made it clear that the prolongation of the discussion had been of advantage. In consequence of the criticism made in Committee the right hon. Gentleman had announced a change in his proposals which affected a quarter of a million of money and a number of persons all over the country.

They might have concluded the debate on this tax earlier if it had not been complicated by the introduction of personal matters which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was prompt in addressing himself to. No one ever dreamt of making an attack upon the personal honour of the right hon. Gentleman. They had had no explanation of the change in the proportion of stripped and leaf. Since the right hon. Gentleman made his proposal it had evidently been to the interest of merchants not to import stripped tobacco. It was clear that there had been a leakage of information by which certain persons had profited. That point had not been cleared up and that was a good reason for opposing the tax. He did not hold a brief for the manufacturers of tobacco who could very well look after themselves.

The right hon. Gentleman had come down that afternoon and made a complete change of front, fatal, he thought, to the logical basis of his whole argument in favour of the tax. When they last discussed the question the right hon. Gentleman said that the tax was fair as between the different classes of tobacco and the different classes of the trade, but it was pointed out by the hon. Member for Bristol that it would inflict on a comparatively small number of gentlemen a very considerable pecuniary fine. This the right hon. Gentleman repudiated, but within a fortnight he had come to the conclusion that he was wrong, and in deference to criticism he withdrew not the injustice, but half the injustice. He had accepted the argument of the hon. Member for Bristol, but he had not accepted his conclusions. His own premises were destroyed, but he adhered to one half of his own conclusions. The right hon. Gentleman's attempt to make an adjustment between the different classes of tobacco was quite superfluous, because that adjustment had already been made by the drawbacks contained in the schedule. The Tobacco section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, a recognised body of experts in this trade, had arrived at certain conclusions after consideration of the right hon. Gentleman's argument. Liverpool was a very important place, a place to which the right hon. Gentleman and his friends would possibly look for some support to other proposals they might have in their minds, and surely this was not the time to sicken Liverpool with views of scientific taxation.

Mr. Winston Churchill.

It was quite clear that the right hon. Gentleman had been badly advised, or had not understood the advice he had received, in proposing this tax. He had been convicted of unmistakable blunders which overthrew the foundation of his case. The tax was imposed for the purpose of deriving a revenue from the duty on the import of strips, and the revenue was to continue for a number of years. But in the first three months it had dried up for ever that source of revenue. Then the right hon. Gentleman had declared that the price of strips had not altered since the Budget had been introduced, and it was found that he had referred to a price list which only contained quotations of the last transactions before his Budget was introduced. Thirdly, he had been under the impression that there was more moisture in leaf than in strips, whereas these great experts in the trade had unanimously expressed the opinion that properly handled parcels of whole leaf were just as dry as imported strips. The right hon. Gentleman had said that he could not challenge that opinion, and he had conducted forty-three experiments, the result of which had been to unmistakably uphold and confirm the opinion of the Liverpool experts. It was quite clear that the tax was imposed by the right hon. Gentleman in good faith, but the arguments advanced in its support were full of cardinal and vital errors from beginning to end.

He did not suppose it would be easy to think on the spur of the moment of any tax which would more entirely traverse all the great financial principles laid down by the financial authorities of the country in past years. If the object of the tax was revenue, how signally the right hon. Gentleman had failed to attain that object. He had already surrendered for the present year half the sum he had hoped to attain, so that he would only get something between £200,000 and £250,000 this year as the result of this tax, and in future years the returns would hardly be worth considering when compared to the vast scale of the annual Budget. Considered as a revenue-producing agent this tax utterly, totally, and absolutely failed. In so far as the tax produced revenue it violated the principles of indirect taxation, because instead of a regular annual supply from the consumer, who was after all the proper subject for individual taxation, the revenue was obtained as a sort of lucky haul from a few unfortunate individuals. In the third place, though he had no doubt the Government proposed it in good faith, the tax was undoubtedly protective. The proof of this fact was to be found in the circumstance that some of the persons engaged in the taxed trade were in favour of the tax. He asked the right hon. Gentleman whether it was worth while to go on with the remnants of this tax; was it worth while to vex this vast trade and disturb it from top to bottom; to cause an alteration in the price lists, and to cause so much discussion and debate for the sake of a tax which produced, for one year only, £250,000. He was unable to find any reason in logic why the right hon. Gentleman persisted with this tax, unless it was that advanced by the hon. Member for Dewsbury, that he felt a personal pride and enthusiasm in its success because it was his own special and particular creation. He would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman not to let his personal pride and enthusiasm for the tax force upon the Committee a policy which he must know was not suited to the welfare of the public or the convenience of our financial system. If the right hon. Gentleman forced it through the Committee with his mechanical majority he would emerge from the debates on the tobacco Resolution without any stain whatever on his personal honour but with a very grave and serious, a very real and enduring, injury to his financial reputation.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he appeared to have been singularly unfortunate in endeavouring to convey his meaning to the hon. Gentleman, and he altogether failed to recognise, in the account he had given, either of his assertions or his admissions, anything approaching the statement he had made. Let them go back to the genesis and nature of this tax. The hon. Gentleman caught up from other people, and repeated in less offensive language—indeed without offence—the suggestion that the intention to impose this tax had somehow leaked out so as to affect the imports of whole leaf before the tax was proposed to be put on. That was based on the imports for the month of March. Let him repeat again what he had already told the Committee. The first proposal of this tax was made in answer to an inquiry of his which was addressed to the Board of Customs in the month of April. He had not any proper basis to suggest this tax in March, still less in the month of February, and, whatever it was that caused the great excess of strips in the month of March, it was not due to any knowledge of any intention which he had not at the time formed and which, therefore, nobody could have gained information about. Those were causes arising out of the natural course of trade which ought not and did not affect his judgment in the matter. He was in search of additional revenue for the Budget; he found that, whilst other processes in the manufacture of tobacco were marked by an ascending scale of duty, this process of stripping, and this alone, was ignored, so that stripped tobacco was admitted on exactly the same basis as the whole leaf. He thought they might fairly fill up this gap which was left in the Customs duties on tobacco. He perfectly understood that hon. Gentlemen opposite strongly objected to protection, although they had never thought it necessary in the past to remove the protection which tobacco manufacturers in this country confessedly enjoyed. But the result of the anomaly which he proposed to remove was not to give this hated protection to our own manufacturers, but artificially to divert the course of trade, and to make impossible, or at any rate to penalise, the carrying on of a certain process of manufacture in this country. They had evidence that the manufacturers by importing in the whole leaf could produce a better article, but they were deterred by the arrangement of the duty.

MR. McKENNA: The drawback.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said it was the duty and the drawback combined which produced that state of affairs.

MR. McKENNA challenged the right hon. Gentleman to quote any evidence that it was the duty.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN thought he could find evidence referring to duty, but it would not be the evidence of Mr. Gallaher.

MR. McKENNA said that, curiously enough, that was the only reference he had got.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN remarked that the point was immaterial. It was the existing system which had produced these results. That was not a

system which any one, however stout a free-trader, had any cause to defend. The most that free-traders had claimed was that trade should follow its natural course. They were not allowing trade to follow its natural course when they penalised particular processes of manufacture if carried on in this country.

MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) said they had at last had a frankly protectionist speech from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman was putting six times the cost of stripping on imported strips, and if that was not protection he did not know what protection was. The right hon. Gentleman had made a mistake in proposing to deal with tobacco in this way, and the courageous course would have been to admit his mistake and retrace his steps. He understood that if the tobacco was taken out of bond for re-shipment it would pay no duty; therefore, as it could be shipped to America at a cost of ¼d. instead of 1½d. the Chancellor of the Exchequer would probably not get even the small amount of revenue he was anticipating. He hoped that, in the interests of sound finance, and in order to get rid of the suspicion of protection, the right hon. Gentleman, even at the eleventh hour, would, like the repentant sinner, see the error of his way and frankly confess his mistake.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said that in a year like the present he would not oppose any tax that was fair and just, and likely to increase the revenue of the country to any appreciable extent. But a tax to be justifiable must disturb as little as possible the trade and prosperity of the country, bring in a large amount of revenue, and be a continuous tax, so that it should not upset the finance of the next year. Inasmuch as the present proposal failed to satisfy any one of those three requirements, he submitted that a worse tax could not be found. Another reason against it was that it was a protective tax, and the Government had pledged themselves not to make any changes in the fiscal policy during the present Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman, by increasing the drawback, had removed the anomaly upon which he had based his proposals, and therefore the tax as it stood was entirely protective.

MR. McKENNA said the right hon. Gentleman had done himself a slight injustice in saying that he had originally suggested the tax in April, because in the latter part of his speech he had said that evidence given before the Departmental Committee in January contained statements to the effect that the present duty on strips was insufficient and penalised the process of manufacture. If that were so, how could the statement be reconciled with his claim to have originally suggested the tax in April? Perhaps the Financial Secretary would be able to explain this discrepancy between the statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. After a careful perusal of the evidence given before the Departmental Committee, he had been unable to trace any suggestion that there was an insufficient duty on strips under our old law. Curiously enough the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that such suggestions as were made were not made by Mr. Gallaher. If there was any ambiguous phrase used in the whole course of the proceedings that was used by Mr. Gallaher only. Mr. Gallaher, speaking about the United States, said that they took very good care in that country to tax everything, so as to protect their own manufactures and industries. That was the only possible suggestion of duty in the whole course of the evidence. The other witnesses all used arguments tending in the direction of favouring the importation of leaf and giving a drawback. Mr. Gallaher used the same argument as to encouraging the importation of leaf, but he said that if they were going to give too much drawback the importers would make money out of the returns. Outside of Mr. Gallaher's evidence, so far as he had been able to read the Report, there was not a single suggestion made that there should be a differentiation of the duties on the two classes of tobacco. Granting that the argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was true that an equal tax would penalise manufacturers in connection with the process of stripping, still he asked why 3d. and not ½d.? His own evidence, given in answer to a Question by the hon. Member opposite, representing one of the Divisions of Liverpool, showed that the true difference of duty between leaf and strips should not be more than ½d. He hoped the Committee would reject the clause.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, at 12.25, asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he would consent to report Progress immediately after the present clause was disposed of.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN declined to give any such undertaking, as it would be to the general convenience that the Committee should be able to proceed with the income-tax proposals.

at the next sitting. But he would be willing to report Progress after Part I. was agreed to.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said that Clause 4 (Continuance of additional Customs duty and drawbacks on tobacco, beer, and spirits) raised a totally different matter from the one they had been discussing. It raised the question of the war duties, and whether these taxes should be continued in the same form.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said it was a matter of indifference whether they took Clauses 4 and 5 to-night or not. He would not ask the House to proceed beyond Clause 3, on which he understood there would be no long prolonged discussion.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 160; Noes, 94. (Division List No. 247.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Davenport, William Bromley-
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E. W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Hambro, Charles Eric
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashf'rd
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Howard, Jn. (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriessh.)
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, H. C (North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M'Taggart
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Warde, Colonel C. E.

Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A.C.E(Taunton
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth, C. B.
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny N.)
Dobbie, Joseph
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Higham, John Sharpe
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere Henry
Lambert, George
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shee, James John
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robson, William Snowdon
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Soares, Ernest J.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

Clause 3.

Mr. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple) moved, on behalf of the hon. Member for Halifax, the following Amendment—

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 11, to leave out the word 'May' and insert the word 'July.'"—(*Mr. Soares.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'July' stand part of the clause."

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN explained that the Amendment was both unnecessary and ineffectual.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. SOARES moved the following Amendment which he hoped would be accepted in the interests of good draftsmanship.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 14, to leave out Sub-section (2), and insert the words,—'Section two of the Finance Act, 1898, is hereby repealed, and in Section four of The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1887, the words "thirty-two per centum" shall be substituted for the words "thirty-five per centum."'"—(*Mr. Soares.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section (2) stand part of the clause."

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN explained that the clause was drafted in the ordinary form, but he did not dispute the fact that the alteration possessed merits. He would, however, suggest to insert after the figures 1887 the words "which relates to moisture in tobacco."

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment—

"After the figures '1887,' to insert the words 'which relates to moisture in tobacco.'"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN moved to report Progress.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Committee do report Progress and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had intimated that it was absolutely necessary to get rid of the Bill on the following night. On that side of the House they did not recognise that necessity, especially having regard to the fact that considerable time had been occupied by the consideration of a private Bill. He entered the protest in no hostile spirit, because the Chancellor of the Exchequer had met them very fairly.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN observed that the arrangement with the hon. Gentleman and his friends provided that two or more clauses should be passed that night, but adverting to the observations and upon the amount of time still available for discussion, he ventured to assert that as much time had been devoted to this Bill as to the first discussion of the corn tax.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL disclaimed any intention on the part of the Opposition to agree that the Committee stage of the Bill should be completed on the following night.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that so far as he was personally concerned it was a matter of indifference whether they passed a stated number of clauses at that sitting. He had, however, to get the Bill through on the following night.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL said there might be a clear understanding on that point on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his supporters, but if the right hon. Gentleman took it to be a clear understanding on their part——

***The CHAIRMAN**: The hon. Gentleman is not entitled to discuss to-morrow's business. The question before the Committee is "to report Progress."

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL: I hope the right hon. Gentleman does not consider that there was any understanding with me.

Several HON. MEMBERS: Agreed! Agreed!

Question put, and agreed to

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

DRUNKENESS (IRELAND) BILL.

Read a second time, and committed for this day.

Adjourned at five minutes before One o'clock,

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 19th July, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Report from, That the Standing Orders not complied with in respect of the Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways Bill ought to be dispensed with, and the Bill allowed to proceed.

Read, and agreed to.

Rotherham Corporation Bill. The Lord BALFOUR informed the House that the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn; the orders made on Tuesday last and yesterday discharged, and Bill committed.

Clyde Navigation (Works) Bill. Report from the Select Committee, That the Committee had not proceeded with the consideration of the Bill, the opposition thereto having been withdrawn; read, and ordered to lie on the Table. The orders made on the 28th and 30th of June last discharged, and Bill committed.

London County Council (General Powers) Bill; Loch Leven Water Power Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 14th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2^a; agreed to. Bills read 2^a accordingly and committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Lytham Improvement Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Glasgow and South-Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Govan Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Canal Rates and Charges (Regents Canal) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Carlisle Corporation Bill; Leyton Urban District Council Bill; Selby Urban District Council Bill; London County Council (General Powers) Bill; Loch Leven Water Power Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Lord Vivian be proposed to the House as a member of the Select Committee on the said Bills in the place of the Marquess Camden; read, and agreed to.

London County Council (General Powers) Bill; Loch Leven Water Power Bill. Report from the Committee of Selection, That the Five Lords appointed a Select Committee on the Carlisle Corporation Bill and other Bills do form the Select Committee for the consideration of the London County Council (General Powers) Bill and the Loch Leven Water Power Bill; read, and agreed to. All petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills.

Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Read 3^a (according to order). Amendments made; Bill passed, and sent to the Commons.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill. Amendments reported (according to order), and Bills to be read 3^a on Thursday next.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill. Read 3^a (according to order), and passed.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 153.)

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (GENERAL POWERS) BILL.

LOCH LEVEN WATER POWER BILL.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES (Lord Balfour of Burleigh): My Lords, with regard to the Motion standing in my name, to dispense with the Order made on 14th March to the effect that no private Bill brought from the House of Commons should be read a second time after 16th June, I beg to say that I have examined the case for this suspension in regard to these two Bills, and I have come to the conclusion that it is fair that this indulgence should be given, as the delay has not occurred in either case through the fault of the promoters.

Moved, "That the order made on the 14th day of March last, 'That no private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next,' be dispensed with, and that the Bills be now read 2ª."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, agreed to. Bills read 2ª accordingly and committed: the Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Regulations for evening schools, technical institutions, and schools of art and art classes (from 1st August, 1904, to 31st July, 1905).

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3223. Turkey (Palestine).
No. 3224. Turkey (Erzeroum).

AFRICA.

No. 9 (1904). Return of concessions in the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates (in continuation of Africa, No. 7 (1903)); No. 10. (1904). Memorandum on the state of the African Protectorates administered under the Foreign Office; Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PUBLIC HEALTH BILL [H.L.].

Reported from the Standing Committee without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on Thursday next.

RAILWAYS (PRIVATE SIDINGS) BILL.

Reported from the Standing Committee without further Amendment. The Report of the Amendment made in Committee of the Whole House to be received on Thursday next.

REGISTRATION OF CLUBS (IRELAND) BILL.

DEAN FOREST BILL.

Reported from the Standing Committee with a further Amendment to each Bill; The Report of the Amendments made in Committee of the Whole House, and by the Standing Committee, to be received on Thursday next.

THE NEW ARMY SCHEME.

Viscount HARDINGE: My Lords, I rise to ask whether His Majesty's Government will give facilities, if necessary, for further discussion on the new Army scheme before the conclusion of the present session. I am aware that the noble Lord opposite, Lord Burghclere, proposes on Thursday next to call attention to the Memorandum issued by the Secretary of State. I venture to think that most of your Lordships will agree with me that until the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War has explained to us more fully the details of the scheme it would be useless for any of us to discuss it. I have, therefore, been deputed by several other military Members of your Lordships' House to ask His Majesty's Government if they can see their way to granting this request by fixing a day later on, before the end of the session, so that we may be able to discuss this most important subject.

***The SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of Lansdowne)**: My Lords, I confess that when I saw my noble friend's Notice on the Paper I was a little puzzled as to its precise significance, and I am not quite sure that the explanation he has given us has entirely removed the obscurity which clings to it. We are, I understand, on Thurday next, to have a debate initiated by the noble Lord on the Front Bench opposite, Lord Burghclere, upon the scheme of Army reform which has been put forward by the Secretary of State for War, and I imagine that the debate, which no doubt will be a prolonged one, will give considerable opportunity to any noble Lords who desire to offer criticisms upon my right hon. friend's proposals. But supposing that the outcome of that debate did not prove sufficient for my noble friend's purpose, I take it that there is nothing in the rules of your Lordships' House which would prevent him on any subsequent day from initiating a discussion upon any particular points with regard to which he required further information. Your Lordships' time is not so fully taken up that that is impossible, nor are the rules of the House so inelastic as to preclude a succession of military debates. Indeed, on former occasions we have often had many debates on the same project of Army reform. I think, therefore, my noble friend may rest assured that nothing is likely to happen which will prevent him and his friends from bringing before the House any matters connected with the Secretary of State's scheme which they may desire to discuss.

Earl SPENCER: My Lords, as I heard in conversation last night a good deal on this subject, I should like to say a few words. I quite agree with what the noble Marquess has just said. On Thursday my noble friend beside me will introduce the subject by calling attention to the very useful Memorandum issued by the Secretary of State for War with regard to the reorganisation of the Army. We do not know at present how far that will lead us. I hope that we shall elicit a very full explanation on this matter from the noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War, and, no doubt, from the noble Marquess himself; but, until we see how far the debate extends, it is exceedingly difficult for His Majesty's Government to say whether any further discussion will be necessary. If, however, the noble Viscount opposite finds that there are particular questions not answered, or particular points that ought to be further discussed, it will be within his power to raise those questions later on. I must say I agree with what the noble Marquess the Foreign Minister has said, that until we see how the debate to be initiated on Thursday proceeds it is impossible to say whether another day will be necessary, and if it should prove necessary the noble Viscount or any other noble Lord is perfectly entitled to again raise the question.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION.

Lord NEWTON: My Lords, I rise to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in accordance with the undertaking given on the 22nd of February last, he has taken any steps to consult the Prime Minister with reference to carrying into effect the Resolution adopted by this House last year, respecting the duration of the Parliamentary Session. The Question which I have placed on the Paper has been prompted by an invitation, expressed in almost pathetic terms, which I have received from my noble friend the Leader of your Lordships' House, inviting me, and, I presume, everybody on these Benches, to come here in August and assist him in passing the Licensing Bill, and intimating at the same time that if we fail to attend certain unfortunate consequences may ensue.

I do not wish to say anything ill-natured, but I cannot help respectfully pointing out that if unfortunate consequences do result, it will be entirely due to the action of the Government; for, so far as I can see, there was no earthly reason why the Licensing Bill should not have been introduced in this House. The opposition to the Bill in your Lordships' House would have been, to put it mildly, quite as effective as the opposition in another place. The Bill might conceivably have been much improved, and, if it had gone down to the other House it is equally conceivable that those measures which have been taken in order to abbreviate its progress might have been rendered unnecessary. I ought to add that the only two Cabinet Ministers to whom I have made this suggestion admitted that it would have been more practicable if the Bill had been introduced in your Lordships' House, but those Ministers are not Members of this House. That is, I admit, merely a hypothesis, and I only want to discuss facts.

The fact we have got to face is that this highly contentious measure does not appear in this House until the concluding days of July, and cannot be seriously debated until August. I have not a lengthy experience in this House, but my experience, such as it is, is that the debating of Bills in August is more or less a farce, and this year it will be undoubtedly a farce, because it is perfectly clear that with the amount of time left at our disposal no Amendments of any importance can possibly be accepted. The Prime Minister may have some indefinite ideas upon certain subjects, but, at all events, he is very definitely convinced that Parliament ought to rise in the middle of August. I observed in *The Times* yesterday—and I have always found *The Times* a very accurate prophet so far as the Parliamentary policy of the Government is concerned—that the Prime Minister is due on August 17th to deliver an address to the British Association at Cambridge, and as in addressing so august a body as the British Association even the Prime Minister must take considerable time in which to prepare his speech, the writer deduced from these facts that the termination of the session cannot be later than 15th August.

From the statement made just now by my noble friend the Leader of the House, one might suppose that we had ample time at our disposal. He airily suggested that any noble Lords who wished to discuss the new Army scheme or anything else would find plenty of time in which to do so before we adjourn. To me it appears that the sands in the Parliamentary hour-glass are running out very fast. There is not so very much time left. I have ascertained that there are still thirty-nine Government Bills to come up from the House of Commons, and thirteen Government Bills have gone down from this House to the House of Commons, none of which appear to have made any progress so far. Therefore, the generous margin of time to which my noble friend refers does not appear to me to exist. I presume that, in addition to these long-delayed and, no doubt, highly important matters, the military Lords will want a day or two in which to discuss the Army scheme; I gather that noble Lords on the opposite Benches are going to impeach the Leader of the House and the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty with their temerity in joining Mr. Chamberlain's association, for which, I suppose, a day or two will be required; and I presume, also, there will be various questions connected with the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office which it will be necessary to debate before we adjourn.

All this is bad enough, but I would ask you to think how very much worse the situation would have been if a large portion of the Parliamentary cargo had not been already discharged. Almost every contentious measure, with the exception of one, has been already dropped. What, I ask, would be our position if we had still got, in addition to the measures I have indicated, to discuss such contentious Bills as the Aliens Bill, the Port of London Bill, and measures of that kind? If we liked being treated in this sort of way, if we made no objection, and if the silly, hoary superstition, which I confess I hoped I had exploded myself, that the House of Commons consists of hunting men, induced noble Lords to remain contentedly here in August, there would be nothing to be said; but, as a matter of fact, we have made our protest against the present system. I do not know why I should be modest about it. It was at my instigation that we passed a Motion last session, by a large majority, in which we expressed not merely our disapproval of sitting here in August, but our conviction that Parliament ought to rise at the beginning of July.

I need hardly remind your Lordships that although I was temporarily successful in getting this Resolution adopted, no steps of any kind have ever been taken to carry it out. I have occasionally reminded my noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that he is bound to take some notice of a Resolution passed by this House, and perhaps this afternoon I shall succeed in eliciting some information from him. After all, the noble Marquess is the strongest critic of the present arrangement, and it is only necessary for me to quote his words to show how emphatically all sensible persons must condemn the present system. The noble Marquess, in replying to me on 23rd February of this year, said—

> "I am bound to say it seems to me almost a scandal that year after year important matters

of business should be crowded before us in the dying moments of the session, when we are all of us more or less exhausted"——

I do not pretend to be exhausted myself, but I have not the least doubt the noble Marquess is——

> "and when it is quite impossible for this House either to consider, as it should consider, the Amendments which may have been introduced in any measure in the other House of Parliament during the later stages of its progress, or even those Amendments put upon the Paper by Members of your Lordships' House. The result, I am afraid, is that a great deal of our legislative work is very badly done."

In that observation I entirely concur, and I do not think I need add anything to the statement made by the noble Marquess. I will conclude, therefore, by asking the noble Marquess what steps he has taken in order to induce the Prime Minister to bring about a different state of things, and I would appeal to all those noble Lords who desire to retain such rights and privileges as we still possess not to cease agitating on this question until we get the change we all desire.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, my noble friend has done me the honour of quoting at length from some observations which I addressed to the House in February last, and I am bound to say that to those observations I desire to adhere. I still think it is most unfortunate that important measures so often come up to this House at a period of the session when it is not possible for your Lordships to do justice to them or to your powers of criticism and examination. That, no doubt, applies with great force to the Licensing Bill, which I presume is not likely to reach your Lordships until some time next week. But it does not rest entirely with us to discover a remedy for this condition of things, and in the course of the interesting debates which we have had on this subject, it has, I think, been universally admitted that unless the other House of Parliament could be persuaded to see eye to eye with us upon this subject, there was no prospect of obtaining an alteration in our procedure. In compliance with my noble friend's desire, I called the attention of the Prime Minister to the Resolution of this House, of last year, and also to the discussion which took place this year. I understand from my right hon. friend that he does not see any prospect of a change of the kind which my noble friend desires being agreed to by the House of Commons.

LORD NEWTON: Shame!

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: There are, I understand, difficulties, the nature of which my noble friend, who has been in the House of Commons, is better able to appreciate than I am, connected with the conditions under which the financial business of Parliament——

LORD NEWTON: Quite imaginary.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: Under which the financial business of Parliament is transacted, and I also gather from the Prime Minister that it is his impression that if this House were to meet in the month of November it would probably end in our sitting continuously until the month of July following. There are, moreover, two objections raised to the proposal of my noble friend, and, I think raised by persons who have a special right to be heard upon this subject. One of them is that an autumn session would very greatly interfere with the conduct of public business in the offices and departments of the State. All of those who have held office know that the autumn months are those in which the greater part of the business of the coming session is prepared, without those interruptions which are inseparable from a session of Parliament. That is an objection which is strongly felt in many quarters, and which will, I have no doubt, alway be pressed; and then there is, besides, the other objection, namely, that if we have an autumn session there is always a chance that we shall have not only the autumn session, with all its inconveniences, but also a summer session not much shorter than the session which at present is usual. Those two objections prevail widely, and I think my noble friend will have to educate public opinion a good deal more before he succeeds in entirely overcoming them. At any rate, as I said at first, the question is one which concerns both Houses of Parliament, and I certainly have seen no signs of a disposition on the part of the other House to share the view which is so strongly entertained and so eloquently urged by my noble friend.

FREIGHTS TO SOUTH AFRICA.

Earl GREY rose to move for a Return showing the quantities and description of manufactured goods exported from New York to South Africa during the two years ending 30th June, 1904, and the freight charged; also the freight charged on similar goods exported from the United Kingdom to South Africa. He said: My Lords, I do not think that any apology is required from me for again endeavouring to draw the attention of your Lordships' House to the great and growing injury caused to British trade by the action of British steamship companies in giving preferential rates to American shippers trading with South Africa. Although New York is over 600 miles further from South African ports than are the ports of the United Kingdom, the British steamship companies are carrying American cargoes to-day, and have done for some time past, at less than half the rates charged on similar articles consigned to South Africa from ports in the United Kingdom with the obvious result that trade which, under fair and equal conditions, would belong to the United Kingdom is being actually driven to America.

The noble Duke the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies remarked last week that it was difficult to make any accurate comparison between American and English freights, because the classification was different. It is true that the British steamship companies, for some reason best known to themselves, classify goods from America under three heads, and goods which they ship from England under five heads. I do not understand why the Conference lines should not establish identical classification for British and American goods, as recommended by Mr. Henry Birchenough; but I understand still less why anyone who is in earnest in an endeavour to arrive at the truth cannot ascertain the rates charged on similar articles consigned to South Africa from American and British ports.

The Marquess of Lansdowne.

I have in my hand the manifest of a steamer which sailed for South Africa from New York last May. This manifest contains the description and quantities of the cargo carried and the freight charged. It is a confidential document, and I am not permitted to quote the name of the steamer, but I am permitted to hand the manifest to my noble friend the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and I have no doubt he will diligently examine it. The noble Duke will see, on referring to it, the freight charged on manufactured goods from New York, and he will be able to ascertain, as I have ascertained, the class in which each article is placed in the English classification, and the freight charged from England. Such a procedure will show that the freight charge to Port Elizabeth is at the rate of 15s. per ton on nearly all articles from New York, and at rates varying from 22s. 6d. to 42s. 6d. per ton on similar articles from England. For example, 15s. is the rate on glass from New York, whilst the rate on glass from England is 31s. 3d., or 42s. 6d. if the glass is plate glass, in which case it comes under the rate charged for all articles in Class 1. Churns, horseshoes, brooms, hardware, ploughs, and agricultural implements are all charged 15s. per ton from New York, whilst 31s. 3d. per ton, or more than double, is charged from England. Leather, bicycles, and boots, which are all charged at the rate of 15s. a ton from New York, are charged at the rate of 42s. 6d. from England; and barbed wire, which goes at the rate of 15s. per ton from New York, is charged 22s. 6d. per ton from England.

This great disparity in freights has been the subject of anxious inquiry by various Chambers of Commerce in this country. The Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, in their report this month, point out the rates charged on articles manufactured in their district. They call attention to the fact that whilst the English rate to Cape Town and Algoa Bay on iron bedsteads, bolts and nuts, iron chains, general hardware, tinware, and tools is 31s. 3d. per ton, the American rates to Cape Town and Algoa Bay are only 15s.; and the same class of goods going from English ports to Natal and East London have to pay a rate of

40s. and 38s. 9d., whilst the rates are only 17s. 6d. from New York. Therefore, in regard to all these classes of manufactured articles, the American manufacturer has the great advantage of being able to secure the transit of his goods at less than half the freight which has to be paid by the manufacturer sending goods from this country.

I do not think my noble friend the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies can have been aware of this difference when this subject was last debated in your Lordships' House, or otherwise he would not have cast doubt upon the suggestion of the noble Earl, Lord Portsmouth, that this difference in rate provided any ground for legitimate complaint. It was impossible for the noble Duke to deny that there had been a considerable increase in the total value of exports from New York to British South Africa. The figures I have obtained from the Board of Trade prove that. I find that the total value of exports (domestic and foreign) from New York to British South Africa for the year ended 30th June, 1901, was £2,498,397, and for the year ended 30th June, 1903, £4,732,517; in other words, in two years the export trade from New York to South Africa has increased twofold. The noble Duke suggested that this might be a great advantage to the consumer in South Africa. He assumed that the increase was mainly in foodstuffs and did not consist of articles which could be sent from this country; but this manifest, which I will hand to the noble Duke, will show that a very large number of manufactured goods do find their way from New York to South African ports.

In order to verify the returns in the case of one steamer, I have obtained the Customs return, showing the value of the articles exported from New York to South Africa in another steamer, which sailed from New York last month. I hope I shall not be told by His Majesty's Government that it is impossible to obtain these figures. I have obtained them with little trouble, and I therefore assume that His Majesty's Government, with the powers that they command, can also obtain them. I find from this return that out of the total value of cargo shipped by this steamer, amounting to £85,930, almost one-third, namely £26,415, represented American manufactured goods. I will not go through the complete list, but the goods comprised furniture, windmills and parts, pumping machinery, barbed wire, etc., paint, oil, nails, curtains, table covers, clocks, candles, agricultural implements, ironmongery, household utensils, tools, etc. I may be informed that the bulk is not large, but His Majesty Government will discover, on looking into this matter, that the proportion of general merchandise to food stuffs in cargoes shipped from New York to South Africa is steadily increasing. I am not able on this occasion to quote figures to establish that point, but His Majesty's Government will be easily able to ascertain the truth of the statement I make.

Now, what is the result of these preferential rates given to American shippers over British manufacturers? As might be expected, the result is to give a great stimulus to American trade, and the American manufacturer under the advantage which he enjoys has been able to introduce into the South African market American manufactures which would not otherwise have found their way there, at least for some considerable time. A difference in freight of over fifteen shillings a ton is naturally quite enough to determine the destination of many orders. My noble friend the Under-Secretary of State said last week that Americans are very clever traders. I hope he will ponder over that statement. I am informed that the Steel Trust—as we all know, a most enterprising corporation—is endeavouring to capture the whole of the iron and steel trade to Brazil. They have approached steamship companies with the request that they may be granted a rate half-a-crown a ton below that charged on iron and steel products coming from Germany and England, and it is their belief that if they can get that advantage they will be able to capture the whole of the iron and steel trade of the Brazils. Now, if an advantage of half-a-crown is sufficient to divert trade from England to America, it is *a fortiori* obvious that a difference of 15s. a ton in favour of the American manufacturer must tend to kill our own industries.

I would point out to His Majesty's Government that we have had ample warning of this danger. There was a most interesting Report by Mr. Benjamin Morgan, who was appointed Special Commissioner to report on the engineering trades of South Africa. Mr. Morgan went out in 1902, and, in the Report which he presented, he stated—

> "If certain goods can be obtained in England, America, and Germany at even prices any difference in freight would settle where the order would go. The difference in freight charges alone was practically a profit. Store merchants everywhere looked through their stock sheets and completed their stocks with American goods, particulary in hardware lines and agricultural machinery. I was informed that one merchant ordered 1,000 stoves, another 3,000 ploughs, and so on, as a result of this difference in freight."

In another portion of his Report Mr. Morgan said—

> "The difference prevailing in freights from New York and London respectively to South Africa was the cause of a number of large orders going to America every year."

He quoted a typical instance given to him by one of the largest firms of engineers and machinery merchants in South Africa.

> "A short time ago a certain firm invited tenders for 700 tons of steel. Our tender was second. The American firm who secured the order paid 15s. a ton less in freight than we This was more than the difference between our prices."

The warning given by Mr. Morgan was confirmed the following year by Mr. Birchenough, who, with the view of enabling the British public to understand what effect the preferential rates to the American shipper had on British trade, pointed out in his Report, dated August last year, that the Scotch "Dover" stove was 2s. 6d. to 3s. cheaper than the American stove free on board, but landed in South Africa the American stove became the cheaper of the two. About five stoves go to the ton, and Mr. Birchenough pointed out that the freight from Great Britain was 32s. 6d. per ton, or, say, 6s. 6d. per stove, whilst the freight from New York was 10s. per ton. or 2s. per stove. The difference against the Scotch stove was, therefore, 4s. 6d., which made its landed cost in South Africa from 1s. to 1s. 6d. higher than that of the American stove, in spite of its lower free-on-board cost of from 2s. 6d. to 3s.

Earl Grey.

Mr. Birchenough said that so long as the 10s. rate lasted merchants were tempted not only to fill up their stocks of heavy articles, such as agricultural implements, fencing wire, machinery, etc., but to make up cargoes with any articles which seemed likely to sell. Mr. Birchenough summed up the whole situation in these words—

> "No single circumstance has proved so favourable to the rapid growth of American trade with South Africa as these low freights, and we owe them to the action of British shipping companies."

I hope, my Lords, that I have established the fact that there is an important difference to the advantage of the American shipper, and that that preference does tend to affect most injuriously the interests of British traders.

In the *Yorkshire Post* last week I found an advertisement of the Prince Line, which has regular sailings from New York to South Africa. There are quoted the prices charged from New York—viz., to Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, 15s.; East London and Durban, 17s. 6d.; and Delagoa Bay, 22s. 6d., and the advertisement goes on to say—

> "As most of the Prince Line South African steamers proceed from the United Kingdom to New York to load for South Africa, they are prepared to carry, in steamers thus proceeding, a limited quantity of cargo at above rates from the United Kingdom to South Africa, *via* New York, without transhipment."

That shows that under the present rates operating from New York British shipowners wishing to do trade with South Africa find it profitable to cross the Atlantic and then take a journey which is longer by 600 miles than the journey from British ports to South Africa. It is to the advantage of British shippers to send their goods *viâ* New York to South Africa, although it is a distance of 600 miles further.

The Chambers of Commerce are beginning to inquire seriously into the position, and I hope His Majesty's Government will not put us off with statements that it is difficult to obtain these figures, but that they will seriously consider the position, with a view to seeing how far they can protect British industry, which ought to be their first care. The cause of this injurious preference which the American shipowners enjoy is the additional 10 per cent. levied by the Conference lines on goods from this country, which is remitted if the shipper has not shipped any cargo by competing lines in the interval. The rebate system and its accompanying penalties are illegal in the United States, and I ask the House to consider whether this is not the secret of the whole position. The American Government regard this system which operates so injuriously to the British trader as a direct restraint of trade, and the result of their legislative action has been to make it impossible for the rebate system to be established on goods shipped from New York to South Africa. I believe that to be the cause of the preference.

Now, what is the result of the preference? The result certainly is to send to America trade which properly belongs, under fair and equal conditions, to this country. I do not think it matters so much to the manufacturer. He can, if he likes, set up his works in the United States, in order that he may enjoy the advantage of cheaper freights; but the British workman is put out of employment and has a legitimate cause of complaint against His Majesty's Government. The noble Duke, at the close of his speech the other day, pointed out that the question of getting a better rate for the public was entirely outside the province of the Crown Agents. It was, he said, a matter which the Government alone could undertake or examine, and it was very doubtful whether it would be wise for His Majesty's Government to do so. South Africa has given us a 25 per cent. preference on our goods, and I believe the Government are to blame for allowing this rebate system to continue on the export of goods from England, with the result that we lose the whole benefit of that 25 per cent. preference, and are driving trade to America which ought to belong to England.

The Natal and Cape Governments, so we are informed by the noble Duke, have convened a conference to look into this question of rates. They will, however, look into it from the point of view of the consumer. The noble Duke said—

> "Until we know what the result of the conference is, until we are informed of the wishes and views of the people of South Africa themselves upon this subject, it would be premature for His Majesty's Government to offer any opinion upon such a difficult and complicated matter."

I say it is the duty of His Majesty's Government to look after the interests of British workmen and British manufacturers. There is a remedy which I have often been told is impossible for His Majesty's Government to apply, but I contend that it is within the power of the Government to effect a combination of shippers. There ought to be very little difficulty, if His Majesty's Government would co-operate with the Administrations in Natal, the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, Cape Colony, and Rhodesiain forming an independent shipping combination, which would enable them to secure, not only for themselves, but for the public, the advantage of the cheap rates which American shippers now enjoy from New York and other American ports. I beg to move the Motion standing in my name.

Moved, "For a Return showing the quantities and description of manufactured goods exported from New York to South Africa during the two years ending 30th June, 1904, and the freight charged; also the freight charged on similar goods exported from the United Kingdom to South Africa."—(*Earl Grey.*)

LORD WOLVERTON: My Lords, in answer to my noble friend, I have to state that the Board of Trade can give the quantities of the principal classes of manufactured goods exported from the United States of America to South Africa in the years mentioned, but I regret to say that the Department have no official figures dealing with the freights asked for in the Motion, and I fear that a Return of the exports without the freight figures would be of little service to the noble Lord. As the noble Lord is aware, freights are not fixed within maximum powers as rates are fixed for the carriage of goods by railway. They vary with the circumstances of the trade, and are difficult of ascertainment. I shall, however, be happy to discuss with the noble Lord the question whether any figures can be supplied for the purposes of the Return which would be useful to him.

Earl GREY: I understand the noble Lord to say that he can give official figures showing the value of the exports?

Lord WOLVERTON: Yes.

Earl GREY: Perhaps he will give us a Return to that effect.

Lord WOLVERTON: Yes; I can promise that; but I cannot give official freights.

Earl GREY: Although the noble Lord cannot give us all the official freights, it must surely be within the power of the Government to obtain from shipping companies the rates that have been charged.

Lord WOLVERTON: The Board of Trade are unable to give official figures as regards freights. They might be misleading.

Earl GREY: I accept the noble Lord's kind invitation to talk the matter over with him; but if the result of our conversation does not convince me that the Government are in earnest in putting an end to the pernicious practice which is driving trade from this country to America, I hope I may have the opportunity of taking such further action as the rules of the House allow.

The Earl of ROSEBERY: Are we to understand that it is impossible for the Board of Trade to obtain these figures? I should have thought there would have been no special difficulty in doing so; and, as an illustration of the new policy of maintaining the Empire by differential tariffs, it would have been rather instructive.

***The Marquess of LANSDOWNE**: I understood my noble friend to say that there were no official figures available of the kind the noble Earl desired, and the noble Earl's counter suggestion was that figures might be obtained from private sources. That suggestion I understood the noble Lord who represents the Board of Trade to be unable to accept on the spur of the moment, but he indicated his desire to confer with the noble Earl and to meet his views as far as possible.

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

House adjourned at twenty minutes past Five o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 19th July, and Wednesday, 20th July, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [Lords] (STANDING ORDERS NOT PREVIOUSLY INQUIRED INTO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders not previously inquired into, and which are applicable thereto, have been complied with, viz.:—Belfast and North East Ireland Electricity and Power-Gas Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill; Thurles Urban District Council Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time To-morrow.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill. As amended, considered; read the third time, and passed.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

RAILWAY BILLS (GROUP 9).

Sir EDWARD STRACHEY reported from the Committee on Group 9 of Railway Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned until Friday, at half-past Eleven of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Leeds Corporation (Consolidation) Bill. Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Greenock Corporation." [Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

And, also, a Bill, intituled, "An Act to confirm a Provisional Order under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.)." [Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords.]

Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th July, and to be printed. [Bill 277.]

Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 27th July, and to be printed. [Bill 278.]

PETITIONS.

ALKALI, ETC., WORKS BILL.

Petition from Dublin, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Clevedon; Dewsbury; Dudley; Edinburgh; Foss Bridge; Frodsham (two); Hawick; Huntington (two); Jarrow-on-Tyne; Long Benton; Lennoxtown; Mortlake; Portbury; Portishead; Scotswood; Seaton Delaval; Skelton; Strewsall; Sunderland; Tyneside; and Withernsea; to lie upon the Table.

SHOP HOURS BILL.

Petition from Edinburgh, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

STREET BETTING BILL [LORDS].

Petition from West Ham, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897.

Petition from Felling, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

AFRICA (No. 9, 1904).

Copy presented, of Return of Concessions in the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates (in continuation of Africa (No. 7, 1903) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

AFRICA (No. 10, 1904).

Copy presented, of Memorandum on the State of the African Protectorates administered under the Foreign Office [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3221 to 3224 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Copy presented, of Regulations for Evening Schools, Technical Institutions, and Schools of Art and Art Classes, from 1st August, 1904, to 31st July, 1905 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1887 (EVICTION NOTICES).

Copy presented, of Return of Eviction Notices filed during the quarter ended 30th June, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVY (EXCEPTIONS TO KING'S REGULATIONS).

Copy presented, of List of Exceptions to the King's Regulations as to Pay, Non-effective Pay, and Allowances during the year 1903–4 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRAMWAYS ORDERS CONFIRMATION (No. 1) BILL [Lords].

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 18th July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 270.]

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY BILL.

Copy ordered, "of Memorandum explanatory of the Wireless Telegraphy Bill."—(*Lord Stanley.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 271.]

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS (EXPORTATION) (UNITED KINGDOM AND CONTINENTAL COUNTRIES).

Return ordered, "showing the total value, and the value per head of the population, of the exports of the following agricultural products, viz.: (1) Principal descriptions of grain; (2) Principal descriptions of meat and live stock; (3) Dairy produce; (4) Eggs; (5) Potatoes, from the following Countries, viz.: United Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Denmark, in the years 1890, 1895, 1900, and 1903."—(*Mr. Crombie.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Evicted Tenants—Compensation for Vacation of Holdings by Present Occupiers.

Mr. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in a case where the occupier of an evicted farm has purchased it under the Ashbourne Act and is now willing to surrender it on receiving moderate compensation, so that the evicted tenant should be reinstated, the Estates Commissioners will be prepared to enter into negotiations for that purpose.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The possibility of carrying out the suggested arrangements will, I think, in most cases depend on a point decided by Mr. Justice Meredith in a recent case as to the proper construction of Section 9, Sub-section 4, of the Act of 1891. The learned Judge's decision has been or is about to be appealed against. Pending the result of the appeal a definite reply cannot be given to the Question.

Refusal of Loan to Boyle Town Commissioners for Erection of Cottages.

Mr. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he can state on what grounds a loan has been refused to the Boyle Town Commissioners for the completion of their scheme for the erection of cottages under the Housing of the Working Classes Acts; and whether, in computing the total borrowing power of the Town Commissioners, regard was had to the incidence of the town rate and of the county council rate as affecting houses and lands.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) At my hon. friend's request I will reply to this Question. The reasons for refusing this loan were explained by me in answer to the hon. Member's similar Question of the 13th August last. †

Claim of Mr. W. B. Watson for Goods Commandeered during South African War.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the claim of Mr. W. B. Watson in respect of goods commandeered at the commencement of the South African War has been disallowed solely on the ground that he is non-resident in South Africa; and, if so, what is the authority for restricting compensation in this way.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I would refer the hon. Member to Article 10 of the Terms of Surrender, from which he will observe that the sums voted by Parliament were for the restoration of the people to their homes, and that commandeering notes were only to be accepted as evidence of war losses in connection with such restoration. Persons non-resident in South Africa have therefore not been considered to be entitled to assistance out of repatriation funds.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxvii, 1173.

Swine Fever in Midlothian.

THE MASTER OF ELIBANK (Edinburgh, Midlothian): To ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether, in view of the representation addressed to his Department by the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture on the subject of swine fever in Midlothian, he now proposes to take steps to remove the grievances of Midlothian farmers and stockowners in this connection.

(*Answered by Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.*) The Board could not, at the present moment, advise the counties adjoining Midlothian to alter the local regulations they have recently adopted for the protection of their districts. Should, however, the present favourable position as regards swine fever in the south-eastern counties of Scotland be maintained they would be prepared to consider favourably any representations which might be made to them by the counties concerned to impose the Swine Fever (Regulation of Movement) Order over a group of those counties in place of the different local regulations now existing. By this means the area in which free movement was possible would be enlarged to the extent of the counties absorbed in the combination.

British Ships stopped by Russian Cruisers in the Red Sea.

MR. YOUNGER (Lincolnshire, Stamford): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if his attention has been drawn to the fact that the ss. "Dragoman" of the Bedouin Steam Navigation Company, was stopped off Perim, in the Red Sea, on Friday last; and if he proposes to make any protest to the Russian Government for the action of their cruiser.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The question of stoppage of certain British steamers in the Red Sea by armed Russian vessels is one of grave importance and is receiving the earnest consideration of His Majesty's Government. Careful inquiries are being made into the circumstances.

Summer Uniforms for Irish Rural Postmen.

MR. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether light uniforms for summer use are supplied to all postmen in rural districts in Ireland.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) All established rural postmen in Ireland, and all auxiliary rural postmen doing five hours work or upwards a day, are supplied, in accordance with the general regulations, with light uniforms for summer use.

Postal Arrangements in the Gweedore and Bunbeg Districts, County Donegal.

MR. HUGH LAW: To ask the Postmaster-General whether he can now say what arrangements are being made for an improvement of the postal service in the districts of Gweedore and Bunbeg, county Donegal.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The question of improving the postal arrangements at Gweedore and Bunbeg has been under consideration for some time, but difficulties have presented themselves and it has not yet been possible to arrive at a definite result. I will, however, endeavour to expedite a settlement of the case.

Petition of Sivasulramania Nadan.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary of State for India, having regard to the fact that on the 3rd February last a petition from Sivasulramania Nadan for the redress of grievances was laid upon the Table of the House, will he state what action has been taken in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) So far as I am concerned no action has been taken in regard to this petition, which was not addressed to me. I beg to refer the hon. Member to the Special Report of the Select Committee on Public Petitions, ordered by this House to be printed on 29th June last.

Marine Works in Ireland.

MR. HUGH LAW: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the works to be carried out under the Marine Works Act at Gortnasate, Portnoo, and Cladnageerah will be commenced during the present summer; and if he can say whether any arrangements have been made with respect to the balance of £1,500 required for the construction (under the revised estimate) for a pier and breakwater at Falcorrib.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Commissioners of Public Works have accepted a tender for the work at Gortnasate, which will shortly be commenced. The report of the Commissioners in the case of the works proposed at Portnoo and Cladnageerah is about to be submitted to the Treasury. When Treasury approval has been signified tenders will be called for without delay. No decision has been arrived at with respect to the question of the expenditure of money at Falcorrib.

Army Boot Contracts—Fair Wages Resolution.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has satisfied himself that all the contractors, both inside and outside the United Kingdom, who have contracts with the Government for the Army boots are complying with the conditions of the Fair Wages Resolution passed by this House; and will he say what proportion of these orders were given inside and outside the United Kingdom for the years 1902 and 1903.

(*Answered by Mr. Arnold-Forster.*) All contracts made by the War Office for boots contain the usual clause stipulating that the wages paid shall be those generally accepted as current for competent workmen in the district where the work is carried out. There is no reason for supposing that this condition is not being complied with. With the exception of some local purchases made by the troops in South Africa and Somaliland, all orders for boots during 1902 and 1903 were placed in the United Kingdom. An arrangement was, however, made in 1901 with the India Office under which the latter Department agreed to supply the Army with 220,000 pairs of ankle boots. The reasons for this arrangement, which will shortly be completed, have already been explained in the House.

Education of Tamil Children on Ceylon Estates.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Commission appointed to consider the best means of securing the education of the children of Tamil labourers employed on the various estates in Ceylon have yet made their Report; and, if not, will he state the cause of the delay.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I am informed that the Report was forwarded to me by the mail which left Ceylon on the 14th instant.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

The "Cat" in the Navy.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether cat-o'-nine-tails and birches, approved by the naval authorities in accordance with the King's Regulations, weighing nine ounces, and canes likewise similarly approved, of a half-inch in thickness, three feet in length, and two ounces in weight, are supplied from the dockyards and form part of the equipment of ships of war and naval training ships for the flogging of men and boys.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The Answer is "Yes," but the use of the cat has been suspended by regulation since 1881.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: But are these instruments kept as a matter of precaution on every ship of war.

MR. PRETYMAN: I have already answered that Question.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: What was the Answer?

MR. PRETYMAN: "Yes, but their use is suspended."

The Convict Witton.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is yet able to state what is the decision of His Majesty's Government upon the case of the convict Witton.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): No, Sir. I am not yet in a position to give a reply to this Question. I have been for some time past in communication with the Colonial Office and hope to be able to announce a decision shortly.

Pay of Junior Army Officers.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is prepared to recommend to the House a scale of payment for junior officers in the Army under which such junior officers would receive an increase of pay, and a slight decrease of pay when they reach higher ranks, and thus enable the sons of poor persons an opportunity of entering the Army.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I am not prepared at the present time to recommend any increase in the pay of junior officers. The matter is one which affects both the Navy and the Army, but I consider it to be of great importance that both the rate of pay and the scale of living should be such as to enable officers of small means to continue in the service. I cannot admit that the pay of officers in the higher ranks is excessive.

Army Reorganisation Scheme.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will lay before the House a Statement of the estimated financial results of his Army Reorganisation Scheme when in full operation, noting both increases and decreases of charge.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER; Yes, Sir. I will shortly lay such a Statement before the House, but the figures will depend on the extent to which Parliament approves of the scheme in part or as a whole.

Sir Percy Girouard.

MR. BUCHANAN: On behalf of the hon. Member for Halifax, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will lay the Papers relating to the resignation of Sir Percy Girouard before the Colonial Vote is taken.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): Pending the receipt of a despatch which Lord Milner has promised I am not in a position to lay any Papers on this subject.

Life of the Gold Mines in South Africa.

MR. BUCHANAN: On behalf of the hon. Member for Halifax I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, if he can state on whose advice the life of the gold mines is taken as fourteen and a half years for the purpose of the profit tax; and how it is that the profits on which the tax is paid are less than half the profits declared to the shareholders.

MR. LYTTELTON: The hon. Member will see on referring to Section 5, Sub-section 2, of the Profits Tax Proclamation 1902, published at page 165 of Cd. 1163 that the period of the life of the mines is determined by the Commissioner of Mines. The profits on which the tax is paid do not include the allowance for exhaustion of capital.

MR. MARKHAM: Is it not the fact that the life of the mines is based solely on one reef of the mines—the south reef, and that no account is taken of any ore n any other reef.

MR. LYTTELTON: I must communicate with the Commissioner before I can arrive at what was in his mind.

Convicted Soldiers in Pretoria.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick); I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been lately called to the cases of the five soldiers of the Leinster Regiment—John Roche, J, Maher, J. Barrett, A. Dunn, and Edward Roche, now in penal servitude in Pretoria for being concerned in a riot in which a soldier named Casey lost his life; and whether, in view of the circumstances of the case and the character of the evidence given against these men, he will have an inquiry made with a view to their sentence being mitigated.

MR. LYTTELTON: No, Sir. No grounds have been submitted to me on which I should be justified in intervening in the administration of justice in this case.

MR. JOYCE: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if the time has not arrived when the sentences passed on all young soldiers in South Africa should be gone into?

[No Answer was returned.]

MR. JOYCE: Well wait until after the general election. They will be reversed then.

Petitions from India.

*SIR CHARLES DALRYMPLE (Ipswich): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he has observed a Special Report of the Select Committee on Petitions in reference to Petitions presented to this House from India; and if he will call the attention of the Government of India to the Report, in order that the Petitioners may be put upon their guard and may better understand the limited effect of Petitions.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): A copy of the Report will be forwarded to the Government of India with instructions that, so far as is possible, steps may be taken for carrying out the recommendations of the Committee.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Are we to understand, then, that the Petitions addressed to this House by the people of India do no good?

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): Not a bit.

Royal Niger Company—Purchase by the Government.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if his attention has been called to the purchase by the Imperial Government in 1899 of a dividend-paying concern (viz., the Royal Niger Company) for £865,000; what is the amount that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has received from the purchase of those shares up to the present time for the relief of Imperial taxation; and, if no amount has been received, what has become of the income from steamers, land, and mineral rights promised at the time of purchase by the Government.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The considerations, for which the payment referred to by the hon. Member was made, are set out in the preamble of the Act 62 and 63 Vict., Cap. 43. They covered the transfer to the Imperial Government by the Royal Niger Company of the administrative powers possessed under its Charter, which was then revoked. No shares passed. The Imperial Government did not look to be recouped the £865,000, until such time as the Northern Nigeria Protectorate's revenue exceeded the administrative expense, and this is not yet the case. Such receipts as are derived from the mining and land rights, etc., taken over from the Royal Niger Company, forms part of the current revenue of the Protectorate, but the amount is not large at the present time.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Is there any objection to a Report being issued on the exact financial result of this transaction. The House has never heard anything of it before.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I should say the exact financial results are fairly obvious.

Aliens in British Prisons.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he can state how many aliens are now undergoing penal servitude or imprisonment, or are awaiting trial in His Majesty's prisons.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): As I stated a few days ago in answer to my hon. friend the Member for Bury St. Edmunds,† the number of aliens in convict prisons on the 23rd April last was 182, and I had previously stated that the total number of alien prisoners on that date was reported to be 635. It is not possible to give further or later information without calling for a special Report, which it would, I think, be an unreasonable burden upon the prison authorities to demand after such a short interval.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvii., 1207.

Use of Foreign Cement for Government Works.

SIR GILBERT PARKER (Gravesend): I beg to ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, whether the authorities are aware that the Portland cement being used for the General Post Office, Sunderland, and the General Post Office, Darlington, and supplied by an English firm, is manufactured in Belgium; and whether, in future, orders will be given for the use of the best English cement on Government works.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): The cement was supplied by an English firm, and was of Belgian manufacture; it was of very good quality, meeting the tests applied to it. The Board have under consideration the expediency of prescribing that cement made in the British Isles only shall be used in future, except in special cases.

Initial Salaries of Irish Teachers and Constables.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the initial salary at present paid to teachers in Irish national schools; and also the salary, together with all allowances for lodging, clothing, etc., paid to constables of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The initial salaries of teachers vary from £61 to £71, for four hours' secular instruction daily. Where the teachers give instruction in extra branches, or conduct evening schools, the emoluments are much higher. The initial pay of a constable is £39, and his allowances are at rates shown in the Estimates. His uniform is supplied at the public expense.

Irish Teachers' Salary Grievance.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the principal teacher of a school in District 17 (Roll No. 12[illegible]5) left the Board's service on the 1st January, 1904, owing to the inadequacy of his salary, after being trained at a cost to the Treasury of about £100; whether he can state the number of teachers paid at the rate of £56 per annum who have resigned since 1900, and whether he will recommend that the initial salary for all teachers shall be raised.

MR. WYNDHAM: No cause was assigned for this teacher's resignation. 104 male teachers, whose grade salary was £56, have left the service since 1st April, 1900. Of these fifty-nine had been trained. The abolition of the old system of payments has resulted in an increase of the actual payments to teachers generally of more than £40,000 per annum. I cannot hold out any hope that further burdens will be imposed on the Vote for Public Education.

Irish Teachers and the Civil Service.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that there is a Treasury rule prohibiting trained teachers from entering the Civil Service unless they refund to the State the sum expended on their training, and that a number of teachers, who had previously served five years as monitors under the National Board, so signed an agreement under that rule in the years 1898 and 1899, while the old rules obtained, are now paid lower salaries than they would have been entitled to under the old rules; and, if so, whether he will urge the Commissioners of National Education to consider favourably the claims of these teachers to be paid salaries according to the rule in force when they signed such agreements.

MR. WYNDHAM: Under Rule 162 of the Code candidates for training must sign a declaration that they intend *bonâ fide* to adopt the profession of teacher, and under Rule 169 they must repay the cost of their training before they are allowed to enter the Civil Service, in accordance with Treasury requirement. But no right is conferred on such teachers to any special rate of salary on appointment to national schools. The regulations are intended to prevent waste of public money by persons who might make the training colleges mere stepping-stones to the Civil Service. Teachers, as a rule, receive higher incomes now on being appointed to national schools than they received under the old regulations.

Carnane Estate, County Limerick.

Mr. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that within the past few months some sixty labourers and farmers in the parish of Fedamore, county Limerick, petitioned the Estates Commissioners, requesting them to purchase the Carnane Estate in that parish from the owners, the representatives of the late E. J. Synan, with the view of re-selling it in small lots to the labourers and the small farmers around; and whether, since the districts adjacent, Skule and Cloghadooloorta, are for the most part cut-out bog and are highly congested, he can hold forth any hope to the parties interested that the Estates Commissioners will endeavour to buy this estate in their favour.

Mr. WYNDHAM: This estate is administered in the Court of the Master of the Rolls. There is a perpetual annuity of £700 charged on the lands, and the owners, I understand, receive nothing from the estate. It is questionable, under the circumstances, if the provisions of Section 7 of the Act of 1903 apply. No originating request has been received by the Commissioners under Section 6, but they will make inquiry as to the expediency of moving in the matter.

Irish Local Government Tenders.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if it is always an instruction of the Local Government Board to unions and other bodies under their supervision that the lowest tender must be accepted, even when the union finds that the quality of the article offered by the lowest tenderer is inferior.

Mr. WYNDHAM: No sir; there is no such instruction or rule. Where rural district councils or proposals committees do not accept the lowest tender they are obliged to adopt the procedure laid down in Section 18 of the Local Government Act, 1902. Where boards of guardians do not accept the lowest tender they must be prepared to satisfy the auditor that they acted in the best interests of the ratepayers.

Irish Lunatic Asylums—Assistant Resident Medical Officers.

Mr. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will explain why one of the Privy Council rules for the regulation of lunatic asylums in Ireland prescribes as one of the qualifications for the office of assistant resident medical officer that he shall be unmarried, in view of the fact that no such condition is prescribed in the case of the resident medical superintendent; and whether, if such a condition is not prescribed by any asylum committee of management which may make new rules, the Lord-Lieutenant will insist upon its inclusion amongst such rules.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The rule prohibiting a married man from being appointed to the position of assistant medical officer of a district lunatic asylum is of universal application throughout the United Kingdom. It is embodied in an Order of the Lord-Lieutenant in Council dated 28th April, 1898. The object of the rule is to secure for the position the services of men who are more likely to devote their whole attention to learning the special duties of their office. A resident medical superintendent must be a man of experience and must have served as assistant medical officer for at least five years. The rule has been adopted by every asylum committee in Ireland which has drawn up regulations, save the Ballinasloe Asylum Committee. A departure from the rule will not be sanctioned in the case of that asylum.

Mr. HAYDEN: How many asylum committees have drawn up rules? Is it not a fact that only one has?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I do not think so, but I should like notice of the Question.

Mr. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): Is there anything to prevent an officer who is unmarried, when appointed, from getting married the day after his appointment?

MR. WYNDHAM: Perhaps the hon. Member will give me notice of that. My view is that in Ireland, and throughout the United Kingdom as well as throughout Europe, the assistant resident medical officer is expected to be an unmarried man.

Salaries of Irish Poor Law Medical Officers.

MR. HAYDEN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in cases in which the salaries of Poor Law medical officers in Ireland have been increased since the passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, or may be increased in the future, the whole of the increase is to be borne out of the local rates, or whether, as used to be the case, half is to be borne out of the rates and half out of the Parliamentary grant-in-aid.

MR. WYNDHAM: Under Section 6 of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1902, the total amount to be recouped to the guardians of any union in pursuance of Section 58 of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, cannot exceed the amount recouped in the year ended 31st March, 1902. The necessity for the provision was explained by me in the Committee stage of the measure.

Appointment of Medical Superintendent at Ballinasloe District Lunatic Asylum.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if, after the selection by the Ballinasloe District Lunatic Asylum Committee of Dr. Kirwan over the head of the Protestant assistant medical superintendent, Dr. Mills, and before His Excellency approved of such selection, communications passed between the Under-Secretary and the Roman Catholic Archbishop or Bishop, or either of them, who were members of the committee, with reference to the supersession of Dr. Mills; if so, by whom was the Under-Secretary authorised to enter into such communications; and did such communications affect the decision of the Irish Government in sanctioning the appointment; and, if not, for what purpose were they invited; was any expression of opinion invited from any Protestant resident in the neighbourhood; and will copies of such communications, if in writing, be laid upon the Table.

MR. WYNDHAM: All communications issued from my office to the Asylum Committee or any of its members on this subject have passed before me, and were, in my opinion, of a suitable nature. I am not prepared to discuss the existence or non-existence of unofficial communications. The decision of the Government was based exclusively on the terms and intention of Section 84 of the Local Government Act of 1898, after a careful consideration of its provisions, for reasons which I explained in the Committee of the House on 7th July. I have nothing to add to the explanation which I then gave.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the desirability of laying on the Table the letter addressed to him by the right hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh?

MR. WYNDHAM: Certainly not, unless the right hon. Gentleman informs the House that he desires it to be published.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): Does the right hon. Gentleman consider the communication from the Under-Secretary to be unofficial?

MR. WYNDHAM: I do not follow the Question.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: Were the communications which passed between the two gentlemen named in the Question and the Under-Secretary official or unofficial?

MR. WYNDHAM: All official communications pass before me, and I am not prepared to discuss the existence or non-existence of any unofficial communications.

Mayo County Council Appointments.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that at a meeting of the Mayo County Council, held at Castlebar on 27th January, 1904, a resolution was passed that after the 1st January, 1905, no position or post in the gift of the Mayo County Council should be given to anyone who does not possess a knowledge of the Irish language; and, if so, will he state what action, if any, they have taken or will take in the matter.

Mr. WYNDHAM: A resolution of the character indicated has been received by the Local Government Board. I assume that the last query applies to the Local Government Board and to the county council? If so, my reply is that the Local Government Board must be satisfied that candidates for the offices of secretary, surveyor, assistant surveyor, and poor rate collector, must be fully qualified for those posts.

Mr. CHARLES CRAIG: Does the right hon. Gentleman think it necessary that these officials should have a knowledge of the Irish language?

[No Answer was returned.]

Veterinary Branch of the Irish Agricultural Department.

Mr. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, with reference to the communication, dated the 13th December, 1900, made to the Catholic clerks in the Veterinary Branch of the Agricultural Department, intimating that they had no right to expect any acknowledgment of their applications for advancement, and that the repetition of such applications would raise the question of removing them from the service altogether, he will state if this communication was made with the knowledge and concurrence of the Secretary of the Department.

Mr. WYNDHAM: A semi-official note was sent, with the knowledge and concurrence of the Department, to one of the temporary clerks on the date mentioned. It was made in the interests of the several temporary clerks in the Veterinary Branch, all of whom expressed their thanks for the advice given to them and their deep gratitude for the personal interest shown in their cases. They were subsequently made permanent members of the Civil Service.

Castlerea Rate Collector,

Mr. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Local Government Board have received a resolution passed unanimously by the Roscommon County Council asking their sanction to the payment of the arrears of poundage to Rate Collector Hanson, Castlerea, on the ground that his *status* as poor rate collector was altered when he was transferred to the county council; and, if so, whether the Local Government Board have granted their sanction to this payment.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Board is not prepared to grant any further extension of time to this collector in respect of the years 1902 and 1903. The Board has granted an extension of time for the year ended 31st March last.

Keadew (Carrick-on-Shannon) Catholic School Teacher.

Mr. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the attention of the Commissioners of National Education has been directed to the eviction of the Roman Catholic teacher, Mr. Callogy, from the Roman Catholic School of Keadew, Carrick-on-Shannon, by the Protestant patron; what were the grounds for this eviction; and whether he can state what rights, if any, Mr. Callogy has to pension or compensation, in view of his period of service as a teacher.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Commissioners have no knowledge of the alleged dismissal of this teacher, but are making inquiry in the matter. He has not reached the age for voluntary retirement, and unless it can be shown to be due to bodily or mental infirmity he would have no right to pension, beyond the refund to him of the premiums paid to the pension fund.

Students in Irish Queen's Colleges and Royal University Scholarships.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, for some years past, the students of Queen's Colleges, who hold exhibitions, scholarships, and prizes in those institutions which are not open to competition to any other students, have been permitted also to compete for and to hold, without any deduction, the exhibitions, scholarships, and prizes of the Royal University; and, if so, whether, in view of Section 9 of the Act of Parliament founding the Royal University, he proposes to take any action in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: When a student of the Royal University gains an exhibition, scholarship, or prize in the University, a deduction is made in respect of any exhibition, scholarship, or prize of which he is at the time the holder in any of the Queen's Colleges. The Senate are advised that this practice is in accordance with the provisions of the Statute. A special committee of the Senate has been appointed to consider the question of making more stringent the regulations in this respect.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is any deduction made in the scholarship where the student fails to pass the ordinary examination for the University in the very subject for which he was elected to the scholarship.

MR. WYNDHAM: I must ask for notice of that.

Galway Harbour Lighting Contract.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will explain why the Board of Works refused to sanction the acceptance by the Galway Harbour Board of a tender by the Galway Gas Company for the lighting of the Harbour, seeing that this tender was accepted because the electric light in use had proved a failure; and will he say if the inspector of the Board of Works reported that the electric lighting had been a failure.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): The gas company's tender was much higher than the tender of the electric company. Gas was abandoned in favour of electricity five years ago. There have been occasional failures in the electric lighting, but the inspector reports that the electric company are in a position to remedy the defects in the lighting and to guarantee satisfactory working in the future.

Galway Harbour Lights.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the inspector who recently visited Galway Docks for the purpose of examining the lighting of the harbour made his examination during the day, or whether he examined the lights at night; and had he before him the complaints of captains and pilots.

I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the attention of the Board of Works was called by Mr. Burbidge to the defects of the wires used in connection with the lighting of Galway Docks; whether complaints have been made by captains and pilots of the defective lighting; and whether it was for these reasons that the tender of the gas company was accepted.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: The inspector did not examine the lights in the harbour at night, as his purpose was to ascertain why the light occasionally failed, and whether the condition of the electric light works, the distribution of the current, and the guarantees of the company, gave reason to believe that the contract would be properly carried out. He inspected the works of the electric company at night The inspector had before him the complaints of Mr. Burbidge and the pilots. He had also before him a letter from a firm of shipowners trading to Galway stating that in the opinion of their agent at Galway the docks had never been better lighted. The only defect appears to be the occurrence of failures from time to time, and arrangements are being made which will, I am assured, prevent these in future.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: Did the inspector examine the lights at night?

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: He examined the works at night.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: Did he see the lights working?

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: Yes.

The Dogs Bill.

Mr. BAYLEY: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury what arrangements he intends to make in the time of the House for facilitating the passing into law of the Dogs Bill during the present session.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): I wish well to this Bill, but I am not in a position to make any statement about it.

Army Corps.

Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he intends to ask the House of Commons to rescind the Resolution of 13th May, 1901, pledging the House to maintain six Army Corps.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The Answer is in the negative.

Captain NORTON (Newington, W.): Does the Prime Minister mean us to infer that the Army Corps scheme still holds the field.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir.

Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: May I ask whether the Prime Minister intends that the scheme which was sanctioned three years ago is still to remain in existence?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir. The hon. Member must not interpret my Answer in that way.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Then what does it mean?

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL: Why does the right hon. Gentleman depart from the precedent he set on the last occasion?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The Question has been answered.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Does the Prime Minister desire to let down the Secretary for India lightly?

[No Answer was returned.]

The Vote of Censure.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL: I wish to ask the Prime Minister when the vote of censure will be taken.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand it has been arranged through the usual channels that it shall be taken on 1st August. The first order on that day will be the suspension of the twelve o'clock rule for the rest of the session, and the second order the vote of censure.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL: Is it intended to take both those matters on the same day?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The alternative I suggested would have enabled the censure Motion to be taken on Thursday, but it did not seem to meet with favour.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs): Is it not usual to have a discussion on the state of business on the Motion for the suspension of the twelve o'clock rule, and does the Prime Minister think it fair that we should be precluded from discussing the state of business.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I should have much preferred the other arrangement. I did not desire this.

Mr. BUCHANAN: Is there any precedent for putting a vote of censure in any position but that of first order of the day?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I doubt if there is any precedent for refusing to make such arrangements as would permit of a vote of censure being taken within three days of the time it was suggested.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): As a somewhat interested party, I would like to point out that that was a perfectly futile offer, owing not only to the nature of the business, but also to the fact that a private Bill occupied a long time at the evening sitting.

LORD DUNDONALD—MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I have to ask leave to move the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the conduct of Major-General Lord Dundonald, late Commander of the Militia in Canada, in taking part, whilst still an officer in the British Army, in a political agitation against His Majesty's Government in the Dominion of Canada.

MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside): On a point of order, asked if this was not covered by a Motion on the Paper (standing in the name of Colonel Wyndham Murray)—as follows:—"To call attention to the dismissal of Lord Dundonald from the command of the Militia in Canada, and to move that in the opinion of this House a Court of inquiry should be convened to investigate the allegations against Lord Dundonald."

*MR. SPEAKER: That notice of Motion has not escaped my attention, but it is clear that the present Motion does not raise the same point. It must be understood, however, that the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs will not be at liberty to go into the dismissal, but must confine himself to the subsequent action of Lord Dundonald.

*Mr. SPEAKER called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly arisen:

The Motion stood over, under Standing Order No. 10, till this Evening's Sitting.

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEES).

Mr. HALSEY reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures — Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Lambert, and Mr. Wolff; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Condon, Mr. Farrell, and Sir James Haslett.

Report to lie upon the Table.

TUBERCULOSIS (ANIMALS) COMPENSATION BILL.

Special Report from the Select Committee on the Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read.

TUBERCULOSIS (ANIMALS) COMPENSATION BILL.

Reported, without Amendment.

Report and Special Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 272.]

COUNTY OF SUFFOLK BILL.

Reported, without Amendment, from the Select Committee.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 273.]

Minutes of Proceedings to be printed. [No. 273.]

Bill re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House for To-morrow.

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 4.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause stand part of the Bill."

*MR. J. F. HOPE (Sheffield, Brightside) asked for an explanation of the reason why 1st August was the date fixed upon. [The hon. Member's observations were inaudible in the Press Gallery.]

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) said the same question was discussed on Clause 1, when he accepted an Amendment substituting 1st July for 1st August and he should have been ready to accept a similar Amendment to this clause if it had been moved. He did not think it desirable to accept an earlier date, as it would tend to destroy the revenue of the current year if it were known that the duty was likely to expire as soon as the financial year came to an end. Where there was reason to expect a reduction of duty, clearances were held back and stocks duty paid were reduced to a minimum. It was necessary that the taxes should be carried over to a date late enough in the succeeding year to prevent the withholding of duty in the expectation of a reduction.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said that as the Member who moved the alteration of the date to the 1st July, he must express his pleasure that the right hon. Gentleman was prepared to accept a similar date in the present clause. Could he move it now?

*THE CHAIRMAN: No, I have now put the Question that the clause be read a second time.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.) thought it very regrettable that the right hon. Gentleman should thus express his willingness to accept an Amendment which had not even been moved. Only the previous day the right hon. Gentleman removed, quite unnecessarily as he thought, a tax upon goods on the high seas. He had always thought that these duties were fixed with a considerable amount of care. He took it that the 1st August was originally decided upon for some definite reason, and the action of the right hon. Gentleman in altering the date seemed rather to throw doubt upon it.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY (Yorkshire, Shipley) submitted that ever since 1863 it had been the custom to allow a proper interval of something like four months to elapse between the end of the financial year and the date when the duties ceased to operate, in order that traders might accumulate stocks, and thus obviate violent fluctuation of market rates. For this reason and also because the shortening of the interval would make forestalling of the market common and further interfere with the market, he ventured with great respect to differ from the Chancellor of the Exchequer and to think this interval of four months should be preserved.

MR. SCOTT-MONTAGU (Hampshire, New Forest) asked if the Chancellor of the Exchequer could see his way to make some concession in regard to spirits used for motive power, lighting, and heating purposes.

*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That must be raised on the new clause standing in the name of the hon. and gallant Member for Middlesborough.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 188; Noes, 129. (Division List No. 248.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.HughO
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bigot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles,T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt Hn.J.A(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dorington, Rt.Hn.Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,Sir EW(B'ry S Edmnds
Gunter, Sir Robert
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.

Haslett, Sir James Horner
Heaton, John Henniker
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hobhouse,RtHn H(Somers't,E
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kerr, John
Kimber, Sir Henry
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long,Col.Charles W.(Evesham)
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W.J.H. (Dumfriessh.)
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh,N.)
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott(Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Pease, HerbertPike(Darlington
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith,HC (North'mb.Tyneside
Smith,RtHn J.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thomas,J A(Glamorgan,Gower
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley(York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Atherley-Jones, L.
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Edwards, Frank
Ellice,Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone,Rt.Hon.Herbert Jn.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Hayden, John Patrick
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol,E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P (Cavan,W.
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col.John P.(Galway N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William

Partington Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Roberts, John H.(Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Thomson, F. W. (York, W. R.)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Tully, Jasper
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Soares.

Clause 5—

MR. GIBSON BOWLES moved to leave out "August" in order to insert "July."

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 30, to leave out the word 'August' and insert the word 'July.'"—(*Mr. Gibson Bowles.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'August' stand part of the clause."

MR. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) hoped the Committee would have an opportunity of discussing the Amendment of the hon. Member for North Cork in favour of substituting April or the end of the financial year for August. The point he wished to impress upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that these duties were intended originally to be only temporary, and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman if he did not think the time had now come when they should be permanently incorporated with the duties which already existed.

*THE CHAIRMAN: That is hardly relevant to the Amendment.

MR. McKENNA agreed that it was not relevant to the July Amendment, but it was to the April one. He strongly objected to the false pretence of continuing these duties from year to year as temporary duties when from long experience they knew that they were permanent duties. Did not the right hon. Gentleman now regard them as permanently part of our fiscal system. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, in introducing the duties, said he would remove them at the earliest possible moment. There had since been opportunities of removing them but they still remained.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES objected to making the duties permanent. He preferred that they should be brought under the review of the House year after year.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.) asked if, providing this Amendment were carried, it would not also be necessary to make a corresponding alteration in the date of the expiring of the drawbacks.

MR. FLYNN (Cork County, N.) pointed out that in imposing these duties the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol explicitly promised that they would only be put on temporarily, but four years had since elapsed and they were still imposed. Personally he held that these duties should expire at the end of the financial year, and he should vote against their continuance one day longer than was necessary.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said it was true that when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol imposed the duties he expressed the hope that they would be temporary, but a year later he warned the House of Commons that he feared he would not be able, when the war terminated, to remit the additional taxation he had imposed. For himself, having to find a larger revenue, he was obliged to continue the existing taxation. The additional duties were continued as an annual tax simply in order that they might be brought under the review of the House every session, and he thought the House would prefer that. He hoped hon. Members would treat with reasonable brevity the renewal of these taxes, which were necessary for the finances of the year. Some margin must be left, or else merchants and traders would not replenish the stocks, but would keep them as low as possible. The consequence would be that there would practically be no duty paid during the last quarter. He thought the period of three months which had been suggested was sufficient to safeguard the revenue, and he accepted that suggestion in order to meet the wishes of hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House. The hon. Member for East Perthshire put a Question to him in regard to the date of the expiration of the drawback. His attention had not been called to that point before and it certainly deserved consideration. He hoped the hon. Member would allow him to defer any definite answer upon that point until the Report stage, because he should not like to deal with it until he had had an opportunity of consulting the Treasury officials.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said he understood that the right hon. Gentleman had practically accepted the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for King's Lynn. A very important point had been raised by the hon. Member for Perthshire in regard to the drawback, but the right hon. Gentleman had promised to look into that matter.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he would inquire whether such an alteration was necessary, and, if it was, he would make it upon the Report stage.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said he thought the House ought to have a larger annual control over these taxes, and he should like to see them made annual taxes and put into the Finance Act. It was ridiculous to continue these little remnants of taxes year by year when there was no probability of repealing them. Perhaps next year the right hon. Gentleman, if they still had the advantage of his services, would bring some of these taxes into the annual taxation, and restore to the House the control which it used to have over these taxes.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY said it seemed to him very unfortunate that this change had been made. Changing the dates during the passage of the Bill through the House was confusing, and now he understood that there was some doubt in regard to the drawback. These things ought to be settled from the first, and it would save a good deal of friction if they were settled at the outset and stuck to.

MR. BUCHANAN said he objected to this alteration, because *pro tanto* the Chancellor of the Exchequer was making these additional duties permanent. They were imposed in 1900 for temporary purposes, and he viewed with great jealousy any step in the direction of making these taxes part of the ordinary annual permanent taxation. He should certainly divide the Committee upon this question.

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland) said he objected to the attitude taken up by the hon. Member for East Perthshire in regard to making these taxes permanent. It should be the policy of those who sat on that side of the House to impose upon intoxicants as much taxation as they could fairly bear. These taxes were imposed temporarily to pay for the war, but they should attempt to make them permanent for the purposes of peace, and therefore he entered his protest against the argument of the hon. Member and he should support this proposal.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said that although the right hon. Gentleman had promised to consider this point, he felt confident that after he had done so he would find that there was absolutely nothing in it.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury) said he did not think a case had been made out for this proposal. To alter these dates would, as the hon. Member for North Islington had pointed out, cause confusion. Surely it was premature to make a concession, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in order to artificially facilitate business, by accepting a date like 1st July, instead of 1st August. The case of annual control over the tax could be covered as it had up to the present. Anticipating the taxes was an evil they ought to avoid as far as possible, and they had a greater safeguard by adopting 1st August as the date than they had by adopting 1st July. He would like to know how far the dates were harmonious, He understood that they were working on the principle of separate dates, and the case which had been made out for the alteration from August to July might equally apply to other matters. It was bound to lead to confusion, and it would have an effect upon the Exchequer [MINISTERIAL cries of "Divide."] of which hon. Gentlemen opposite had no conception. It was a little indecent now for hon. Members to cry "Divide" when a short time ago they were endeavouring by every means to avoid a division.

Question put, and negatived.

Question "That the word 'July' be there inserted," put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. FLYNN said the clause referred to the additional duties of Excise on beers and spirits imposed by the Finance Act, 1900. The hon. Member for King's Lynn had stated that a clause of this kind gave the Committee certain power over the Treasury. That was a very fragmentary power indeed; the real power of the Committee consisted in the power it had over the tax as such. The additional duty put on beer was comparatively small—6d. on 36 gallons—and he would not be inclined to quarrel with it. But the additional impost on spirits by which the duty was raised to 11s. per proof gallon was one which penalised a most important Scotch and Irish industry. He made bold to say that much of the drunkenness and insanity, and many of the evil consequences which they unfortunately had to deplore at the present time as the result of the consumption of spirits, were due to the enormous tax put on spirits. If spirits were to be consumed at all, whether in the form of whisky, gin, or other commodity, it was desirable that they should be taken as a pure and wholesome fluid; but by imposing a duty of this kind they encouraged the production of the impure and vile kinds of spirit which unfortunately were to be found in whisky. That was entirely in consequence of the tax of 11s. per proof gallon on spirits. He did not know whether the House realised that this tax was equal to between two-thirds and three-fourths of the cost of production of a good Highland or Irish whisky. There were some classes of whisky which took a long time to mature, and he was informed that in the higher class the tax of 11s. represented no less than five-sixths of the cost after allowing for storage charges, loss of bulk, and interest on capital. That was surely out of all reason. At one time the tax was 2s. 3d., and then it was 3s. 6d. There was an old saying in regard to the good whisky on which that amount of duty was paid that "There is not a headache in a hogshead." It was impossible that distillers could produce a healthy spirit, and put it on the market at a price that would pay, if the State persisted in imposing this crushing tax. It put a premium on dishonesty. He opposed the clause.

MR. McKENNA said the hon. Member for King's Lynn had entirely misunderstood what he said. He should have supported the tax as heartily as the hon. Member, if it had not been expressly declared when it was imposed that it was to be temporary, and that it was intended to be withdrawn. It was because it was a war tax, and a war tax only, that he wished to have it set aside now for good and all. He agreed with the hon. Member for Poplar that this tax, if it was to be continued, ought to be incorporated in the general Excise duties on beer and spirits. The Excise duties on beer and spirits ought to be made annual duties, in order that the Committee might have the opportunity of reviewing the whole range of the imposts on these articles of consumption. What they got now was a half-hearted debate on a mere fragment of these duties, while the whole scope of policy of the duties was withdrawn from their discussion. That, he thought, was a mistake. Either the duties should be made permanent, or else they should in their entirety be made annual. It was on that ground that he wished to support his hon. friend who had spoken against the clause.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 217; Noes, 141. (Division List No. 249.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William

Mr. Runciman.

Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt.Hn.Sir MichaelHicks
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, T.Gibson(King'sLynn)
Brassey, Albert
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt Hn. J.A(Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt. Hon.Sir John C.R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dorington, Rt.Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Grenfell, William Henry
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Gunter, Sir Robert
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse,Rt Hn.H(Somers't,E
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt.Hn. Col.W.
Kerr, John
Kimber, Sir Henry
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monm'th)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants, Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col.Charles W.(Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W.J.H. (Dumfriessh.)
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh,N.)
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Pease, HerbertPike(Darlington
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Samuel,Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith,H C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith,Rt Hn.J.Parker(Lanark
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson,Dr.E.C(Mon'gh'n,N
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G.E.(Notts.
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Atherley-Jones, L.
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crombie, John William
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans,SirFrancisH.(Maidst'ne)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt.Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol,E.)
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal,W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir JosephF.(Accrington
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A
M'Killop, W (Sligo, North)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt.Hn.John (Montrose
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Schwann, Charles E.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Soares, Ernest J.
Spencer, Rt.Hn.C.R(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas, D Alfred (Merthyr)
Thomson, F. W. (York, W.R.)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Flynn and Mr. M'Kenna.

Clause 6:—

*THE CHAIRMAN said that the next Amendment which was in order was that standing in the name of the hon. Member for Barnstaple, relating to incomes arising from colonial investments.

MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs) said that he quite understood that in reference to the Amendment which stood in his name at the top of page 16, a considerable portion of it would come under a previous ruling of the Chairman, on the ground that it would involve an additional charge. He, however, wished to move his first Amendment in conjunction with the Amendment which stood in the name of the hon. Member for Elland lower down on the Paper, which, he understood, had been discussed on former occasions and ruled in order. This was by no means the first occasion on which the question of a graduated income-tax had been raised in the House.

*THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member seriously mean to move only half of his proposed Amendment.

MR. J. H. LEWIS said he wished to move his first Amendment so as to graft on it that of the hon.

Member for Elland "to leave out 'one shilling,' and insert 'ten pence, and every person whose total income from all sources, upon which income-tax is now paid, exceeds £5,000 shall pay an additional tax upon the following scale, etc.'" That was an Amendment which had been under discussion formerly and had been ruled in order.

*THE CHAIRMAN: Has the hon. Member received the sanction of the hon. Member for Elland?

MR. J. H. LEWIS: Yes.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member put his scheme down only yesterday.

MR. J. H. LEWIS said that the scheme had been put down for some weeks, and it had only been starred because of a slight alteration he had made in it the previous day. However, he did not propose to lay that scheme before the Committee, but to move his first Amendment in connection with that of the hon. Member for Elland. In fact, the object of the hon. Member for Elland and his own were substantially identical. They wished to have a discussion on the general principle of a graduated income-tax. Opinion in favour of such a tax was growing in favour in the House and certainly in the country. He himself had received a considerable number of letters from Unionists on this subject, and there was a very large class of persons outside the House who were very deeply interested in the question. The princple of graduation had practically been settled by the imposition of estate duties, and in various other ways in which it already existed. Considerable abatements were allowed in respect of smaller incomes, and they submitted that it was desirable to extend the system. Owing to the great increase in indirect taxation within recent years, it had become necessary to revise the scale upon which income-tax was charged. At the present time the burden of taxation fell much more heavily upon persons of small means than upon rich men. A rich man had only to deny himself luxuries, but a poor man had to deny himself comforts and even necessaries in order to pay rates and taxes. The Government had refused over and over again to graduate the Customs and Excise duties. The most expensive tea was charged at the same rate as the cheapest tea that entered into the British market, and the same rule obtained in the case of wines and cigars. As the right hon. Gentleman was not able to graduate duties in that way he should proceed in some other direction, and could best do so in connection with the income-tax. It was essential that the tax should be adjusted to the capacity of the individual bearing it. They had been told that the estate duty did what was necessary in the way of graduated taxes on property. He denied that entirely. When the estate duty was proposed it produced £15,000,000, whereas now it yielded £30,000,000 a year, so that it was obvious that the time would come for heavier incomes to contribute more largely than they did at the present time. It was monstrous that a man with an income of £800 should pay just exactly the same rate of income-tax as a man with £8,000 or £80,000, as obtained under the present system. He ventured to think that the time would come for the extension of a principle which, was admitted to be both sound and equitable. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire had said that the object was a good one, and every sound argument was in its favour.

He hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not raise any technical objection because they were trying to raise a discussion on a great question of principle, and desired to brush aside all technical difficulties. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer was prepared to make a concession on this subject, they on their side were willing to wait for another year. There were objections on practical grounds, such as the difficulty of aggregating a man's income, but with the aid of Somerset House there ought not to be much difficulty in ascertaining any particular income, or testing whether a man's aggregate of income was correct. The only labour required for testing income from companies and investments in public stocks and securities could be performed by a clerical staff of the lowest grade. There were firms in the City at the present time able, for a consideration, to give a list of anyone's investments, and surely the Inland Revenue authorities would have no difficulty in testing the accuracy of returns of incomes derived from stocks and shares. One of the objections raised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Second Reading of the Bill was that graduation could not begin at a lower point than an income of £5,000 a year, because he would otherwise have to inquire into the income of a great number of persons. He (Mr. Lewis), failed to see how the difficulty would arise. The present system of taxing profits at the source was the most convenient that could be devised, according to the arguments advanced by the right hon. Gentleman, and he recognised a certain amount of force in that line of reasoning, but he thought it was desirable that the people should know they were being taxed. A great deal of extravagance prevalent in this country was due to the ease with which the taxes were raised, but with a graduated system of income-tax the people would realise the fact that they were being mulcted in a considerable portion of their income, and he hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would consider that part of the question, seeing that it was the duty of the right hon. Gentleman to encourage economy. If, as it might be contended, a graduated tax would be inconvenient to the authorities of Somerset House, it surely followed that the present system caused an infinitely greater inconvenience to payers of income-tax. In advocating a graduated income-tax he did not wish to impose on any class, however wealthy, an unfair share of the national burdens. All he asked was that taxation should be apportioned to taxable capacity. He was sorry the Government would not grant an inquiry into the subject in order that the country might know on official authority what the difficulties were, and whether they were insuperable. In moving the insertion after "tax" of the words "at the graduated rates hereinafter mentioned," he proposed to adopt the scale placed on the Paper by the hon. Member for the Elland Division. That scale provided that "tenpence" should be substituted for "one shilling," and that "every person whose total income from all sources, upon which income-tax is now paid, exceeds £5,000, shall pay an additional tax upon the following scale:—Incomes over £5,000, up to £10,000, at the rate of 1d.; incomes over £10,000, at the rate of 2d." He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 37, after the words 'income tax' to insert the words 'at the graduated rates hereinafter mentioned.'" (*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed "That those words be there inserted."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he understood that the hon. Member had adopted the scale of the hon. Member for Elland, not because he thought that on its merits it was an improvement on his own; but because it brought him within the scope of the rules of the House. The hon. Member would be the first to admit that if the principle for which he had argued was adopted, the proposal of the hon. Member for Elland would be inadequate to apply it in practice. The hon. Member based his argument on the fact that they ought to tax the superfluity of this world's goods, which a man might possess, more highly than the necessaries of life. Within moderate limits that principle was already embodied in the income-tax, but the hon. Gentleman proposed to give it an extension hitherto unknown. The hon. Gentleman would find it extremely difficulty to define what was superflous and what was necessary with regard to the income of any class or any invidual. Surely, if it was on that basis that the tax was to be collected, they must distinguish not merely between the incomes of different men, but between the claims upon them. Two men might each have £1,000 a year, but one might have a large family, while the other might have no one dependent upon him. Could they say that the same amount was necessary in each case for subsistence, and that the same balance remained in each case for luxuries? It was difficult to estimate how much revenue the Exchequer would lose through the adoption of any of these schemes. Under the scheme which stood in the hon. Member's own name, in which he proposed to raise the maximum of the income-tax to double its present amount, the loss would be from £7,000,000 to £10,000,000; and under the proposal of the hon. Member for Elland the loss would be probably between £3,000,000 and £4,000,000.

MR. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) said his Amendment really meant that the existing tax should remain untouched, and that another tax should be levied over and above it. Lower figures had been introduced because the rules would not allow him to submit a proposal which imposed a higher tax upon a single individual. He invited the Chancellor of the Exchequer to discuss his Amendment on the basis of a tax over and above the existing income-tax.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said it was difficult to discuss a proposal which was not before the Committee.

MR. TREVELYAN: It was discussed on that basis two years ago, as a question of policy.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he did not know what the hon. Member's scheme was. All he knew was that it was out of order. It was not reasonable to ask that he should give figures showing the effect of a scheme which had not been described. It would be very difficult to recover from the higher incomes the amount which would be subtracted from the lower incomes. The hon. Member for Elland's proposal was that the present rate of income-tax should be limited to incomes over £10,000. But he supposed the idea was that there should be an additional tax on incomes which exceeded, say, £15,000.

MR. TREVELYAN said his proposal, as it stood on the Paper, was that the existing tax should be levied as at present only at a rate 2d. lower. What he desired was that rich men having £5,000 a year and upwards should declare their incomes, that an extra tax should be placed upon them, and that the income-tax should be graduated after that amount. That was a proposition which the right hon. Gentleman himself discussed and gave figures bearing upon a few days ago.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he did not complain of the hon. Member's raising the question in the only way in which it was open to him to raise it; but surely the hon. Gentleman could not expect him to give figures about a plan which could not be discussed.

MR. TREVELYAN: You gave the figures on the proposal the other day.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that being so he hoped the hon. Gentleman would accept the figures he gave the other day, which would be found in the report of his speech. Those figures tended to show the very serious effect which any proposal of this kind in reference to the income-tax would have upon tho revenue. The hon. Gentleman seemed to think that under a system requiring every man to declare his income the Exchequer would be likely to obtain a larger return from the income-tax than under the present system of collecting the tax at the source of income. Experience was wholly against that theory. The additional yield from the income-tax in recent years was largely due to so many undertakings becoming public companies and publishing balance-sheets, and to the tax being paid at the source where the income was made instead of it being dependent upon a return furnished by each individual. When the income-tax was first proposed by Mr. Pitt it was based on individual assessment. In 1803 it was put upon what was practically the present basis of calculating it at the source of income, and, immediately, a shilling tax under the new system gave almost exactly the same yield as a two-shilling tax under the old system. The fact of the matter was that it was exceedingly difficult to ascertain the income of individuals. Every Member of the Committee must have known men whose great incomes no one suspected until after their death. How was the Inland Revenue to trace the incomes of men of that kind? He ventured to say that to alter the present basis of the income-tax would be to strike a serious blow at the yield, and would be a most retrograde step in our financial system. Complaints had been made that abatements and exemptions were not always enjoyed by the persons they were supposed to benefit. That was the point which would be considered by the Committee at present sitting under the presidency of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon. The more exemptions and abatements there were, the greater was the burden thrown upon the authorities. The work at certain periods of the year was exceedingly severe, and, though errors might occasionally creep in, they did not spare themselves in their efforts to give satisfaction to the claimants of abatements. Certainly the heads of the Department, as well as the men, would be most glad if they could make the system more efficient.

Mr. J. H. LEWIS said he made no attack whatever upon the officials of the Department. He knew they were doing their very best in the matter. What he meant to convey was, that the evils of which he spoke were inherent to the system, and that in consequence a large number of people, particularly those unaccustomed to business ways such as widows and spinsters, did not receive the abatements to which they were entitled.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that in times past there had probably been many cases of the kind referred to, but he thought that with the greater publicity now given they were a diminishing number. All the schemes which had been suggested depended for their efficiency upon self-assessment, but hon. Members were altogether mistaken if they thought that by closely scrutinising registers at Somerset House, or by other inquiries, the Government could ascertain the individual incomes of all the wealthy men in the country. Any inquisitorial attempt to get at men's incomes would endanger the existence of the tax altogether, because it would render it intolerable to the public. Under the circumstance he could give no countenance to the Amendment. He admitted that a high income-tax pressed more heavily upon certain sections of the community than upon others. That was true of any tax. But the remedy was not to be found in any attempt to graduate the tax. It was rather in compensatory taxes of other kinds, such as the death duties, and in reducing the income-tax to a lower figure whenever their resources allowed them to do so.

Mr. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): When will that be?

Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that was a Question he was unable to answer, but he hoped it would not be so long postponed as the hon. Gentleman would wish.

Mr. LAMBERT: I should like to see it done at once.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was glad to have from the other side of the House an assurance of support when he should propose a reduction of the income-tax. In his opinion it was by keeping the income-tax at a moderate figure that the evils inherent in the system could best be met, and not by altering the basis on which it had been collected with such efficacy for so many years.

***Mr. TREVELYAN** said he was very sensible of the awkwardness of the form in which a Motion for the graduation of income-tax always had to be moved. The advocates of the system would much prefer to propose higher taxation upon the very rich, leaving the present tax approximately as now for separate discussion. The Amendment standing in his name did not in any way affect the tax now levied. There was no interference with the present tax whatever under the proposal they were discussing. All that was proposed by the Amendment was to have an additional tax upon those who had an income of over £5,000, graduated from that point upwards. He had for over three years taken part in pressing for some method of graduating the income-tax, but, like his hon. friend, he had never dogmatised about the practicability of it. What they had been doing was to press for a practical inquiry by practical people who had the matter at their fingers' ends; and he thought they had been scurvily treated in the matter. In 1902 the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol held out hopes that in the Committee he was then appointing to inquire into the income-tax he would leave room for this to be considered. On this he (Mr. Trevelyan) withdrew his Amendment to the Budget Bill. In the next year, 1903, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon again took the official Treasury view against graduation, but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, whom he was going to appoint chairman of the Committee, told them that he would see that the discussion of this question was not prevented. Upon that they again withdrew this Amendment. Now, this year, from the present Chancellor, who, in his turn had become Chairman of the Committee, they could get no promise, and they were left in the position that they found this question of graduation was omitted from the reference to the Committee. He did not say that the right hon. Gentleman was bound by previous statements of other Chancellors, but he did think they had had a reasonable expectation, which, had they been licensed holders, would certainly have entitled them to some equitable compensation. In spite of this, the question had made some progress, for the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol at an earlier stage in the Budget discussions warned the Members opposite that, if the income-tax were going to remain as high as it was in peace time, they would find this question come very much to the front; and he actually went so far as to say—

> "I have never seen any objection in principle to a movement of this kind. We have graduation in the death and house duties, I confess the difficulties and doubt its practicability."

But he went on to press that "this question of the practicability of abatements and graduations should be examined by a practical, skilled Committee. He could not but think that this was the moment they might fairly make the claim." Then the present Chancellor, in spite of what he had said, had begun to take the matter more seriously. In the speech he made at an earlier stage of the Budget Bill he discussed in a more thorough way than to-day the proposition of extra taxation being levied on large incomes, and he went so far as to go into figures. The first objection he raised was that it would offend powerful interests and would be unpopular; of course, it would be unpopular with the very rich; every tax was unpopular with the people taxed.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The point of my observation was that the successful working of the system would depend upon the co-operation of the people taxed.

*MR. TREVELYAN, proceeding, said that, in the calculation the right hon. Gentleman made as to the result of additional taxation upon incomes of over £5,000, he cited the Inland Revenue to the effect that only one-fifth of the whole income-tax would come under the head of "Incomes of over £5,000." This, of course, was a large sum of the whole money; and if the large incomes upon which this additional taxation would be levied were held by a few individuals, it was perfectly obvious that, regarding the income-tax as a whole, the effect of making the tax unpopular would be very small. It would be a tax upon the luxury and superfluity of a few individuals and, as far as it went, might be a relief to the ordinary income-tax payer and make the tax as a whole more popular; in fact, this was the argument of the Member for West Bristol, who urged that the question of the graduation of the income-tax necessarily forces itself to the front when you are making the income-tax more unpopular by levying it at a higher rate in times of peace. It was alleged that this tax would be very unpopular among the people paying it and that it would be very difficult to discover the incomes which would have to be taxed under this proposal. He admitted that he saw no way in which they could be assessed except originally by the declaration of those who possessed them. Publication was a very important part of it, because there would be a fair number of people whose human nature would lead them to declare in order to have the credit of having big incomes. His hon. friend said they could to an extent test what rich men's incomes were by public records. If a man was living in this country and was in a high and important position, he would be chary of doing anything which would hold him up to public opprobrium by avoiding the tax, and the fact that they would be able to check the returns that were made would make it very unlikely that any large number of rich men would seriously try to avoid the tax. He did not, therefore, think there was any insuperable objection to raising the tax in this way.

The last time the right hon. Gentleman spoke about this tax he said that the Commissioners of Inland Revenue put the amount of incomes subject to graduation at one-fifth of the total incomes subject to taxation, and he calculated, taking the average graduated tax at 6d. on incomes of over £5,000, that the tax would yield £3,000,000 additional. They then advised him that they would have to deduct £750,000 for evasions. He could not understand the rest of his speech, because later on he said that, making these deductions, the possible gain would be reduced to £1,500,000.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I said in the first place that you would have to allow £750,000 for legitimate avoidance and that then you would have to allow for evasions, illegitimate avoidance of the tax. The yield of the tax would then be reduced to £1,500,000.

*Mr. TREVELYAN said this meant that actually half of the tax would not be declared, if the sum left would be an additional tax of £1,500,000. Of course, without further technical evidence he did not in the least accept this statement. But the Chancellor further argued that there would only be an addition to the total returns of £1,500,000, and added "That is a trifle not worth having." He (Mr. Trevelyan) objected to that attitude altogether. Surely £1,500,000 was worth having in the present financial straits. What he desired to insist upon was that they ought not to be prepared to take as final, in so important a case, calculations which had been put forward and which the Chancellor of the Exchequer refused to justify by investigating. Why did he burke inquiry if he was so certain of his position? The truth of the matter was that the right hon. Gentleman knew it would be a very serious thing for himself and the Party opposite, because it would upset the financial coach. He avoided the question because it was opposed to the policy to which he was friendly. The right hon. Gentleman urged that they must go on under this excessively high standard of indirect taxation because he wished it to go forth that the Government could not get anything more from higher direct taxation. The one point upon which their financial policy turned was the availability of sources of direct revenue. They were bound on the Opposition side of the House to seek new sources of direct revenue, and every source of revenue ought to be probed before they resolved to go in for permanent taxation upon the food of the people. They ought to be certain that they had tapped every source of revenue from vested interests and monopolies before adopting a policy which the Government had secretly befriended.

Sir GEORGE BARTLEY said he regretted that the hon. Member for Elland had brought into the subject a question of Party.

*Mr. TREVELYAN said he had only brought it in with regard to the refusal of the right hon. Gentleman to hold an inquiry.

Sir GEORGE BARTLEY said he had raised the question of this system of taxation on many occasions, and he had always felt that the poorer classes paid more in proportion to their incomes than the rich. This was unavoidable so long as they taxed alcohol, and so long as people drank alcoholic liquors excessively. With regard to the income-tax in recent years there had been many changes, and although he used to think that the rich ought to pay a larger share a great difference had been brought about by the introduction of the death duties. Incomes might be divided as being derived from two great sources. The first class was the industrial incomes representing the amounts earned from day to day. He did not think it was desirable to put an excessive tax upon any income that a man earned by his own industry. The great thing they all wanted to do was to promote industry. It was desirable to encourage persons by their industry to earn large incomes, because in that way they would be promoting the prosperity of the community. The second great source of income was what he called spontaneous incomes derived from investments which were distributed in a variety of ways over the community. Many years ago he urged that there should be a different tax upon spontaneous and industrial incomes. The man who obtained his income as a doctor, a barrister, or a lawyer, had to pay he same tax as the man who derived his income from investments, and that was unfair. He had frequently urged that there should be a different tax for those two great classes of incomes, but he had never been able to get any Chancellor of the Exchequer to agree with him. If a man inherited £1,000,000 he paid, calculated at 8 per cent., the sum of £80,000, and if he enjoyed his inheritance for twenty years the tax at 4 per cent. worked out as if he paid £5,888 a year for his life, and that worked out exactly at 3s. 2d. in the £ income-tax upon the balance of the income derived from that £1,000,000. Roughly speaking the man was paying 3s. 2d. of income-tax in addition to the income-tax of 1s. claimed under this Budget. He thought that was the best and wisest form of graduating the income-tax. It did not burden the man who was engaged in the promotion of enterprise, but when he left his fortune it was taxed in this way, practically amounting to a large income-tax. He would take the other extreme. If a man succeeded to £10,000 there would be £300 paid to the State in death duties. In the course of twenty years, instead of paying 3s. 2d. income-tax he would pay, of course, a very much smaller amount. It would work out at 1s. 2d. in the £ in addition to the ordinary income-tax. This indicated that the present system worked very fairly, and had adjusted to a great extent many anomalies which were certainly prominent before the passing of the Act.

He did not wish to enter into the great difficulties connected with a graduated income-tax. He agreed that theoretically there was a great deal to be said for it, but he was satisfied that there were practical difficulties in the way of carrying it out. Substantial justice had, he thought, been done by the death duties. He did not for a moment say that the necessity might not some day arise for revising the scale formed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire. Millionaires were becoming so common that they should be looked after more carefully. Still he thought the principle was fair, and it would be a mistake to introduce any system of graduating the income-tax which would lead to great evasion, to harassing inquiries, and to the tax becoming objectionable and disliked by different classes of the community, because they would have to investigate everybody's means, and by so doing they would do harm by making the tax more unpopular than it was under the present system. He was anxious to see the burden of taxation more fairly adjusted on the shoulders of different classes and individuals, but he thought this scheme would not be so beneficial as perhaps a more careful system of death duties would be.

SIR EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick) said that those of them who were in the House in 1894 might all feel that it was worth while living ten years more if only to listen to the speech of the hon. Member for North Islington. It was the best example he had ever heard of the proverb that it was never too late to mend. The hon. Member in his interesting and non-partisan speech had examined the relation of the existing death duties to the question of the graduation of the income-tax. The graduation as between earned and unearned incomes was, however, only one part of the question, and he thought there was a further case still for examination. The speech of the hon. Member had indeed rather strengthened the feeling that was in his mind before, that the time had really come for some public inquiry into this subject. Of course the Chancellor of the Exchequer and any Government started from the principle that graduation was not desirable. From their point of view the case against any inquiry was complete, but he thought that a very large number of people started from the point of view that graduation was desirable if practical means of carrying it into effect could be found. A number of methods of graduating the income-tax could be suggested. They had heard four that afternoon, including that mentioned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of greatly extending the system of exemptions and abatements. The right hon. Gentleman said that it would involve more hard work upon an already hardworked department, but, though that was true, it would be possible to increase the staff. The extension of exemptions and abatements was clearly practicable without altering the present system of collection at the source, and the plan proposed by his hon. friend the Member for Elland was also practicable. He admitted that he was impressed, as every one must have seen impressed, by the fact that all who went to the Treasury came out strongly impressed by the practical difficulties in the way of graduating the income-tax, but he did not see why these objections should not be brought into the open. He did not see what objection there was to having a Committee of inquiry which would really go into the whole question. It was true that some anomalies might be created if they distinguished between earned and unearned incomes; but they had all these anomalies at present, and what weighed with him was the question, not whether they would get rid of all anomalies, but whether they could not lessen the existing anomalies. The present system admittedly created tremendous anomalies and in many cases very great hardship, and, at any rate, by an extension of the system of exemptions and abatements, or by some such system as the hon. Member for Elland advocated, they might lessen those anomalies. The sooner the Government of the day agreed to some Committee of inquiry the better it would be for the future of the income-tax. If the Committee reported adversely they would know that it was only after a more complete investigation of the subject than had ever been held; but his opinion was that such an inquiry would result in a Report which would show that more than one scheme of graduating the income-tax was feasible and might be desirable.

*Mr. **HERBERT SAMUEL** said that the hon. Member for Islington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had quoted the death duties as being an answer to the contention of hon. Members on that side of the House. The death duties were on the whole exceedingly well calculated to make the necessary differentiation between earned and unearned income. But the question of graduation was a very different thing. On both sides of the House they were agreed that differentiation was necessary and desirable. A man who had an earned income, more or less precarious, dependent on his health and capacity, was in a different position from a man whose income was derived from land or from capital and was a continuous income. And the former had to lay by money for future eventualities and for his children, while the latter had his land or his capital behind him and was not obliged to save. It was necessary that the income of the first should be taxed less than the income of the second. That was done by the death duties. A man who inherited an estate which had paid duty to the extent of 8 per cent., had lost 8 per cent. of his capital, and therefore 8 per cent. of his income. This was equivalent to an income-tax of 1s. 7d. in the £, so that practically he paid 2s. 7d. in the £ on his income while the recipient of an earned income of an equal amount paid only 1s. The death duties, no doubt, applied the principle of graduation. But the principle of graduation ought to apply to earned incomes just as much as to unearned incomes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had used an argument which did not carry conviction. The right hon. Gentleman said that if they wished to carry this principle to its logical conclusion they must have one tax on the man with a large family and another tax on a man with a small family. Of course, any proposal could be met by a *reductio ad absurdum*; but because they could never secure exact justice in the incidence of taxation that was no reason why they should tolerate a gross injustice. The Chancellor of the Exchequer also agreed that the proposals of his hon. friend would result in a loss of revenue rather than in an increase. But this, of course, was due to the fact that the rules of the House forbade a Private Member proposing an increase in the total of taxation. But the right hon. Gentleman would not dream of asserting that it was impossible to devise any graduated scale which would increase the revenue. This Amendment was put down merely in order to raise discussion, and to take the opinion of the Committee on the principle of graduation of the income-tax. They were not tied to details. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, at any rate, carried conviction when he said it was impossible to give up the collection of income at the source. If that system were abandoned it would cause a considerable loss of revenue, but it would be quite possible to adopt the system of graduation without abandoning that of collection at the source. At the present time, through the system of abatements, they had a carefully graduated system of income-tax. A man with an income of £150 paid nothing whatever; the tax on £250 was 1·8 per cent.; on £350 it was 2·7 per cent.; on £450 it was 3·3 per cent.; on £550 it was 3·9 per cent.; on £650 it was 4·5 per cent. and on £700 and over it was 5 per cent. There they had a graduated scale of income-tax, ranging from nothing to 5 per cent. Why should it be impossible to extend that scale still further.

When the income-tax was first proposed in England it was violently opposed, because it was said that it would lead to inquisitorial inquiry, to fraud, and to great expense in collection. They now found the disadvantages so small in comparison with the importance of the revenue raised that these objections no longer carried weight. Similarly in the future they might find the hon. Member for North Islington as loud in praise of this graduation as he now was in the case of the death duties, which he formerly opposed so strenuously. Graduation of income-tax existed in many other countries. It was successful in Prussia and many other German States, also in Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Victoria, South Australia, and New Zealand, and if in all those countries it was found practicable to levy a graduated income-tax, why should they believe, on the *ipse dixit* of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and of the Treasury, that such a scheme could not possibly be enforced. It was highly important that an effort should be made, if possible, to overcome the difficulties which might attach to this, as they necessarily attached to all forms of new taxation. If there was any desire to do justice in matters of taxation on the part of that Committee and the House of Commons, it must be recognised that the present system fell far short of what was desired. The impositions which Parliament laid upon the nation ought to be adjusted as closely as possible to the principle of financial equity, and the only principle that could guide them was that of equal sacrifice of ability to pay. An arithmetical equality in the rate of tax did not secure an equality of burden. Surely it was obvious that if they were to tax at the same rate in the £ incomes of £50, £500, £5,000, and £50,000 they would have no equality of burden. The man with £50 would be taxed upon his necessities, the man with £500 upon his comforts, the man with £5,000, would pay upon his luxuries, and the possessor of an income of £50,000 would be taxed nothing at all, except perhaps upon the pleasure of accumulating fresh stores of unused wealth. On a previous occasion during these discussions he had shown on official and other sound authority that the average amount paid by the working class in indirect taxation was at the rate of 1s. 7d. in the £ on their incomes, whilst on the higher incomes the rate was only 1s. in the £. We now had graduation, but it was graduation in the wrong way, and if hon. Members approached this question with an unbiassed mind and examined the problem of the comparative incidence of taxation they would see there was an overwhelming *primâ facie* case for an expert inquiry both as to the incidence of taxation on the various classes of the nation and also as to the practicability of a graduated income-tax.

*MR. SOARES (Devonshire, Barnstaple) regretted that the hon. Member for the Flint Boroughs had received so unsympathetic an answer from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was, to his mind, a matter of the greatest importance, and he sincerely hoped before the debate concluded the right hon. Gentleman would be able to see his way to alter the line he had taken up and give the inquiry which was asked for. When considering the imposition of a new tax or when reconsidering an old tax the Committee ought to be guided by two main ideas. They ought first to consider whether the tax when imposed would be regarded as a fair and just tax by those who had to pay it, and, secondly, they should consider whether the burden would fall equally on all. Unless the income-tax was graduated neither of these principles would apply to it, and they did not apply to it in its present condition. In its present form the income-tax could not be said to be fair as between an income of £1,000 a year and an income of £10,000 a year, nor could it be said to be fair as between a struggling professional man and a millionaire. The question of differentiation would however be brought up later in the debate on a different Amendment and the only question now under discussion was a question of the graduation of income-tax—whether it was right that there should be a graduation of the income-tax as it existed at the present time, or whether a man with £800 a year should pay the same tax as a man with £80,000 a year. He would remind the Committee that during the war the income-tax amounted to no less than one-sixteenth of the income. Most of the Committee knew what a burden that was on an income of £800 a year. A man with an income of £800 a year had to pay £50 income-tax, whilst a man with £80,000 paid £5,000. They knew in the case of an income of £800 such a tax as £50 meant many sacrifices as, for instance, inferior education for one's children or the foregoing of the annual holiday at the seaside, but it was a very different thing in the case of rich men. The income-tax of 1s. 3d. in the £ at the time of the war made no difference to them; some might have taken a grouse moor instead of a deer forest as being cheaper, or curtailed their subscriptions to the Party funds, but they had not to go without necessaries; their wives and children did not suffer, nor did their own health.

The fact of the matter was that a graduated income-tax would mean a tax on luxuries. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had some time ago expressed the opinion that it was impossible to have a tax on luxuries under our present fiscal system, but although he was being shown that it was quite possible, the right hon. Gentleman would not even grant an inquiry into the matter. It was said that if a graduated income-tax was put in force it would mean that a declaration of income would have to be made by every man before a committee. It might not be the pleasantest thing to do, but it must be remembered that business men now had to make a declaration of income and they usually made that declaration in the town in which they carried on their business, and the disclosure of the fluctuations of the income of a business man was of infinitely more importance than the disclosure of the income of a man who lived on the produce of his investments. He did not think the Committee ought to be so very over-scrupulous in their dealings with wealthy men. It must be remembered that this Amendment, if accepted, only affected in its present form incomes of over £5,000 a year, and as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol had said when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer that there were not more than 10,000 people with incomes of over £5,000 a year, it would not throw a great amount of work on the department. Doubts had been expressed as to the practicability of the scheme, but it had been pointed out with truth that a similar scheme was actually in force at the present time in many European countries and in Australia, and no doubts ought to be expressed, nor any condemnation passed, on a scheme as being impracticable which was, as a fact, in force and working at the present time. At any rate, a case for inquiry had been made out.

The history of this matter was that the hon. Member for the Elland Division brought in a similar proposal in 1902, and the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, expressed the opinion that there was a great deal to be said both in favour of graduation and against it. The right hon. Gentleman, however, promised to consider whether there should be an inquiry or not and upon that the hon. Member for Elland withdrew his Amendment. In 1903 the hon. Member for Flint Boroughs brought forward a similar Amendment, which, however, received very little sympathy from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon, who had then succeeded the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon thought the difficulties in the way were insuperable. In that debate, however, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol intervened, and stated that he considered the question a fair subject for discussion, and he expressed himself as being anxious that the inquiry of the Committee to be appointed should extend not only to the question of abatements but to the question of graduation generally. The subject was pre-eminently one for inquiry. Not only was there the high financial authority of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol in favour of inquiry, but there was a practically unanimous demand from the Opposition in the matter. If the inquiry did no good it could not possibly do any harm. Should the proposal be proved impracticable the matter would be at an end, whereas if the decision were the other way a new scheme could be introduced by which the income-tax would be placed on a fair and equitable footing.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said that he was not at present convinced that the income-tax could be graduated from top to bottom, but he would like to see it done if possible, and therefore he would welcome an inquiry in order to ascertain whether, without destroying the basis of the income-tax, the impost could be graduated to a much greater extent than at present, if not indeed from top to bottom. He did not believe that any Committee would report in favour of altering the present general system of collecting the tax at the source, but it was very possible that means might be found of some further graduation than was now made. The present income-tax had been in force about sixty years; it was introduced by Sir Robert Peel purely as a temporary measure for three years, and the wording of the Act of 1803 was adopted almost without alteration. The income-tax was thus being worked under an Act 100 years old, and practically no changes had been made. Consequently there was room for, and a probability of great advantages accruing from, an inquiry. In June, 1902, when an inquiry was suggested, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol gave a sympathetic reply, and, at a later stage used the words—

> "The hon. and learned Member for Dumfries referred to what he and others had said as to the practical difficulties—he might use even a stronger word—of a graduated income-tax. He asked if some inquiry might not be instituted into the matter. That seemed to him a suggestion well worthy of consideration, and he promised to give it that consideration."

After this sympathetic speech the Motion of his hon. friend was withdrawn. Last year, on 22nd June, 1903, the question again arose on the Motion of his hon. friend, and the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Member for Croydon, gave a fairly sympathetic answer, stating that it was intended to appoint a Committee of the House and that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol would be chairman of that Committee. In the course of the debate, the right hon. Gentleman said he was anxious that the inquiry should extend not only to the question of abatements but also to the practicability of graduation. He did not himself feel that it was practicable but, if it were, it would be a good thing for everybody. Again, on the strength of those words the Motion was withdrawn. Naturally the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not bound by those words, but in view of the fact that a gentleman of such pronounced financial authority as the Member for West Bristol was in favour of a Committee of inquiry by which either some practical scheme might be discovered or satisfaction given, he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would view the matter favourably.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said this matter was one on which he felt strongly, and on which he should not like to give a silent vote. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol had been directly appealed to on the strength of a former debate in which he stated his extreme desire to arrive at a juster principle of administering the income-tax and his sympathy with the principle of graduation. He said he thought it was practicable in the case of the death duties and house tax, but he did not think it was practicable in the case of the income-tax. Then followed those expressions of desire for inquiry in order to prove whether he was right or not. This was a very weighty pronouncement, but in all the allusions made that afternoon to the practicability of dealing with the income-tax by graduation, the actual difficulty had been rather suggested than faced. The reason for having it in their minds was that it affected not only graduation in the higher portions of the scale, but the same difficulty affected abatements at the present time; and if some of them were right in thinking that the practical difficulty of getting at the income at the source, so far as it affected graduation in the highest scale, was a real one, it was a real one also with regard to the abatements now being made. It was a difficulty which arose with regard to the man not very well known personally; it did not arise in the case of Peers and men of well known names, but in the case of men bearing common names—there were three or four — shopkeepers in London, who also owned farms in Wales and had investments. The difficulty, of course, was to find out whether these were the same person. It could only be proved by the man's own declaration; and the man's own declaration could not be taken unless it were accompanied by publication. But this difficulty existed with regard to abatements at the present time; and, if it were a real difficulty, they must be being defrauded on the lower portion of the scale in the case of these abatements, and they would be still worse defrauded if the suggestion of the hon. Member for the Berwick Division were adopted, and these abatements were extended. This in itself formed a case for inquiry, because it was no speculative proposal which raised the difficulty; the difficulty was already before them. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, with his great authority, knowledge, and consideration of his subject, saw that it was raised by the matter of abatements, and that it ought really to be a portion of the inquiry of the present Committee. It had not been, and he was afraid ought not to be, because although his right hon. friend was on that Committee, it was a small Committee to which a matter of this sort could not be referred with that satisfaction they would wish to see. Therefore, it must be a fresh and a larger Committee. They had come not only very nearly to pledges, but in the nature of the case there was ground for inquiry.

The question of graduation had lately been discussed by all those Continental countries where it was now proposed to introduce the income-tax for the first time, and they had discussed the question of the man's own declaration or collection at the source. Those who attached the highest importance to collection at the source knew the necessity of not tampering with that principle unless there were to be publication. But in the United States during and immediately after the war the principle of a graduated income-tax was pushed very far indeed; and it was accompanied by universal declaration. Unless they published the figures they could not have a graduated income-tax; but the time had come when they would have to make up their minds either to increasing the death duties or to increased taxation on large incomes. As regarded revenue, the American experiments showed that they would get a larger revenue than expected. He was convinced that the difficulty could and would be faced either by increasing the death duties or by public declaration, as in the United States; and, unless they were prepared to inquire into the matter, they would find that the same difficulty affected abatements and that they would be defrauded at the lower scale.

Sir Charles Dilke.

Mr. BROADHURST (Leicester) said that owing to his incapacity to deal with figures to the extent necessary he was unable to formulate his views in detail, but for many years he had advocated the adjustment of the income-tax according to the means of the citizen. Some years ago the hon. Member for Flint Boroughs produced a scheme which seemed to be perfectly reasonable. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer never turned a deaf ear to his appeals, and it was from the right hon. Gentleman that they got a promise that the matter should be investigated by a Committee which the present Chancellor had appointed. From that Committee he had great hopes that a considerable measure of justice would follow. There was no doubt that a great body of people at present complained of the unequal system of taxation. Every man should make a contrtribution equal to his ability to pay. In the case of the workman who earned £100 a year they could levy a direct tax of 5 per cent. upon his income. He would like to see a 5 per cent. tax levied upon all incomes, whether it be £1,000 or £10,000. Incomes from investments should be taxed at a higher rate than incomes derived from industry. He could not understand for the life of him why the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not agree to the appeal for a Committee or Commission to go exhaustively into this question of taxation in order to see whether it could not be adjusted so as to place the burden more equally than it was at present. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would agree to the appointment of this Committee, because he could obtain the services of the highest authorities in the country upon finance, and he could call experts from the Board of Trade, Inland Revenue, the Treasury, and other Government Departments, all possessing great knowledge of our system of taxation. Let them have a full, free, and impartial inquiry, which would give satisfaction to that large body of the community who complained of the injustice of the present basis of taxation. He thought that the time had arrived when an exhaustive inquiry should be held into this question.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) said that whatever scheme was adopted must be some scheme which did not alter the present method of collection. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean was of opinion that it was impossible to achieve this without the publication of the names of all persons who claimed abatement, and he should regret any such publication, which would be open to the insuperable objection that the number would be so large. The opposition to publication would come quite as much from persons with small as with large incomes. Take a person with an income under £400 derived from incomes in public companies. It was perfectly obvious that it was impossible for the secretaries of companies to make proper deductions in the case of persons who were entitled to abatements, because they did not know the income of the various shareholders. One shareholder in a company might have £20,000 a year, and the income of another might amount to £390. The first was not entitled to an abatement, the second was. The abatement was obtained by making a private representation to the Treasury authorities, and only the person demanding the abatement was put to inconvenience and trouble. He failed to see that there was any substantial difficulty in this matter. If a Committee were appointed to make an investigation of the subject they could see what the practical difficulties were. The same arrangement for allowing abatements would apply in the case of a person deriving his income from land. It would, in his opinion, be a practicable and a successful method.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said the principle of a graduated income-tax seemed to him to be not only eminently false, but really to suggest to the State to enter upon a career of plunder with the avowed object of preventing people earning more than a certain amount of income. Yes, because when they had earned more than a certain amount of income the tax was to increase progressively, a shilling here and two shillings there, and the result of that would be practically to prohibit by a process of taxation on the part of the State the earning of more than a certain sum. That was entirely contrary to public policy. Their policy should be to encourage people to earn by honest means as much as they possibly could. [Cries of "Oh."] Certainly. He did not know whether that was applause or jeers. If they were jeers they were greatly misplaced, for surely it should be the object of the State to develop the energies of all its citizens. He did not know a better means of developing them than by giving the people the opportunity of earning as much as they honestly could. It was extremely presumptuous to propose in this House a system of graduated income-tax in the face of the repeated declarations of the Inland Revenue authorities, who knew what they were talking about, and of successive Chancellors of the Exchequer, that the system was impossible. [AN HON. MEMBER: No.] He thought it was impossible.

The Committee was no doubt aware the two-thirds of the whole of the income-tax was levied by deductions. In 1901–2 the total yield of the income-tax was £41,000,000, and of that sum £27,500,000, as nearly as possible, was levied by deductions. How were they going to apply any graduated scale to the system of deductions? If they were going to graduate at the source, as they collected at the source, they would require an army of clerks to ascertain, assuming that they had the means of ascertaining, what the exact income of each person was and what was the exact deduction which should be made from each dividend warrant or certificate. There were £27,500,000 levied by deductions. Assuming that the maximum was 3s., they would have to levy not £27,500,000, to which they were entitled, but £80,000,000. That was to say, they would be levying £80,000,000, knowing that they were levying £50,000,000 more than they were entitled to. Was that a conceivable state of things? And what would happen? Each person who had paid more than he ought to have paid would come to the Inland Revenue Office, where there would have to be another army of clerks, in order to make his case good for relief. This was really a fantastic proposal, only worthy of a comic opera, and which the country would not endure for a year. The system of abatements which applied to the income-tax between £160 and £700 cost the country in the year 1901 no less than £5,799,000—which was a much larger sum than most hon. Members of the Committee were aware of.

The theory of a graduated income-tax was not only impracticable but it would be unjust. Why should they alter the rate that must be applied to the income-tax? It was the amount of the income that was the test of the amount of the tax that should be paid. A consistent single percentage was the true measure of the tax. Where the unfairness was in that he had never been able to perceive. If they were to charge a man who had £10,000 a year ten times more than a man who had £1,000 a year, that he should call unfair. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Forest of Dean suggested that everybody should make a declaration. He presumed that even then the right hon. Gentleman would not countenance a scheme whereby the maximum of tax should be levied from everybody. As he understood the right hon. Baronet's proposal, if they first went to everybody for a declaration of their income, that would knock on the head the system of deductions. Did the right hon. Gentleman think that the people of this country would be willing to accept such a system? This was a commercial country. Competition was exceedingly keen, and there was a necessity for keeping secret commercial men's incomes. Any betrayal of a business man's income might be ruin to that business. The right hon. Baronet knew how strong the objection was felt in France to the publication of a man's income. Such a system had never been introduced in France and never would be. It was the very rarest thing in the world for the Inland Revenue to get a real declaration of a man's total income. He believed that the present system of the income-tax was the only true and possible one, and that any scheme of graduation would result in serious injustice to the individual and a very great injury to the Exchequer.

Mr. RUNCIMAN said he could not agree with the hon. Member that a heavier tax on larger incomes discouraged the earning of those larger incomes. Let them take an arithmetical proof. He took it that a man who had an income of £10,000 a year, and who paid 1s. income-tax, would have £9,500 a year to live upon; and a man with £20,000 a year with the graduated tax would have £16,000 left to live upon. He could not imagine for one moment that that would not be a sufficient inducement for a man to increase his income if he elected to do so. What they wanted to consider at the present moment was the view which the Chancellor of the Exchequer took of this case. The right hon. Gentleman had not made it clear whether his objection to an inquiry was based on the principle of graduation or on the method and the difficulties of applying that principle. He could not imagine for one moment that the right hon. Gentleman was of opinion that the income-tax, as it at present stood, was perfect. He understood that the hon. Member for King's Lynn thought it was perfect.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: Oh, no! On the contrary, he thought it was imperfect in many respects, especially in regard to abatements.

Mr. RUNCIMAN said he was sorry he had misunderstood the hon. Member. What they wanted to know was whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was so satisfied with the present system of levying the income-tax that he did not wish an inquiry such as had been suggested that afternoon, not for the first time in the House of Commons. The reference to the Committee that had been appointed was extremely narrow. It dealt practically only with abatements and evasions. These were of importance, but the proper method of procedure was to consider whether they should make the income-tax on the present basis produce as much as possible before they adopted another basis. Surely they might ask whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not a broader basis of inquiry to suggest than that suggested by the officials at the Treasury. As a matter of fact the predecessor of the right hon. Gentleman, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, had a more open mind on the matter. As he understood the case, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol was prepared to make an inquiry and did not close the door to the possibility of graduation. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol was not unsympathetic to an inquiry being held, although he himself stated that he thought it would not produce any good result. Why should there be a difference on this matter between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon was also prepared for an inquiry. He gathered that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not taken into his calculation the success which this system had earned in other parts of the world. Really in the Australian Colonies he was perfectly sure there would be no change from the system of graduation so far as the broad principle of graduation was concerned. In Victoria they not only had graduation, but differentiation. In Queensland and New Zealand a distinction was also drawn between incomes derived from personal exertions and those derived from property, and finally, the best example of all of success in graduation was to be found in Prussia, where a declaration had to be made, and yet the system had been so successfully adopted that they graduated to an enormous extent, from ·6 per cent. to 4·0 per cent. The machinery which was adaptable to Prussia was not altogether adaptable to the United Kingdom. But why on earth should not an inquiry be made on the merits of the subject?

The tax should be made remunerative and be relieved of its unpopularity. He would not vote for any change which would abandon the collecting of the tax at the source. An extension of the present system might be made popular, and that was what they were aiming at. The unpopularity of the tax was a great consideration, and he ventured to say that its unpopularity was one of the gravest dangers this country had to face, that being chiefly due to its inquisitorial character. The men who objected most strongly were those whose incomes were derived from their personal exertions. The people who felt the tax most were those with small incomes, and professional men who dared not admit that their incomes had fallen from say, £5,000 to £1,000, because of the fear of ruining their reputations. He had no doubt that declarations had sometimes been made on the American system of overstating incomes in order to preserve *status*. A man with an income in excess of £5,000 very seldom felt any personal inconvenience from the addition of one penny or twopence to the tax. The same problem as was now before the House had to be met last year, but an enormous amount of information not then available had now reached them, and they had been able to compare the methods of other countries with their own. On these grounds the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be well advised to grant the desired inquiry.

MR. CHARLES ALLEN (Gloucestershire, Stroud) said that according to the view of the matter put forward by the hon. Member for King's Lynn, we had been unconscious blunderers for a number of years. That being so it was necessary to have an inquiry in order to show where we had been ruined. On both sides of the House there was a very strong feeling that the burden ought to be graduated for the back that had to bear it. In the country there was a similar feeling that the income-tax ought to be further graduated. A former Chancellor of the

Exchequer, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, had declared himself in favour of it, and from his own point of view for his own sake, and for his own popularity, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to grant this inquiry. If he yielded to this demand he would find that his Budgets would find more favour with the House and would pass through much more quickly.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said he was one of the Members who pressed this question in 1903, and he fully recognised the difficulties surrounding the proposal. Those difficulties had been overcome in other countries, and on his side of the House they were not asking that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should swallow the Amendment just as it stood. They only wanted a complete inquiry into the incidence of the tax, and they wanted the rich man to bear a rather larger proportion than the poor man had thrust upon him. It was not that they wanted to penalise the rich man, but that he was better able to bear the tax than was the poor man and because the latter in an indirect way paid much more in proportion than the rich man. The question of the extent of the graduation was a matter for future inquiry, and he appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to accede to their request.

MR. J. H. LEWIS said had the right hon. Gentleman assented to the request made to him by hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House and acceded to an inquiry, he would gladly have withdrawn his Amendment, but under the present circumstances he was compelled to press it.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 165; Noes, 234. (Division List No. 250.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork,N.E.)
Arbaham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Boland John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, CaptEC(SAndrew'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, SirFrancisH(Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Gladstone, Rt.HnHerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Harwood, George
Hayedn, John Patrick
Healy, Timothy Michael
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E H. (Bristol,E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchison, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kitson, Sir James
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert .George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex.(Donegal,W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh, N.)
Montagu, Hon J.Scott(Hants.)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph, P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Kelly, Sames(RoscommonN.
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.

O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Philipps, John Wynford
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestly, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Rollitt, Sir Albert Kaye
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Satfford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr
Thompson, DrEC(Monagh'n,N.
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, JohnLawson(Leeds,S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse,SirJ.T.(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Mr. Herbert Lewis and Mr. Trevelyan.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.HnHughO.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour,Rt.Hon. A. J.(Manch'r
Balfour,Rt.Hn.GeraldW(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Lt.-Col.H.F.(Middlesex
Bowles, T. Gibson (King'sLynn
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell,J.H.M.(DublinUniv.)
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Worc
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius, Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C.R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Craig,Charles Curtis (Antrim,S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb,Shepherd(Bolton)
Crossley, Rt.Hon. Sir. Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale,Rt. Hon.Sir JosephC.
Dixon-Hartland, SirFredDixon
Dorington,Rt. Hon.Sir John E.
Doughly, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke,Rt.Hon.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fergusson,Rt. Hn Sir J (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, SirRobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hon.EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster,Philip S.(Warwick,S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A G. H.
Gordon,H.J.E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon.SirJohnEldon
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Greene,Sir E W(B'ry SEdm'nds
Greene,Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heaton,ArthurHoward(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse,RtHnH (Somerset E
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Jn. (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hon.JamesHenryCecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jebb, Sir Richard Claverhouse
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon. Geo.T.(Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt.Hon.Col.W
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence,Sir Joseph (Monm'th
Lawson, JohnGrant(Yorks.N.R
Lee, ArthurH(Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col, A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. CharlesW(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Co. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, ReginaldJ.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(EdinburghW
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Maxwell,W.J.H.(Dumfriesshire
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham

Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt Hn A Graham (Bute
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliffe, R. F.
Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Samuel, Sir Harry S (Limehouse
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, H C (Northumb. Tyneside
Smith, Rt Hn J Parker (Lanarks)
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H (Sheffield)
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

MR. LAMBERT, on behalf of the hon. Member for Barnstable, moved to substitute 11d. for 1s. in order to leave the income-tax as it stood during the past year. He was sure that he had the sympathy of a good many hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite, for nobody could but believe that 1s. income-tax in time of peace was a monstrous and intolerable burden upon the taxpayers; in fact, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget speech said that in the opinion of His Majesty's Government 11d. was too high, leaving too small a margin in case of war, but he promptly put on another 1d. and made it 1s. He should have thought he would have taken the directly opposite course judging from his speech. He thought the right hon. Gentleman had really been long enough under the tuition of the Treasury officials, and that he should now take a few lessons from his relative the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, who only a few weeks ago said that he thought it was still possible with scientific taxation to secure all the money the country required without anybody being the wiser or worse for it. Surely this was the opportunity for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to raise the taxes on a scientific basis without anybody being the worse or wiser for it! He could not but think that, if he persisted in this old-fashioned, crude income-tax, and put it up to an intolerable height, and did not take the system offered to him upon the highest possible authority, enunciated by his illustrious relative at the Institute of the Bankers of the City of London, he was guilty of something like Parliamentary cowardice. This was his (the hon. Member's) first point; but he went farther, and said that to increase the income-tax at the present time was undoubtedly to curtail the investible capital of the country and to thereby check enterprise. The income-tax had been increased from 8d. to 1s. since the last Liberal Government was in office, and he would like to ask what they had got for this enormous increase. Could anybody point to anything in our financial situation, or our political situation abroad, or in the general strength of the country, which would warrant this large increase in the income-tax? He did not think anybody could show that they were getting something like £10,000,000 worth of security more than before because of the existence of the present Government. The hon. Member for West Monmouth, who proposed the death duties, said that in his opinion they were a sort of deferred income-tax, so that they had not only an increase of 4d. in the £ income-tax, but they had this £6,000,000 additional deferred income-tax.

He did not think anybody ever anticipated when they entered upon the South African War that they were going to have a permanent income-tax of 1s. in the £. Only two years ago the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol stated very clearly and explicitly that if they kept the income-tax at 1s. in time of peace, they would lose their reserve of financial energy for time of war. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think they wanted to increase the income tax. He did not want to increase it at all; he did not think they were getting value for it, and he had not sufficient confidence in the Government to give them any increase of taxation. He wished to compare the right hon. Gentleman's finance with that of Sir Robert Peel, one of his predecessors. He brought in the income-tax to relieve the springs of industry. He took the tax off 750 articles of universal consumption. The right hon. Gentleman increased the income-tax and increased the tax also on one article of consumption, namely, tea. It seemed to him that by piling up this expenditure in a time of peace and increasing the income-tax to such an enormous degree, they were destroying their greatest strength, and their financial reserve in time of war. In 1856 Mr. Disraeli, whose authority the right hon. Gentleman would recognise, protested, as they were now protesting, against keeping up larger military establishments than were necessary for the country; and another great Member of the House, Mr. Gladstone, agreed with him. He was perfectly certain that they were squandering their reserve at an alarming rate, and were destroying that which was their principal strength.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

ADJOURNMENT (UNDER STANDING ORDER No. 10) (LORD DUNDONALD AND THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT).

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said he moved the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance—viz., "the conduct of Major-General Lord Dundonald, late Commander of the Militia in Canada, in taking part, whilst still an officer in the British Army, in political agitation against His Majesty's Government in the Dominion of Canada." He was sorry, he said, to do anything which appeared like attacking an officer of very great distinction who had rendered great service to the Empire in South Africa and elsewhere. But the matter was of very great importance as affecting our relations with our Colonies; and it was the duty of the Imperial Parliament to make it perfectly clear that it repudiated the conduct of Lord Dundonald. There was a great and serious agitation going on in Canada and it centred round a British officer who was himself taking a prominent part in it. After his dismissal from the command of the Militia, Lord Dundonald wrote to Sir Frederick Borden, the Minister of Militia, as follows—

> "I enclose a copy of a memorandum which I have sent by bearer to Colonel Hughes."

The document referred to was a manifesto to the people of Canada charging the Government with political corruption in its management of the Militia. Colonel Hughes was a leading Conservative who took a prominent part in attacking Sir W. Laurier's administration. The manifesto was published in the leading Conservative paper in Canada, and in its comment upon the document that journal said—

> "Sir Frederick Borden lied, lied from his seat in the House; lied in an official statement to the House."

That showed the temper which had been aroused. The whole Opposition had taken up the case, and undoubtedly they relied upon it as a means of turning out the Liberal Government. A raging, tearing propaganda had been started in connection with the manifesto; it was like the manifesto of a political leader. On Friday night a meeting was held at Toronto, ostensibly to give Lord Dundonald a send-off. Lord Dundonald made a fierce attack upon the Government. They had, he declared, deplorably neglected the Militia, but he had turned the searchlight on; there was nothing some people hated so much as the truth. The audience, it was stated, frequently announced their partisanship, Sir W. Laurier's name being hissed by some and cheered by others. Nothing could be more mischievous than for an Imperial officer to start an agitation against a Colonial Government; and if ever there was a case where conduct of that sort should be denounced, it was the case of Lord Dundonald. What would happen if Lord Dundonald went to Montreal? He might as well go to Belfast. The people of Montreal were divided both racially and religiously, and it required all the discretion, restraint, and judgment of the Imperial officers and of the rulers of the people to prevent bitterness from breaking out occasionally into disturbance. Lord Dundonald proposed to go to a city of that sort, where there was all the material for a conflagration, and set a match to it. There never was conduct more pernicious or more dangerous on the part of an Imperial officer; and he trusted that the Secretary for War would warn Lord Dundonald that he should not go there, and that he would be no longer an officer of the British Army if he went there and attacked the Government.

He would not quote many precedents. But there was the case of Sir Redvers Buller, who made a speech attacking nobody, but simply defending his own conduct, and who was dismissed. Lord Dundonald took part in a violent agitation against the Government; Sir Redvers Buller did nothing of the sort. Therefore, whatever difference there was between these two cases was all in favour of Sir Redvers Buller. Then there was the case of the speech by Sir Neville Lyttelton on the new Army scheme, which was recently brought under the notice of the House of Lords. Lord Lansdowne declared that he agreed with Lord Spencer that speeches on such subjects by Imperial officers holding high position were not desirable, and so far as possible ought to be avoided. Then why should there be a distinction drawn between military officers in this country who made speeches embarrassing to the Government, and a military officer in a colony who made a speech, not only embarrassing to, but violently attacking, the Government of the colony? This matter had created a very bad and dangerous feeling in Canada. They all knew of the sensitiveness of the Colonies with regard to Imperial interference. Therefore if an officer of the British Army were allowed to interfere in colonial politics, the Colonies would be touched on a raw spot and mischief would ensue. But the incident in Canada had not merely aroused the colony's feeling of independence in their own affairs. It had created a great racial feud in Canada. He had the best authority for saying that it had aroused strong feelings among the French Canadians and among the ultra-British against the French. Under these circumstances it would be very mischievous if Lord Dundonald were allowed to run loose in the Province of Quebec. He trusted that the Government would see their way to prohibit the visit of Lord Dundonald to Montreal, and, going beyond that, that they would severely reprimand him for the conduct he had pursued. He begged to move.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER and MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL rose at the same time, and the former was called on by the SPEAKER, but was received by the Opposition with cries of "Churchill."

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I rise to a point of order. Is not the hon. Gentleman entitled to second the Motion? I very well recollect that when I moved the adjournment of the House in 1899 you asked me whether I had a seconder.

*MR. SPEAKER: If I had known that the hon. Member intended to second the Motion I should have called on him.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: He does.

*MR. SPEAKER: Let the hon. Member speak for himself.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): Yes.

*MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Churchill.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said he seconded the Motion for adjournment moved by the hon. Member for Carnarvon Boroughs in order to call attention to the speeches of Lord Dundonald in Canada. There had been, he said, a good many Motions for adjournment this session, but he ventured to think there had been hardly any one which it would be admitted in all quarters of the House had greater claim, apart from Party politics, to consideration. The question to which it referred had excited a great amount of interest throughout this country and Canada, and if the British House of Commons was to preserve its position as a place where discussion of great questions took place, and was not to be merely a machine to register the decrees of the Government, it had a right to consider a subject of this importance. He had not the slightest wish to make a personal attack upon Lord Dundonald, and he trusted the question would be debated without heat or ill-feeling on either side of the House. They were considering a constitutional infraction which had left certain grave consequences. What was the *status* of Lord Dundonald in Canada? He was the greatest political figure in that country at the present moment with the exception of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He was an Imperial officer appointed by the Imperial Government. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No, no!"] At any rate he was appointed with the sanction of the Imperial Government. He held an office which was the link between the colonial military system and the military authorities at home. He submitted to the House that whatever might be the legal or the technical aspects of this affair, in all ordinary practice, Lord Dundonald involved and compromised the Government in the action which he had taken.

He thought there would be a great many people who would have a great deal of sympathy with the action which Lord Dundonald had taken. Everyone who knew him—and he claimed not only the honour of his acquaintance but of his friendship—would recognise that he was not a man to be actuated by any other motive than that of zeal for the public service. Probably he was right on the merits of the question, but they were not entitled on the present occasion to go into that because it would be out of order, but it was quite unnecessary to his argument. But whether Lord Dundonald was right or wrong in his opinion about the Canadian Militia it had nothing to do with the case which was submitted to the House. The allegations he had made were probably only too true. He might have been right in making his protest, but that did not settle the matter. They could not have martyrdom without the accessories of the faggot and the stake, and if a man made his protest he ought to be prepared to pay the price. No doubt no one was more surprised than Lord Dundonald that he had not already been recalled from Canada.

Passing from the motives that inspired him to make his protest he doubted whether the House would accord the same amount of approbation to his method. After all, Lord Dundonald was a soldier, but he enjoyed advantages and privileges which few soldiers possessed. He was a Peer of Parliament, and he could, perhaps with greater dignity and advantage to the public, have made his protest from his place in the House of Lords. When he read in the papers of the dismissal of Lord Dundonald by the Canadian Government and the memorandum he had published explaining his position, he naturally jumped to the conclusion that the very next day they would see a telegram published announcing that His Majesty's Government had recalled Lord Dundonald from Canada. It was clear that his utility as an Imperial officer absolutely terminated when the correspondence was published and when his dismissal by the Canadian Government had taken effect. It was impossible to say that the Imperial Government had no authority over him. But what had happened? Lord Dundonald had gone through a sort of triumphal tour through certain provinces of Canada, and they had read accounts of his appearance at banquets and public meetings, and of the scathing rejoinders he had made to the various Ministers of the Colonial Government. Two meetings had been arranged, one of which had already been held at Toronto and the other was to be held in Montreal. At the meeting at Toronto, as the hon. Member for Carnarvon had already reminded the House, the name of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was hissed by the audience and expressions of partisan opinion naturally and necessarily took place. It seemed on the face of it a matter for the grave consideration of the House that an officer who went to Canada as the King's officer should be the principal figure at a meeting where the King's Minister was the subject of a hostile demonstration. Toronto, of all places, was the centre of the opposition in Canada to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. They had in Toronto a very fine development of that full-blooded Imperialism which arose from great earnestness and perfect rectitude of motive, but which took the form of believing that everybody who did not agree with it must necessarily be a rebel or a traitor and a very unpatriotic and undesirable person. They had had some experience of that kind of thing at home, but in Canada it was a much more serious matter because there they had the French-Canadian element.

He did not think anybody would cast any imputations upon the loyalty of the French Canadians, whose loyalty arose not so much from sentiment as from interest and conviction, but which was none the less a precious thing to the British Empire. The French Canadians were of a different race and religion to the majority of the people of these islands, and they were loyal; but it was none the less true to say that they had not responded in the same enthusiastic manner to those patriotic and partisan impulses which had moved so many people in this country. To put it shortly, the French Canadians derived greater pleasure from singing "God save the King" than from singing "Rule Britannia," and he thought they ought to be well content with that. The French Canadians formed the principal part of the Party which kept Sir Wilfrid Laurier in power, and who had been made the object of a very hostile demonstration in Toronto. The Government ought to be grateful to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In the long course of the last eight or nine years, when very difficult and delicate situations had arisen, Sir Wilfrid Laurier by his tact, skill, and loyalty, had been of incomparable value to the Empire. But this speech-making by Lord Dundonald was not to terminate at Toronto. Montreal was the next fixture and a meeting was to take place there next week. Montreal was a very different arena for such a political discussion than Toronto. The people of Toronto were nearly all of the same way of thinking, but in Montreal there was a French and a British element coming into close contact, and there was in Montreal a sharp political division of opinion. After all, the Toronto meeting had passed off all right. But what about Montreal? [An Hon. Member: He has not been there yet.] That was why they had moved the adjournment. At Montreal, if Lord Dundonald excited the enthusiasm of one section of the population, he would by that very fact irritate extremely the other section. Suppose they made him the object of as hostile a demonstration as the Toronto one was enthusiastic. They might then have the spectacle of an officer who had gone to Canada as an Imperial officer and who was a Peer of the Realm turned out of a tumultuous meeting amid the hoots, jeers, and missiles of a hostile demonstration.

He noticed that a friend of Lord Dundonald had drawn attention in the *Westminster Gazette* to an aspect of this controversy which ought not to be overlooked. He pointed out that Lord Dundonald ought not to be taken as making an attack upon any particular Party in Canada, but as making an attack upon a bad system which had long prevailed. He thought that statement might be quite true. There was not much to choose between the two Parties in Canada as to the method of appointment to commissions. Canada was a country with high tariffs, and the commercialisation of their policy led them to view the appointment to commissions in the Militia or concessions in regard to tariffs from a different point of view to that held in this country. While he was prepared to admit that the charge against Lord Dundonald was not, in substance, a partisan charge, and that it applied equally to all Governments and both Parties, and while he admitted that his motives had not been partisan motives, still the fact remained that Lord Dundonald did take part in a political and Party demonstration of the highest public importance. Whatever might have been Lord Dundonald's motives, no one could deny that he was at present being exploited by the Opposition in Canada for Party purposes. The House had often expressed itself strongly on the question as to whether the soldier, and how much the soldier, should interfere in politics. It might be impossible altogether to exclude the soldier from interfering in politics, because high military matters were of themselves essentially political matters; but whatever opinion might be held on that point, no one would defend his intervention, wittingly or unwittingly, in the arena of Party politics as opposed to general political questions. It would not be defended even in this country, where people were allowed to talk to their heart's content, and where we were in the admirable position of having the freest and best Government in the world—the freest and best system of Government in the world.

In a self-governing colony the position of an Imperial officer was one of particular delicacy and difficulty. He might have immense influence, but he had not a clear, definite, substantial authority. There was one great danger to which an Imperial officer, whether soldier or civilian, in Canada or South Africa was always exposed. If he became a Party man, attached himself to a local faction, or became a counter in the game of a local Party, his use and value were destroyed; he was of no good to the Empire, but an injury to it. The position of an officer in a self-governing colony should be like that of the function exercised by the Crown in politics at home. No one could recall the smallest hint or whisper of influence being exercised by the Crown in home politics; and it was that detachment from Party politics that added to the smooth working of our Constitution and to the increasing esteem in which the Crown was held. Was it too much to ask Imperial officers abroad who represented the Crown to imitate the example which the Crown had set in this country? What did the Opposition want in moving the adjournment that evening? [MINISTERIAL cries of "To waste time."] They did not desire to induce the Secretary for War to abstract himself from the obligations of his office to inflict punishment on Lord Dundonald. He did not desire that Lord Dundonald should be made the object of Government vengeance, for they had among the soldiers of the Army too few who were ready to expose official shams and to tell the truth to the public. They wanted the Government to make it clear, however, that they were not associated in any way with the campaign Lord Dundonald had been carrying on; and he urged on the Government by the immediate recall of Lord Dundonald from Canada to terminate what was already a constitutional scandal and bade fair in the near future to lead to serious Imperial embarrassments.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The hon. Member is under a misapprehension when he says that I view with disapprobation his intervention in this debate. That is not my point of view at all. We always welcome the hon. Member as the spokesman of the Opposition. I had motives which seemed to me to be adequate for intervening at the earliest stage in the debate. I felt before the hon. Member spoke, and I still feel, that this debate cannot contribute to the public advantage. Nothing that the hon. Member has said in his lecture——

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Order, order!

MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member for South Donegal cried "Order" a little less frequently there would be more order.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: With great respect, sir, I called out "Order" only twice. I called out "Order" because I thought that the word "lecture" was an improper description for a speech.

MR. SPEAKER: There was nothing disorderly in what was said.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: It was a sneer.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must not call out so frequently. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Name."]

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I assure the hon. Member for Oldham that I entertain no feeling of disapprobation with regard to his speech. I do not think that I need dwell upon it. I do not think it is a good thing that he should speak of "jobs" in reference to the existing Government in Canada. I do not know that expressions of that kind tend much towards the object he has at heart, of harmonising the relations between this country and the Colonies. But I turn to what is, after all, the substance, as far as there is any substance, in this debate. There are two points involved. The first is the broad question of discipline with which I am charged as representative of the War Office; the other is the advisability of raising this discussion at all. I should like to say a word on both points. I will remind hon. Members that yesterday, in my unavoidable absence from the House, a Question was put without notice with regard to this matter. I regret that I was not in the House to answer the Question. To-day no such Question was put, but without any notice whatever this discussion is forced upon the House. I fully admit that in the game of politics nearly all things are considered fair, and most things expedient; but I am not clear that it is wise to bring into the political game discussions of this kind. I can see no advantage whatever that can arise out of this debate, except to make bad blood between two great branches of our Empire. The hon. Member for Carnarvon spoke of the pain that was given to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who, he truly said, had shown himself to be one of the staunchest and most distinguished friends of the Empire in the time of its troubles. I do not remember that the hon. Member entertained that view very strongly or expressed it strongly at the time when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was standing by us. I should like to know whether the hon. Member for Carnarvon speaks as an agent or representative of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I speak as a Member of the British Parliament. I have as good a right as the right hon. Gentleman.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I ask in what capacity does he speak? Does he speak as a representative of Sir Wilfrid Laurier? I can assure the House that no representation of any sort or kind has been made by the Canadian Government, and the Government of that colony is uncommonly well able to look after itself. I want to know what Canadian warrant he had for bringing this matter before the House. Then I take it for granted that he had none, that he brought it forward solely in the interest of harmony between the United Kingdom and the Dominion of Canada. Now I ask whether, as a contribution to the harmony between those two great parts of one Empire, the hon. Member should have raised this question in the way he did. What did he do? He quoted the most offensive terms which have been used about Dominion politicians. He quoted from the most violent expressions of Party newspapers. I ask what contribution to peace and good feeling is made by references of that kind? No, Sir, I believe that a discussion of this kind in no sense tends to that object which the hon. Member says he has at heart, the establishment of good feeling between this country and Canada.

Now, let me say a word about Lord Dundonald. Well, I said that this question divided itself into two parts, and I adhere to that view. My first proposition was—and may I extend it?—that it is a most unfortunate thing, and one of the things which make me fear most the advent of hon. Gentlemen opposite to power, that they should invariably manage, or try to manage, to contribute to an aggravation of feeling between this country and the Colonies. That is a fact which I am sorry to say was too painfully established during the late war. [AN HON. MEMBER: We are thinking Imperially.] That is the point which I desire to establish. Nothing has been said about the Government in the course of this debate which has any tendency except that of bringing on the floor of this House the controversies of the Dominion and not adorning them in the process. Now, Sir, with regard to Lord Dundonald. I do not think the hon. Member quite understood what the position of Lord Dundonald is or has been. It is not correct to say that Lord Dundonald went to Canada as the representative of the Imperial Government.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: I never said so.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: He went at the request of the Dominion Government to serve with a Canadian commission.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL: By whom was he selected?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I believe, as a matter of fact, the request was made by the Dominion Government. But let me say this about Lord Dundonald, and I will do this full justice to the hon. Member for Carnarvon. I do not think anyone will suggest throughout the whole of this matter, and that anyone has desired to impute or has imputed, any misconduct other than that of want of judgment to Lord Dundonald. Lord Dundonald, as the hon. Member said, is a most distinguished soldier, who has come of a most distinguished family, which has served its country throughout the world in times of stress and difficulty. But what has taken place in Canada has created a difficulty to which the hon. Member has drawn attention this evening. Lord Dundonald, serving as a Canadian officer, has not found himself in agreement with the Canadian Government, and the Canadian Government has discharged him from his office. I would point out that when Lord Dundonald was discharged he became at once an officer, on half-pay, it is true; an Imperial officer on the active list. Since his dismissal by the Canadian Government he has been speaking at public meetings in Canada. I have my own opinion, a very strong opinion, as to the advisability of officers in the service taking part in any political demonstration at all. I have long entertained that opinion. Before I had any official responsibility I entertained it. I entertain it still; and I have not, as I shall show, been remiss in enforcing the belief which I entertain as to what is the duty of officers so long as they hold the King's commission.

But I would remind the hon. Member that the position of an officer on half-pay is not quite the position which he seems to suppose. Lord Dundonald had a perfect right, and has now, to stand for the Dominion Parliament and to become a Member of that Parliament; he would have a right, if he were a commoner, to stand as a Member of this Parliament. He has a right, which has been conceded over and over again to officers on half-pay—to express his views on political questions. [AN HON. MEMBER: Not on the active list.] Yes, I have before me the Army Act, and I am speaking of what I know. He is an officer on the active list, but at the same time he is not deprived of the privilege of taking part in public life. Therefore do not let it be supposed that the somewhat Draconian code of military law prohibits Lord Dundonald from expressing his opinions on public questions as a half-pay officer. Whether it be desirable that any half-pay officer, in any particular set of circumstances, should take part in political controversy is another question altogether. I believe that it is undesirable. I believe that it was undesirable in this case. I do not pretend and I do not propose for a moment to go into any matter of controversy between the Dominion Government and Lord Dundonald. I believe that would be most unwise on my part. I do not feel that I am charged with Lord Dundonald's statement of the case as it presents itself to him, and I do not know that I am fully charged with the case as it presents itself to the Dominion Government. But even if I were charged with all that information, I should still positively decline to express an opinion as to any differences which may have occurred between the Dominion Government and their paid servant. But I have not been blind to the disadvantage which is likely to accrue from an officer, who has the great reputation and the position of Lord Dundonald, taking part, even with the best motives and with the most ample public support, in the controversies of a great colony. The hon. Member spoke of "deliberate opposition" and "engaging in angry altercation with the Ministers of the Dominion." I do not think that is quite a fair description of the meetings in which Lord Dundonald has taken part. I shall be corrected by hon. Members who know the constitution of the Canadian Government better than I do if I am wrong in saying that Lord Dundonald was supported by the President of the Board of Trade.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE: Of the Chamber of Commerce.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Then I am wrong on that point. I do not think there has been any angry altercation at all. I have before me exactly the same information as is open to hon. Members. I have a summary of Lord Dundonald's speech, and I can find no trace of any angry altercation at all. But I would repeat that I think it is not desirable that any officer should take part actively in political controversy. This matter has been dealt with throughout, I believe, patiently and reasonably by the War Office. We have demanded information, and we have acted upon that information. Long before the hon. Member gave notice to-day, the War Office had taken action in this matter. We have informed Lord Dundonald that we consider it is not desirable that he should continue to take part in public discussions in Canada, and we have requested Lord Dundonald to return in order to give an account of what has taken place. If the hon. Member had done me the favour of raising this question in any other way than the way in which he has thought fit to raise it, I could have told him, and should have told him, what I have told him now. I advance no opinion whatever upon the merits or demerits of Lord Dundonald's action, and absolutely decline, before Lord Dundonald has been heard, to express an opinion upon that question. As the person responsible for the discipline of the Army in this House, I felt it my duty to remove any cause of offence which might arise from the action of an officer holding the King's commission in the situation in which Lord Dundonald stood. Quite independently of the hon. Member and quite unaware of the intention of the hon. Member, I have taken the ordinary procedure open to the War Office. I have instructed Lord Dundonald to return home, and I have also instructed him not to take any further part in what appeared to be a political and controversial discussion. That is the sole reason why I desired to anticipate the hon. Member for Oldham in this discussion. I think that, if I had been given an opportunity of stating at an earlier period in this discussion what I should have been able to say in answer to a Question to-day, I should have saved the appearance in the papers to-morrow of some of these wounding remarks which the hon. Member for Oldham in the discharge of his duty has thought it imperative to make.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): The hon. Member has stated that the observations that he made towards the close of his speech constituted the reason why he wished earlier in the debate to anticipate the speech of my hon. friend the Member for Oldham. It would have been well if the right hon. Gentleman had also anticipated himself. He has made a speech—I appeal to everybody who heard it on either side of the House—which, for the first three-fourths of it, or more, indicated a determination to resist, which could be read in no other light, and was supported in no other light by the cheers of hon. Members behind him, than on the supposition that he was about to say *non possumus* to the request made by my hon. friend. But when he came to the point of the matter, when, after saying two or three times that he would turn to the question of Lord Dundonald, he at last got to Lord Dundonald, I do not think we have much complaint to find with the action which he says he has taken. If we drop the curtain of our memory over the first three-fourths of the right hon. Gentleman's speech and concentrate ourselves upon the last five or ten minutes, then I say that we on this side have very little fault to find with what he said. The case is an exceedingly plain one. We have not a word to say against Lord Dundonald as a distinguished officer and a gallant soldier. He was selected by the Imperial Government and lent to the Canadian Government to assist them in organising their Militia. He, rightly or wrongly, did not succeed in getting on with his superiors in that Government. We cannot inquire into that matter, because I believe there is some Gentleman in this House who is so anxious to condemn Lord Dundonald that he has put down a Motion to the effect that a public inquiry, or a Court of inquiry, or some other instrument of torture should be resorted to in order to visit upon him the proper reprobation of the British Parliament. Because this hon. Gentleman, who sits on the other Benches, is fired with great zeal against Lord Dundonald, because he has put down this Motion we are debarred by these charming rules of the House, which we so much admire, from expressing any opinion on the subject whatever. I wonder how long that hypocritical farce is to be allowed to exist. As a matter of fact, even if we had the opportunity, I should myself shrink from and entirely refuse to pronounce any opinion upon the relations of Lord Dundonald with the Canadian Government, because we are not fully acquainted with the facts—we are partially informed on the subject. But what we find is that Lord Dundonald, having occupied this position of eminence, through the selection of the Imperial Government, in Canada, and having failed to conciliate his own views with the views of the Government under whom he served, and having incurred their dismissal, remains in Canada, receives banquets from admirers, and makes speeches in which he attacks the Government which he has served, and with it, I believe, other Governments which have gone before. I do not know that that really benefits him very much in the matter. But it is undoubtedly a grave piece of bad taste, as well as, I should think, a bad constitutional action, on the part of Lord Dundonald to go on allowing himself to be made an instrument for bringing these accusations against the Government that he has served.

But the right hon. Gentleman apparently has taken the course it was his duty to take. I praise him for it. [MINISTERIAL laughter.] Why does an hon. and gallant Member laugh? I said when I began that the right hon. Gentleman had indicated a course in regard to this matter that met our views. He has remonstrated with Lord Dundonald, he has pointed out the irregularity in all respects of the conduct he was pursuing, and he has recalled him home. I am not myself learned enough in military law to know whether he can recall home a half-pay officer, but I agree he is right if he has the power to do so. Of course, with Lord Dundonald's temperament and character, the slightest indication of a wish on the part of the head of the Army Department in this country would be equivalent to an order. I feel that much we desired to guard against has been prevented by the action of the right hon. Gentleman, and I give him full credit for it. I only wish he had taken an earlier opportunity—not in debate, but in his own speech—as I began by saying. It would have spared us a good many hard words and a good deal of anxiety if he had said at the beginning what he said at the end; if he had said on this subject to which my hon. friend and the hon. Member for Oldham very properly called attention that he had done the thing we desired to see done. I hope we shall by that course be relieved from the fear we naturally entertained, that if this sort of thing, which has been going on for the last week or two, was allowed to go on, something very much to the prejudice of good feeling between the two countries and Parties in Canada—though we have little to do with that—might arise.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) said he wished to put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War. The right hon. Gentleman stated that he had telegraphed to Lord Dundonald to return home in consequence—he took it—of the statement by the noble Lord some time ago. Now the statements attributed to Lord Dundonald were made on 10th June, and it was six weeks since. Personally he found no fault with Lord Dundonald for attacking the War Office, it was a very natural thing for a Briton to do. His interest in the matter was purely Irish. He could imagine if at the time, not very far distant, when the Government of his country was Irish and largely Catholic, an officer from this country took the side, say, of Belfast Orangemen and accused the Government in office of corruption and jobbery, and of oppressing certain persons on account of their political or social connections, he could imagine the feeling that would be aroused. The Government had come forward and announced that they had recalled the officer whose conduct had been complained of; but Lord Dundonald, while he remained on Canadian soil, was an Imperial officer, and for six weeks the Government allowed him to remain after he had outraged the feelings of the majority of the people. It was important to know at what moment it was that the Secretary for War dissociated himself from Lord Dundonald, and why he was not recalled at once. At what moment was this message conveyed to the noble Lord? The right hon. Gentleman had said that the reason why he bewailed the possibility of the return of a Liberal Administration to power was that they would act so unpatriotically. If so, there was all the more reason for haste in his message to Lord Dundonald, because he knew how unpatriotically the Opposition would act in seizing the first opportunity of stirring up bad blood between this country and the Colonies. His respected subordinate in office had not yesterday been acquainted with the fact that he had recalled Lord Dundonald. The Secretary of State had kept this important fact locked in the recesses of his breast. They all knew the great secrecy that prevailed in the War Department, but it would have had an assuaging effect on the minds of the House if yesterday somebody had been able to make the statement that had now been made. The conclusion he arrived at was that the haste of the right hon. Gentleman to rise to-night, and his desire to cut out the hon. Member for Oldham, was not so much due to his anxiety as War Minister for the disposal of this Motion as to his anxiety as Member for West Belfast for the fate of the Belfast Tramways Bill. Speaking in the same sense himself, he confessed that he had chiefly been moved to rise on this Motion because the name of the location in Belfast which he was interested in on account of that Bill was the Dundonald Cemetery. The House, which had heard him with unusual patience, would recognise, therefore, that he had a certain sympathy with the hon. Gentleman in rising as he did to take part for the first time in an Imperial debate.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE said that after the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War he would withdraw his Motion. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No."]

Question put, and negatived.

Mr. T. M. Healy.

BELFAST CORPORATION (TRAMWAYS) BILL [LORDS] (BY ORDER.)

[SECOND READING].

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.) stated that both of the points for which he had contended had been conceded by the promoters, and he did not wish to press the Motion standing in his name. He did not think it necessary to read the agreement entered into by the promoters of the Bill and himself. It was sufficient for him to say that, now the promoters had conceded the two points, he was sympathetic to the scheme of a great and growing community to municipalise and electrify the tramways system which had hitherto been a curse to the City.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) said he would like to get a little more information than had been vouchsafed by the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down. He found on the paper something like sixteen or seventeen Motions against the Second Reading of the Bill. The hon. Member for Kilkenny stated that he did not consider it necessary to read to the House the terms of the agreement between himself and the hon. Gentleman who represented the Conservative Party in Belfast. He confessed that he was extremely interested to know what the terms of the agreement were. More than that, he thought the House was entitled to know from the hon. Gentlemen who sat for Belfast—all Conservatives—to what extent these hon. Gentlemen had been satisfied with the Motion which had been put down on the Paper? The hon. Gentleman had elected to say that he was judge in his own cause; that he was satisfied with the terms of the solution offered to him by the corporation and by the hon. Baronet who was in charge of this Bill, and who was, in general, a fair exponent of the Conservative Party in Belfast. What he contended was that whatever was done, as betwixt the Belfast Corporation and the learned Gentlemen representing the various constituencies in Ireland, should be done open and above board. This House was not merely a debating Assembly. It was a great Court of Law, and parties engaged in this legislation were litigants who came to the bar and demanded for their own particular class and for the public outside, that they were entitled to know the length and breadth and substance of this agreement. He spoke on behalf of a considerable number of Catholics in Belfast; and he shared the views of hon. Gentlemen that it was now desirable that these tramways should be electrified for the benefit of the citizens of Belfast. But they were living in times when questions of municipal government in Ireland were keenly criticised, and by none others more than by the hon. Members who represented the northern constituencies. What he wanted to know was how the Belfast Corporation were going to exercise the great patronage they would have under this scheme. One-fourth of the population of Belfast was Catholic, but he found that in the town clerk's department of the 149 officers with high salaries only three were Catholics. The Protestant members of the establishment were paid £29,129 a year and the Catholics only £293 a year Then take the rate collector's department. In the rate collectors' department, of £19,300 paid in Belfast, £19,260 went to Protestants and only £40 to Catholics. Turning to another department in Belfast —the board of guardians—he found that out of 211 officers employed, 205 were Protestants and only six were Catholics. Was that to be perpetrated in the tramway system?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! Many of these figures have no relevancy to the Second Reading of the Bill.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he was told by an hon. Gentleman who had put down a Motion to oppose the Bill that a solution had been arrived at on this very question as to the manner in which these appointments were to be made, and, if that was so, surely they were entitled to know the nature of the arrangement. Although he was well aware that in a Bill of this nature the debate must be limited, he submitted that in regard to the transfer of patronage, wherever they extended the franchise in Londonderry or Belfast oppression would result. This extension of the functions of the Belfast Corporation would operate in the same way. They proposed to get hold of this great system of tramways. He rejoiced that they were going to get it so long as they proposed to use it to the benefit of the population generally. He did not suggest that the Catholics of Belfast were entitled to more than their share of consideration, but he did ask for fairplay towards them in accordance with their number and ratepaying capacity. He objected to their being boycotted or, as he might term it, "Ballinasloed." He trusted that the people of Belfast, if this Bill passed into law, would see their way to insist, if they could do so, upon a large bonus being paid by some private firm rather than take this matter into their own hands. Such a step would be in the interest of economy and of the ratepayers. As an hon. Gentleman sitting behind him had thought fit to make an interruption he would state that he found that the Dublin Corporation within the past month had paid 16s. 7d. per yard for ripping up the streets for a particular purpose, when they were able to get the work done by contract for 5s. a yard. He was opposed to sweating.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I do not see what this has to do with the Belfast trams.

MR. T. M. HEALY remarked that he was glad that the ruling of the Chair had, for the first time in history, been received with approbation from the Irish Party behind him. What was strictly germane to the Bill was a clause giving the corporation power, if they thought fit, to grant an option to lease the tramways to private individuals, and it was on that clause that he submitted he was strictly in order in suggesting that it would be far more profitable for the Belfast Corporation to lease these lines to a private company than to endeavour to work them themselves. The reason was plain. So long as the corporation had this system in their own hands there would be no criticism, but if it was in the hands of a private company the public would always have the protection of the corporation's criticism. He had no shares in either Dublin or Belfast trams, but he had seen that pressure could be brought to bear on municipal representatives, and he knew that it would be much better if the authorities stood up for the interests of the ratepayers rather than yielded to the clamour of what was falsely called public opinion. This Bill had gone to the House of Lords. A clause had been put in at the instance of the Great Northern Railway, and if this stage was passed *sub silentio* no further opportunity would be open to those who watched these developments with so much interest. All that they could hear was that a private arrangement had been come to between the hon. Baronet opposite and hon. Gentlemen on that side, and although he did not represent Belfast he thought an opportunity should be given for a further statement. With that object in view, and in order to give the hon. Gentlemen an opportunity to inform the House as to the nature of the concession which had been made, he begged to move that this Bill be read a second time this day three months.

Mr. TULLY (Leitrim, S.) begged to second the Motion, as he had a great objection to things done in secret, and behind people's backs, especially on those Benches. In this case there had been another Star Chamber transaction; another Dunraven treaty like that which sold the tenant farmers of Ireland and put on 24½ years purchase.

*Mr. SPEAKER: I would remind the hon. Gentleman that the question before the House is the Belfast Tramways Bill.

Mr. TULLY said he merely wanted to show how hon. Members had been jack-jumping about on the Benches behind him in the interests of those whom they called Catholics. He was a Roman Catholic, and was not ashamed of his allegiance to Rome. Those hon. Gentlemen who professed to have the interest of the Catholics of Ireland at heart had, in a matter that affected the Catholics of Belfast, made a secret arrangement, with locked doors, in some Star Chamber. They were traitors, and he called them so to their teeth. The Corporation of Belfast were to get extended powers under this Bill, but the corporation had powers already over the Catholic cemetery in Belfast. If he had to draw any indication of what their management of the tramways would be from the manner in which they had managed their Dundonald Cemetery, he had every reason to oppose the Bill. There was a meeting of Roman Catholics in Belfast, at which the bigotry and intolerant attitude of the Belfast Corporation was condemned in regard to the cemetery and a resolution passed that in consequence Parliament should not bestow upon the corporation the powers now sought to be obtained under this Bill. This resolution voiced the opinions of the Catholics of Belfast, and he wished to know, as a humble representative of the Catholics, whether their rights had been juggled away in a secret, Star Chamber manner. He supported the hon. Member for Louth in the action he had taken, and, so far as he could within the limits of Parliamentary warfare, he should oppose this Bill until equal rights and treatment were given to the Catholics of Belfast as were conferred upon other classes in that important city. Some hon. Members were in the habit of standing up in the House and asking questions about the wrongs done to the Catholics in other parts of Ireland, yet they were willing to allow the rights of the Catholics of Belfast to be done away by a Star Chamber proceeding and not even to receive the miserable privileges accorded to the Jews in that city. He had been reproved because he approved of certain sentiments of the hon. Member for Louth. He heard a remark from the Member for Kerry, who was a great spouter in the House but never went to gaol. He (Mr. Tully) always went to gaol. He put the question to the Member for Limerick—had not the Jews rights which ought to be given to Catholics?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member had better keep away from these irrelevant topics.

Mr. TULLY said he did not wish to trespass more on the patience of the House, and he would therefore second the Motion.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'this day three months.'"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Question proposed "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said he found on the Notice Paper fifteen notices of Motions on this Bill. He did not wish to enter into the merits of the subject, but among the notices of Motions there were several purely blocking Motions; two of these were put down in the public interest of the inhabitants of Belfast, and he thought they were justified in asking some hon. Member in charge of the Bill whether these notices of Motions had been sufficiently dealt with. They were in the names of the hon. Members for South Kildare and South Sligo. The first was a Motion that after the Second Reading of the Bill there should be an Instruction to the Committee to insert a clause providing that certain wages paid to all employees of the tramway system should not be less than the wages paid on tramway systems in places of an equal population in the United Kingdom.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is addressing himself to an Instruction that is not in the Bill.

MR. McKENNA submitted that if in a tramway Bill proper provision for the payment of the servants of the company was not made that was a reasonable ground for rejecting the Bill. It was on that ground that he proposed to vote against the Second Reading of the present measure, unless he had a satisfactory assurance from the promoters on the point.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked whether, since hon. Members had removed Instructions from the Paper, because their views had been met, the House was not entitled to know what those views were, and what arrangements had been made.

MR. SPEAKER: On the Second Reading the question is the principle of the Bill, and on that discussion can take place without reference to whether this or that hon. Member is satisfied with the Bill as it stands. An hon. Member is quite in order in asking the hon. Member in charge of the Bill whether any concessions have been made, but it does not follow that every Instruction on the Paper could be debated on the Second Reading.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN said he had already stated the nature of the concessions which had been made. The chief concessions met all the arguments adduced by the hon. and learned Member for North Louth with reference to clerkships and similar positions being thrown open to the competition of all citizens, irrespective of religion.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked whether the concessions would be embodied in a clause.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN: Yes.

Question put.

The House proceeded to a Division, and Mr. SPEAKER stated that he thought the Ayes had it; and, on his decision being challenged, it appeared to him that the Division was frivolously claimed, and he accordingly called upon the Members who supported and who challenged his decision successively to rise in their places, and he declared the Ayes had it, Three Members only who challenged this decision having stood up.

Bill read a second time.

FINANCE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Commitee.)

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Clause 6.

MR. LAMBERT, resuming his speech in favour of an Amendment to reduce the income-tax to elevenpence, said the present high rate of the tax was undoubtedly due to the policy pursued by the present Government. The tax had gone up by 50 per cent., but had the country received value for the money? The Government claimed that their expenditure had tended to develop new markets and to maintain the honour of the Empire. Would the right hon. Gentleman contend that the new market in Somaliland was worth the penny in the £ represented by its cost? The contempt levelled at Mr. Gladstone's financial opinions and foreign policy had been amply avenged. In 1874 Mr. Gladstone, in consequence of the wise policy which he had pursued, was able to offer the country the total abolition of the income-tax, but he was not returned to power. What would be the position of the country, with an income-tax at 1s., should another serious war unhappily break out? Did the right hon. Gentleman imagine he would be able to increase the tax by sevenpence, as was done during the South African War, or to borrow on the same easy terms? The maintenance of taxation at its present high level meant the wasting of the potential strength of the country. The financial reserve which enabled the country to emerge successfully from the South African War had absolutely disappeared. He put it to the right hon. Gentleman whether the time had not come when there should be a revision of the income-tax. He was not suggesting that the richer classes should pay less, but that the burden should be differently distributed. The income-tax at 1s. pressed with extreme severity upon the professional classes; men with from £700 to £1,000 a year were the most heavily taxed in the whole community, and it was only fair that the burden should be so distributed as to place a larger share upon realised wealth. The alternatives before the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to practise a strict economy or to find some other method by which the pockets of the rich could be tapped, and in that direction he suggested an increase of the death duties. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 39, to leave out the words 'one shilling' and insert the word 'elevenpence.'"—(*Mr. Lambert.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said there was nothing in the quotations from the previous speeches which the hon. Member had read that he wished either to withdraw or to modify, and he certainly shared the desire of the hon. Member to see the income-tax, which was the first financial reserve in case of war, reduced to a more moderate level. It was only with extreme regret that he

proposed to raise this tax, and it was only under pressure of great necessity that he had resorted to this expedient. After all, the hon. Member must remember that the Estimates of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon were not realised and that the revenue failed by a very large sum to reach the figure which he had felt justified, on the information then in his possession, in naming; and he (the speaker) was met with large demands, necessary demands, of expenditure at a time when the revenue was falling and when the year that had just expired had resulted in a very considerable deficiency. Under those circumstances, he was obliged to have recourse to the income-tax among the other sources to which he looked for the increased revenue necessary. Hitherto the criticism on the other side of the House had not been that he was wrong in raising the income-tax, but that he had failed sufficiently to raise the increased expenditure, or rather the additional taxation, from the income-tax payer. He did not know whether the hon. Member shared the arguments used at an earlier time, but at any rate he now looked at it from a different point of view and said that the income-tax had been raised too high. The hon. Member added that he ought to have increased the death duties. He would point out to him, and he thought he would see that there was force in the argument, that the death duties ought not to be moved up and down to meet the passing exigencies of the time. The death duties ought to be fixed with a certain firmness. There was no finality in finance any more than in other things, and he did not pretend to say that the death duties were to remain at one figure always; but what he did venture to put before the Committee was that the death duties were not a source of taxation which ought to be raised and lowered according to the exigencies of individual years. Every man who had an income of the taxable amount must pay the income-tax of the year. All of them happily did not die within a year, and, if they raised the death duties for the purpose of meeting balances of a particular year, they would hit those particular estates which then fell under the death duties; they would not spread an equal burden upon all estates as they fell in. The death duties, therefore, should be fixed with some regard to firmness; they should not be used to meet any passing needs without, at any rate, greater urgency or necessity than there was. This was a general principle which he ventured to urge should be accepted by the House. He could not pretend to speak with authority as to what the future might have in store for them, but he adhered to what he had said in proposing this additional 1d., that he hoped that the additional sacrifices called for from the income-taxpayers this year might not be of long duration. No one would be more glad than himself, both on the ground of what was due to the income-tax payer, and on the ground, urged by the hon. Gentleman with considerable force—that of our own financial stability and reserve for greater emergencies—when it was within his power or within that of his successor to reduce this tax. It was not in his power to follow that course this year; he could not meet the obligations of the year without the additional 1d. which the hon. Gentleman proposed to strike off, and he did not think that the Committee or any considerable section of the Committee thought it would be possible for him to dispense with this increase in the tax this year.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said the right hon. Gentleman seemed to think there was some inconsistency on the part of his hon. friend and those who supported the Amendment in having previously urged that he ought to impose a larger amount of direct and a lesser amount of indirect taxation. They had already passed that portion of the Bill dealing with indirect taxation, though he endeavoured to persuade the Committee to postpone the clause dealing with indirect taxation in order that they might urge upon the right hon. Gentleman that direct taxation ought to bear a larger share of the burden. That was objected to, and they had already passed the tea duty, so that that was not in question at the present time. His hon. friend had moved his Amendment with a view of drawing attention to the enormous expenditure of the Government—not because he thought the income-tax ought to be reduced rather than indirect taxation, but because he thought, and he agreed with him, that the only way to bring the Government to their senses with regard to the question of expenditure was to give them as big a drop as they could. When the present Government came into office the expenditure of the country was something like £69,000,000. It was now something like £142,500,000, which meant an increase of something like £8,000,000 each year. This was a perfectly monstrous expenditure to have incurred in something under nine years, and he for one should vote against the increase in the income-tax as a protest against the enormous expenditure of the present Government. The worst part of it was that they showed no signs of repentance, because, when they were discussing the matter some time ago, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave them to understand that he did not see his way to save very much on the Navy, but he did hope that under a new reformed system of the War Office and of the Army, that we should really have a substantial saving. They listened with interest to the speech of the Secretary for War, and he confessed the thing that struck him most about it was that they were getting rid of the extravagant old system, and putting in its place a system which the right hon. Gentleman admitted would practically save nothing, and that they would save infinitesimally compared with the expenditure on the War Office. He did not therefore look forward to any saving in the expenditure on our military forces, and he should support this decrease in the income-tax. They all agreed that they could not change the death duties from year to year according to the exigencies of the year, but he confessed he thought the time had come when the question ought to be reconsidered as to whether they ought not to be brought in better proportion to the income-tax. He should certainly heartily support the Amendment in the hope that, if they cut off this £2,000,000, they would induce the Government to reduce the expenditure by an equal sum.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said that the strongest reason for this Amendment was the extravagantly high income-tax proposed by the present Government. He agreed that if they supported his hon. friend it was not because they were in favour of increasing indirect as against direct taxation. On the contrary, they preferred that the proportion of direct taxation should be still greater. The income-tax payer was very heavily pressed at the present moment, wherever one went one heard complaints of the amount of income-tax paid by men who could really very ill afford it. He agreed that a good deal of the pressure would be relieved by the suggestions made for graduation and discrimination, and he hoped that when this came before them they would have an interesting discussion. He did not think, however, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had met the point raised by the hon. Member for South Molton. He suggested there were other means of direct taxation by which the Government could get the money they sought. What answer did the right hon. Gentleman make with regard to the death duties? He said they could not have fluctuating death duties. Perfectly true. Why should they fluctuate? If next year he found he could remit taxation and he had increased the death duties, there were the sugar and tea duties, and there was the coal tax which he might get rid of. All these would be useful reductions. An hon. friend suggested that he might start something in the way of old-age pensions. He might, at any rate, do something in the way of remitting taxation that pressed upon the people of the country. The great advantage of the death duties was that they were paid by people who got more than they paid and who got something they did not earn. This was not the case with the income-tax payer. He was paying on an income earned with labour, toil, and anxiety on his own part. He was in a totally different category. There was another method of direct taxation the right hon. Gentleman had overlooked. The duty on licences was lower than in any other country, and if he had placed the duty on licences in the same position as, say, in New York he would have got another £10,000,000 a year, which was considerably more than he wanted in order to reduce the income-tax by 4d. or 5d.

The right hon. Gentleman had not given a satisfactory answer to the charge brought by his hon. friend with regard to the expenditure of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after all, ought to have some sense of responsibility with regard to checking extravagant expenditure. He seemed to assume that his sole function was to take the expenditure for granted and then find the taxes and raise the money. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was the guardian of the public purse. It was his business, if he thought that the expenditure was extravagant in any particular direction to check it, and check it ruthlessly. What had he done in that respect? He had talked a great deal about high expenditure, but he had never given the slightest indication that he had used his personal influence to check the expenditure in any direction. His hon. friend reminded him that the only thing he had done was to check the increasing expenditure on Universities; but in regard to the expenditure on the Army and Navy he had simply done nothing at all. And, as far as he (the hon. Member) could see, in the present scheme all hope of economy had been wrecked by somebody or other. He did not know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was one of those responsible for that. At any rate, he ought to use his whole influence to check the wild, extravagant expenditure. No one who had examined the expenditure of the last few years could characterise it in any other way. A shilling income-tax in time of peace! Why it was a war tax in time of peace!

Surely the right hon. Gentleman ought to see that this sort of thing was not continued. They had gone on year after year piling up expenditure, and nobody seemed to think it his duty to stop it—to use his influence, to risk his personal position in order to stop it. They had had three or four Chancellors each of whom had expressed pious opinions about expenditure, but they did nothing. They had constant professions calling attention to the danger, and yet the peril was increasing, and no Chancellor of the Exchequer was attempting anything. He did not know why the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not been able to reduce the expenditure this year. He himself must realise that they were reaching a point it was difficult for the public to tolerate. They were spending money which was their reserve and which would be useful in case of war. Supposing they had a great European complication or a complication in the Far East—one never knew what might happen, especially if the present Government remained in power, for it was not strong enough to resist temptations of that character—what could they draw upon? Where could they plant another tax? They might put another 1d. or 2d. on the income-tax, but what would it fetch? All the financial authorities in the country realised the position; they saw that there was no reserve. He did not say that they were in any way on the road to bankruptcy, but at any rate their credit was badly damaged. It was the business of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to have the moral courage to stop this, and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer did not seem to have it. He knew his difficulties. They were political difficulties, but, after all, that was an argument against a Government of that sort remaining in power. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not feel sufficiently assured in his position. He was balancing himself on one foot as it were, and the result was that he had no sure footing, and he would do nothing. The War Office could do nothing. The Treasury could do nothing. There was no Government Department that could do anything, for the simple reason that the Government was in the position it was in. The country was suffering very seriously, and he supported the Amendment because it was a protest against this state of things. There had been a fall in public credit outside, but it was nothing to the fall of Government credit inside the House. Their consols had gone down in the market, and nobody would touch them, there they were going on trading without credit, and the public had to pay the balance. He thought this was a grossly unfair thing. The Government ought not to do it. As a protest against the continuation of this sort of thing he should support the Amendment.

*MR. SOARES said that they all admitted the sympathetic answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but still he did not propose to do anything. They had no distinct representation made to them that in the future there was going to be really drastic economy, and he felt bound, in the existing circumstances, although not one who objected to the income-tax, to vote for the proposal of his hon. friend. It was quite true that it would deprive the Chancellor of the Exchequer of about £2,000,000, but it seemed to him that the Government would then be compelled to economise in some direction. Without a doubt there were plenty of directions in which the Government could economise. They were told that the income-tax was a war tax, and the Government could say it was. It was a good description of the tax in their case because they were always at war with someone or another, but this was not the sort of thing he desired to encourage, and he should therefore support the Amendment. The Estimates this year had not been satisfactory. They had voted large sums for the Army Corps——

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is not entitled to review the whole financial situation.

*MR. SOARES said he would abandon the Army Corps as the Government had done, but he would point out there were many alternatives to this tax—the licence duties, taxation of land values, of mining royalties——

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member cannot review the whole fiscal field on this question. The questions he is now opening up seem to be boundless.

*MR. SOARES said he should record his vote in favour of the Amendment and against this additional tax mainly as a protest against the extravagant expenditure of the present Government.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham) said he fully appreciated the motives of the hon. Member who had moved this Amendment, but he regretted that he did not feel able to support him in the division lobby. This Government had laid heavier burdens upon direct taxation than any other Government had ever ventured to impose in time of peace. The income-tax had always been looked upon as the great reserve for war, and when it stood at one shilling in time of peace it was inevitable that the whole elasticity of their financial system was destroyed. Nobody could contend that the direct taxpayer had come out of the re-arrangement of the taxes very badly, because direct and indirect taxation were practically at an equipoise at the present time. A very large proportion of the extra expenditure was due to an increase in armaments, and it was only right that the income-tax payer should bear his fair share of that expenditure. The income-tax was not only a rich man's tax but it fell with severity upon a large number of persons who had to keep up a very considerable position on very slender means. He agreed that this had a disciplinary advantage, because it was only when people began to feel taxation that they became actively interested and vigorous crusaders in the cause of economy. Direct taxation was a great corrector of extravagance. The war was over, but taxation went on, and the great height at which military and naval armaments stood was sufficient justification for retaining the income-tax at its regrettable figure. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer had not shown the same zeal for economy as his predecessors, and they had not detected in his speeches the same advocacy of retrenchment as they found in the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, although he agreed that the result was the same no matter what professions were made. Nevertheless they would welcome those professions from the Chancellor of the Exchequer if only for the sake of appearances. Who were the classes who clamoured for this expenditure? They were on the whole the most wealthy classes in the community. The wealthy classes of income-tax payers advocated lavish expenditure upon all branches of government, and particularly on armaments. This was a democratic country, but it was a country in which the wealthy classes had immense influence, and when the people were told that the safety of the country and the honour of the Empire depended upon an Army scheme such as had been introduced, it was immediately possible for extravagant demagogues to raise and mobilise a considerable force of voting strength. He would hold those people who exercised such influence responsible for their words. Whoever chose the tune should pay the piper. That was why, though he shared the hon. Gentleman's objection to the income-tax at that level, he believed in high taxation as the surest hope of our financial regeneration.

MR. McKENNA said there was one factor which the hon. Member for Oldham omitted from his calculation which would induce him to support the Amendment. The Committee were deciding now on the details of the financial scheme which was to meet the expenditure for the year ending next March. The scheme was based on the Estimates made by the present Government. It was true that four months of the current financial year had already gone by, but it was obvious to everyone that this was a moribund Government, and that it was eminently probable the Estimates made by this Government would not be carried into effect. There was no doubt that were another Government elected on principles to which it would adhere, that Government would immediately be able to effect a series of economies which would enable it to reduce the taxation which now pressed so heavily upon the people. There was no need whatever why the present great expenditure should be permanent, and if this Government, which had obviously lost the confidence of the nation at large, should at length awaken to its responsibilities and consent to appeal to the country which it had deluded, he was satisfied that no Government would be returned except one pledged to economy, and under that pledge it would not be necessary to continue an income-tax of 1s. in the £1. He would not vote for this tax of 1s. because he would not trust this Government with the expenditure of the nation's money. Its administration for a period of nine years had been admittedly extravagant.

*THE CHAIRMAN: This is not the proper opportunity for reviewing the expenditure of the Government. The hon.

Member must confine himself to the Amendment.

MR. MCKENNA said he had not the least intention of reviewing the expenditure of the Government. He was only referring to the fact that, judging by past experience, they could only anticipate that if the Government remained in office for another year its expenditure would be on the same extravagant scale, and it was because of that extravagance that he would not hand over to its charge public money. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, when no longer in office, stated that in spite of his continual protests he had been unable to enforce economies on the Cabinet. He was not quoting the right hon. Gentleman textually, but that was the substance of what he said. He should vote most heartily for the Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 209; Noes, 101. (Division List No. 251.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt Hn Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Asher, Alexander
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F (Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Caldwell, James.
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carlile, William Walter
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt Hon. J A (Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossey, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Aker
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N. W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hobhouse, Rt Hn. H. (Somerset E
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, John (Kent, Faversh'm
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hon. Col. W.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. N R
Lee, Arthur H (Hants Fareham.
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Markham, Arthur Basil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriesshire
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
Morgan, David J (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (B'te
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Col. Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Price, Robert John
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert

Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hon.M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(BethnalGreen)
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Shackleton, David James
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, HC(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, RtHnJParker(Lanarks.
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth.
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr)
Thompson, Dr.EC(Monagh'nN)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col.SirCEH(Sheffield)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G E(Notts.
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wilson, A. Stanley(York,E.R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C.B.Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Younger, William

Tellers for the Ayes.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork,N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Atherley-Jones, L.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John William
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Burke, E. Haviland-
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Elliott, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt.Hon. Sir E.(Berwick)
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Harmsworth, R. Leicester
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan,W
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex.(Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col.John P.(Galway,N.)
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Pirie, Duncan Y.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestly, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan,E.)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Ure, Alexander
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
White, George (Norfolk)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York,W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd.

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Lambert and Mr. Soares.

*Mr. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.) said the object of moving this Amendment was to differentiate between income from realised property and income received from individual effort, and the result of personally productive industry. The technical terms might be stated on the one hand as permanent, and the other as a precarious income. The income of a professional man who was working for his livelihood was likely to cease at his death, or in the event of disability consequent on the breakdown of health. These were matters to be taken into consideration, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he hoped, would look favourably on this proposal. Mr. Gladstone said in his great Budget speech in 1853 that the income-tax proposals were too hard on intelligence and skill, and not hard enough on property as compared with intelligence and skill. If that were true in 1853 it was much more true now. In 1853 the income derived from Schedule A which related to property amounted to £2,400,000, whilst in 1903 it amounted to £9,703,000, so that it had increased four-fold; but with regard to Schedule D that in 1853 produced £1,200,000, in 1903 the income derived from trade and professions was £23,000,000, an increase of nearly twenty-fold. This year the amount was a little less, but the result was that whilst Schedule A produced double that of Schedule D in 1853, the position in 1903 was not only reversed, but the produce of Schedule D was two-and-a-half times greater than Schedule A. For many years the income-tax was a temporary tax, and the difference between A and D was very small, but now they should endeavour to act as fairly as they possibly could between the different classes of the community.

It might be said that there were difficulties in the way of differentiation, but he did not think those difficulties were insuperable, and he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would make a difference between the product of realised wealth and that of industry. He trusted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, having regard to the high rate at which the income-tax now stood, would make this differentiation between the produce of realised wealth and the produce of a man's industry. There were doubtless difficulties connected with limited liability companies, capital invested in businesses, and life annuities, but those were questions of detail which did not affect the merits of the case. Trade had been unfairly treated as compared with property, but that had been the method adopted all through by Parliament. Even Mr. Gladstone had said that the main question was between land and trade. An unequal contest had been carried on, and a land-owning Parliament had taken care that property should have not only its full share of rights but a little more. The method by which the proposed differentiation should be accompanied was not of much importance, but he suggested that the simplest method would be to give a rebate from the standard rate imposed. Abatements were the order of the day; the only abatement that was not proposed was an abatement of expenditure. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not shelve the matter by promising an inquiry by Royal Commission or Select Committee, as this was a long-standing grievance which imperatively demanded redress. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 2, line 39, after the words 'one shilling' to insert the words 'provided always that all incomes under Schedule D derived from trades and professions and not derived from investments shall be subject to a rebate of fourpence per pound.'"—(*Mr. McCrae.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said in view of the fact that the hon. Member proposed to base his proposal upon Mr. Gladstone's Budget speech of 1853, no one would suppose that Mr. Gladstone was the sternest and most able opponent of the very expedient suggested by the hon. Member. Every financial authority in the country held that the proposal of the hon. Member was absolutely disposed of in Mr. Gladstone's Budget speech of 1853, which speech a couple of years ago the right hon. Member for West Monmouth, in a discussion upon a similar scheme, called that "masterpiece of finance." To penalise investments in State securities would be a most injudicious proceeding for the State to engage in. This was what the hon. Member's proposal amounted to. As to its being a question between land and trade, was the landowner's income not dependent on personal exertions? Many Members of the House could inform the hon. Member that there was very great difference between the estate where the owner gave his personal interest and time to the management, and the estate where such conditions did not prevail. Mr. Gladstone said that the only person who could really be said to receive his income without personal labour was the Fund-holder. Surely this struck at the whole basis of the hon. Member's proposal. Mr. Gladstone, who was a responsible Minister of finance and a born man of finance, did not pass these details over so lightly, because he knew that in the accumulation of these numberless details of great complexity, involving the utmost difficulty in their solution, there was an absolute obstacle, an insurmountable obstacle, to the adoption of any such proposal. For instance, let them say that a widow was left with an income of £800 a year, the proceeds of capital invested in the Funds or elsewhere, on which she had to maintain herself and a young family, was she to be taxed at a higher rate than a man earning £15,000 or £20,000 a year on the Stock Exchange, in the professions, or elsewhere? Did anybody think this would place the income-tax on a fairer basis, or leave less ground for criticism than the present system? Let them take one more illustration. Let them take the case of two industrial undertakings of a similar nature returning very large incomes to the parties who owned them. One was sold to a company, and small investors, people with little capital, put their savings into it. Were they to be taxed at a higher rate than the millionaire owner of the neighbouring concern, who retained the universal management of his business and pocketed profits out of all proportion to anything these poor people received? Without wearying the House by labouring the point, which was no doubt treated in a masterly manner, that no one could hope to attain, by Mr. Gladstone, he ventured to think that he had called their attention to enough of the difficulties and anomalies that would arise under any such a proposal to make it clear that it would be most unwise to adopt it.

Mr. McKENNA said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had adopted the plan of putting hard cases. He would put one to him. Did he suggest that the millionaire sleeping partner drawing his £50,000 out of the business was to pay no more income-tax than his hard-working manager with £800? This was not a matter to be decided by hard cases. They could find arguments for and against any tax they pleased by adducing cases from their own point of view. His hon. friend had made a proposal which had had wide and general acceptance. It was quite true that in the working out of his scheme in practice he would meet with considerable difficulties. The line of demarcation between incomes earned by labour and derived from capital upon which no labour was employed would be very difficult to draw; but he thought the Committee would agree that, if such a line could be successfully drawn, and they could distinguish accurately between those incomes which died with the persons who earned them, and those which continued after the present holder had died, it would be a useful thing to impose heavier burdens upon incomes which continued for ever rather than upon the incomes which died with the work of the man who earned them. This was a very simple proposition to make, and was one which he submitted was not dealt with by Mr. Gladstone in his great speech of 1853. It was with other complications arising out of this question that he dealt—complications which still existed, and consequently made it very difficult to support the Amendment of his hon. friend in the actual form in which it stood. But he was sure he would have the sympathy of the Committee generally in the great idea underlying his proposal, and if it were possible to put it in a form in which it could be readily worked in any Finance Bill, he was sure that it would receive the general support of the Committee.

*__Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL__ said the Committee was in a somewhat amusing position. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had shown them that Mr. Gladstone was against the proposal in 1853, but he had not shown them that Mr. Disraeli was in favour of it in 1852, when he proposed to differentiate between earned and unearned incomes very much in the way now proposed by his hon. friend. It was amusing that they should have a Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer invoking the authority of Mr Gladstone and his Liberal critics sheltering themselves behind Mr. Disraeli. He found himself unable to support the Amendment, because he thought the object his hon. friend sought to attain was obtained very much better by the present methods than that he proposed. There ought to be a differentiation between earned and unearned incomes, and there was a considerable differentiation through the Death Duties. For these reasons he would be unable to support the Amendment.

Mr. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield) pointed out that if the Amendment were accepted South African millionaires and speculators of all descriptions would be able so to divide their profits into salary and dividends as to get off with a reduction of 4d. in the £ on the larger part of their incomes. He was not sent to the House of Commons to effect any such object, and he failed to see how Liberalism could claim reductions for these people. If the Amendment went to a division he should vote against it.

MR. RUNCIMAN regarded it as one of the principles of Liberalism that capital should pay a larger proportion of the cost of the upkeep of the State than was borne by labour. In view of the fact that when Mr. Cobden's views were quoted, his authority was discounted on the ground that he lived so many years ago, it was somewhat interesting to find the Chancellor of the Exchequer basing his arguments on the shibboleths held by Mr. Gladstone in 1853. Since that date the conditions of the financial and industrial world had greatly changed. One of Mr. Gladstone's reasons against differentiation was that land paid income-tax on gross receipts without deduction. That was no longer the case. Another reason was that under Schedule D there was a large amount of under-assessment, and, in that way, a certain amount of differentiation already existed. But not only had the system of land assessment been altered, but the immense extension of the limited liability system had placed capital very much in the same position that land was in in 1853. The division was no longer between land and trade, but between capital and industry. Certain incomes, drawn from investments and property, were more or less permanent; others, depending upon the health and life of the persons who possessed them, were precarious, and differentiation between the two classes, difficult though it might be, was certainly desirable. The principle had been successfully carried out in other countries, and might equally be laid down in the United Kingdom. The proposals were by no means new, having been made with tremendous force by John Stuart Mill, and Disraeli himself threw all the objections to the winds. Mr. Gladstone's views had been invoked; he would be quite satisfied if all the financial debates were conducted on the principles of Mr. Gladstone, as they had been wonderfully successful in the past.

*MR. SOARES did not wonder there was a certain divergence of opinion on this question, as it doubtless presented many difficulties. Businesses were frequently turned into companies, with the former owners, holding many shares, as salaried managers. It would be difficult in such cases to say how much of a man's income was from investments and how much from his personal exertions. Then there was the case of small property owners who made a business of the ownership of property and who collected the rents themselves. There were doubtless difficulties, but surely the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not so soon forgotten that it was stated at the recent Albert Hall meeting that difficulties were made for statesmen to overcome. The difficulties in the present case were certainly such as statesmen ought to be able to overcome. There was, without doubt, a definite grievance in this matter. The income of a professional man and the income of a business man were in a very different position from the income of a man who derived his living from permanent investments. The business man or the professional man had to save so much money every year, he had to insure his life, and to meet many other burdens cast upon him, whereas a man who lived on investments could spend every penny, knowing that he could leave to his descendants the full income he enjoyed. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer had refused to hold any inquiry whatever into the matter, he would support his hon. friend's Amendment.

MR. McCRAE asked leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. McKENNA moved to leave out Sub-section (2) of Clause 6. This was not an Amendment he proposed to divide the Committee upon, his object in moving it being to call the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the fact that the enactments referred to in the sub-section were, so far as his experience had gone, exceedingly difficult to discover. They all knew the extreme difficulties arising from legislation by reference, but this really was reference gone mad. He asked whether the Attorney-General could suggest either that in place of the sub-section, reference should be given to the particular enactments included in the words "All such enactments relating to income-tax....," or that they should be made permanent once for all.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 1, to leave out Sub-section (2)."—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir ROBERT FINLAY, Inverness Burghs) said he did not think this sub-section was open to the charge of being legislation by reference. What the hon. and learned Member had said might possibly deserve consideration on some future occasion. The clause was very simple indeed, the object being to apply to the tax imposed this year enactments which had existed for many years.

MR. McKENNA asked leave to withdraw the Amendment. The matter was not quite so simple as the Attorney-General had suggested.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

The following Amendment was on the Notice Paper in the name of Mr. McCRAE:—

"In page 3, line 4, after the word 'granted,' to insert the words "Provided that the following words in Rule 5 of No. 2, Schedule A, s. 60, 5 and 6 Vic., c. 35, 'Of all fines received in consideration of any demise of lands or tenements (not being parcel of a manor or royalty demisable by the custom thereof) on the amount so received within the year preceding by or on account of the party, provided that in case the party chargeable shall prove to the satisfaction of the Commissioners for General Purposes in the district that such fines or any part thereof have been applied as production capital on which a profit has arisen, or will arise, otherwise chargeable under this Act for the year in which the assessment shall be made, it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners to discharge the amount so applied from the profits liable to assessment under this rule' shall be read in so far as relative to the duty of income-tax hereby granted as if the proviso therein contained were omitted."

*THE CHAIRMAN: The Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for East Edinburgh, so far as I am able to understand it, is out of order. It increases the charge upon the people because it withdraws an advantage which they obtain under the section which the hon. Member is seeking to amend. By cancelling the proviso he imposes a fresh charge.

*MR. McCRAE, on the point of order, said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had impressed on the House the importance of the general Resolution which came later in the Finance Bill, giving power to amend. He thought that entirely covered this proposal.

*THE CHAIRMAN: I am well aware of that Resolution. The object of that Resolution is to enable such matters to be dealt with as the abolition of the coal duty and, the reduction of the sugar duty or the purpose of relieving taxation. But the Amendment of the hon. Member, instead of relieving taxation, would impose a fresh charge upon the people.

MR. McKENNA said his hon. friend was not proposing to extend or increase existing charges, but to withdraw an exemption which this Bill proposed to make. He submitted, therefore, that the Amendment was in order.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 5, to leave out Sub-section (3)." —(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

MR. McKENNA asked the Attorney-General why Sub-section 3 was in the Bill at all. It was not in the Bill last year.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that the effect of the sub-section was that a continual valuation must be made from year to year. The valuation was for five years; and last year was the revaluation year.

MR. McKENNA begged leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. McKENNA said that in the Act of 1853 there was a proviso that where existing valuations were incorrect the Commissioners of Inland Revenue might direct a revaluation. He begged to move an Amendment in that direction.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 10, after the word 'year' to insert the words "Provided that the Commissioners of Inland Revenue may direct revaluation where existing valuations are incorrect.'"—(*Mr. McKenna.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he did not think that any real hardship would arise under the present law, because the Inland Revenue Commissioners had at present the right to make revaluations. He hoped the hon. Member would not press his Amendment.

MR. McKENNA said a case had been brought to his knowledge of alterations having been made in the valuation of a house, the tenant had to pay an amount of income-tax beyond that which he could get from the landlord.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) said that this was an Amendment that ought to be accepted.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that the proposal of the hon. Gentleman did not seem unfair, and he would be glad to inquire into the matter before the Report stage.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said his hon. friend did not move his Amendment with the view of damaging the principle of the Bill, and he quoted a case of hardship under the existing law which his Amendment would be the vehicle of averting in future. He joined in the appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to accept the Amendment. The words were harmless and actually appeared in the original Act. The right hon. Gentleman must know that there were a large number of properties which were at the present moment under-assessed. In these days they could not afford to forego revenue which could legitimately be claimed by the State. Therefore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer should accept these words; otherwise he hoped his friend would persist in carrying his Motion to a division.

MR. RUNCIMAN trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to meet them on this very modest point.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give the Committee some explanation.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he could not accept the Amendment, because the case was to a certain extent already covered by a sub-section. He promised, however, to make inquiries without delay and see whether there were any cases of hardship.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he had listened very carefully to the discussion, and he had heard no attempt to explain why these words were omitted, and in the absence of such explanation he hoped his hon. friend would press for a division.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 80; Noes, 171. (Division List No. 252.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Atherley-Jones, L.
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. E.C.(S.AndrewBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Fenwick, Charles
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herb. John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James

Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan, W.
Law, Hugh Alex.(Donegal, W.)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
Nanetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington Oswald
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw.(Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Soares, Ernest J.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. M'Kenna and Mr. Runciman.

NOES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hn Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S. Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N. W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hobhouse, Rt Hn H. (Somers't, E
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks, N. R.
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriesshire
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants)
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt Hn. A. Graham (Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, H. C (North'mb, Tyneside
Smith, Rt. Hn. J Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thompson, Dr. E C (Monagh'n, N.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount

Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H (Sheffield
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.)
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON, in order to ascertain the intentions of the Government, moved to report Progress. The Committee had reached nearly the end of the income-tax clause; the points raised had all been of substance, and none had been discussed at unreasonable length. There still remained a considerable portion of the Bill and the new clauses to dispose of. Many matters of considerable importance were involved, and under the circumstances he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would agree to report Progress, as soon as he had obtained Clause 6. Unless that course were agreed to it would be necessary to continue the discussion on the income-tax and other matters. He entirely failed to see why the Committee should be forced in this way when dealing with a Bill of such importance; therefore he begged to move.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again." (*Mr. Sydney Buxton.*)

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.) agreed that Clause 6 required very little further discussion, but he could not agree that the discussion on the whole of the Budget, so far as it had gone, had been of a comparatively brief character. Budgets involving taxation of a novel and important character had been dealt with in Committee in a shorter period of time than had already been devoted to the present Bill. He was able only to do his best to make arrangements of business convenient to the House, and in view of the period of the session at which they had arrived, of the absolute necessity of passing the Budget in proper time, and of the other work remaining to be dealt with, he thought the House ought to make some sacrifice on the present occasion in order to get on with the business. In these circumstances he was not in a position to accept the suggestion of the hon. Member.

MR. JOHN WILSON (Durham, Mid.) desired to make an appeal to the Prime Minister. Hon. Members representing the coal-mining districts had resisted the desire to take part in the discussion hitherto in the hope of getting a chance to debate the coal tax at length. To miners the coal tax was of very great importance, and, if anything useful could be done, they would like to put facts and arguments as they presented themselves to them before the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Leader of the House. He thought he would agree that it was not a fitting time to take the coal tax after all the other matters had been disposed of in connection with the Finance Bill. Therefore, in the most respectful manner he presented their case—that the right hon. Gentleman should give another day, at least, for the purpose of discussing the coal tax question. They thought that, if any abatement at all were made in the Finance Bill, having regard to one of the largest industries in the country, that it should be in the coal tax, and they were conceited enough to think they could convince the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the right of this. Speaking on behalf of himself and his colleagues, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would reconsider his decision.

*MR. McCRAE drew attention to the fact that Clause 6 introduced an entirely new principle, viz., the question of dealing with the unclaimed dividends, and of applying the proceeds to revenue expenditure. This was a departure from sound finance, and he thought it would be quite unfair to consider a question of such importance at five minutes to two in the morning.

MR. EUGENE WASON (Clackmannan and Kinross), strongly urged the Prime Minister to accede to the request of his hon. friend. A great many miners felt that this coal tax had done something to depress their wages.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said nothing could be more moderate than the form in which the hon. Member for Durham put forward his plea, but he hoped he would remember one or two things. In the first place, he must know that, however valuable a discussion of this kind would be in informing public opinion, it would be quite impossible this year, however able a presentation of arguments be made to them, and however conclusive those arguments might be as to the general impropriety or disadvantage attaching to the tax, to reconstruct the present Budget to meet his views. In the second place, there would be an opportunity for discussion of the coal tax on the Report stage of the Bill. In those circumstances, he hoped he and other Gentlemen interested would feel that he was not unreasonable in adhering to his view.

Sir EDWARD GREY could not agree that the Report stage offered as good an opportunity as the Committee stage for the discussion of a matter of this kind. The coal tax was an important subject; and the Prime Minister himself admitted that discussion, even though it could not influence the present Budget, might be desirable with a view to future financial proposals. The tax was a modern one, exceedingly novel in principle, and the hon. Member thought it was desirable that such a tax should be annually reviewed. It was, he thought, admitted by its proposer to be one that would require to be closely watched in its working. There were in the Budget important matters that the Committee could not reasonably discuss at this period of the night, and he should support the Motion for reporting Progress.

Mr. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) said they had already taken every opportunity afforded them of educating public opinion outside the House in regard to the coal tax, and they had succeeded so well that there was not a candidate, either Liberal or Tory, that dared stand for a mining constituency that was an export district without pledging himself to do all he could to repeal the tax. They now wanted an opportunity of educating public opinion inside the House, and an opportunity to inform the minds of the Government in reference to the question, for they certainly thought there was a great deal of misunderstanding in their minds in regard to the coal tax, and that they were in a position to remove some of that misunderstanding if proper facilities were given them to debate the matter on the floor of the House. It was, however, impossible to have such full consideration of the question as its importance demanded at that hour; and therefore he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would consent to report Progress, so that they might have an opportunity given them.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL said the Prime Minister had shown himself unreasonable, and even harsh, in his leadership of the House and the conduct of public business by refusing to pay the slightest attention to the weighty appeals which had been addressed to him by the representatives of the great industry affected by the coal tax. Had public business been allowed to get into such a mess, that so great a subject was not to be discussed at all except at a time when the Committee were wearied and unable properly to consider the matter? Scarcely five hours had been devoted to the discussion of the income-tax clause, which involved so many millions of money; the Amendments were of substance, and the discussions had not been unduly protracted. Under these circumstances he submitted that it was a perfectly fair proposition that Progress should be reported when Clause 6 had been obtained. The Prime Minister had said it was essential to get the whole of the Committee stage to-night, otherwise the House of Lords might be involved in a Saturday sitting. But why was the Budget in its present position? Simply because of the interruption of the discussion for two or three weeks by the interposition of other measures of importance. Nobody had expected the Bill would be forced through at the present sitting. It was true the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said he intended to conclude the Committee stage, but everybody had regarded that as a piece of empty brag. Nobody imagined that the right hon. Gentleman seriously meant it, and still less that in the perpetration of so unprecedented and unfair an act the Prime Minister would be a willing accessory.

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM (Glamorganshire, Rhondda) said the miners' representatives had preferred their modest request, honestly believing that the coal tax seriously affected the men they represented, and that they had a number of new facts to place before the Chancellor of the Exchequer which would tend to convince him that something ought to be done. Even if it was too late for any alteration to be made in the present year, they wished to put forward their case, so that something might be done at the earliest possible moment to redress the wrong from which many thousands of coal-workers were suffering. If the coal tax was to be discussed at the present sitting, the right hon. Gentleman would do well to order his breakfast, as he would require it before the discussion finished.

MR. McKENNA (who was received with cries of "Oh") said the shouts of hon. Gentlemen opposite were the most complete justification of the Motion to report Progress. Hon. Members who had not been in the House during the discussion had now attended in order to shout down those who had been sticking to their posts. He wished to state some reasons in favour of reporting Progress. His hon. friends who had spoken with regard to the coal tax had treated the subject with great delicacy. They had not referred to a fact which was patent to everybody, namely, that their arguments had no chance of being reported in the public Press, if the discussion took place now. What possible hope could they on the Opposition side of the House have that their arguments would have weight with the Government unless they had public opinion on their side? It was as surely muzzling the Committee to carry on a debate at that time of night (2.10 a.m.) as it was to introduce a muzzling order on the Licensing Bill. The Prime Minister said the case was hopeless for this year and that he would not alter the Budget. But if they could get public opinion on their side, they would get the tax taken off next year. This was their opportunity to get public opinion on their side in regard to the coal tax. The tax was imposed when the coal trade was prosperous, but since then there had been a series of reductions in the men's wages, and the coal-owners were not deriving such good profits as before. This was a question affecting 100,000 men, and it was not reasonable that the Committee should be asked to discuss it at this hour. He appealed to the Prime Minister to allow Progress to be reported, in order that the coal tax might be discussed in the early hours of Friday's sitting when the debate could be reported.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE supported the appeal made to the Prime Minister by the representatives of the great mining industry. It was absolutely no use trying to convert the Government, but at any rate they should get the chance of educating public opinion. To say that they could educate public opinion by discussing the coal tax at three, four, or five in the morning was simply mocking them. Let the Prime Minister give them a chance of discussing the coal tax on Friday. How could the House of Commons discuss the question if they sat all night? [MINISTERIAL cheers.] Hon. Members opposite seemed rather to relish the idea. It was quite natural. They did not want to discuss anything. The appeal made to the Prime Minister by his hon. friends behind him was perfectly reasonable. What other business had the right hon. Gentleman got for Friday? [AN HON. MEMBER: The Budget on Report.] Surely the right hon. Gentleman did not mean to take the whole of the Report stage of the Budget on one day.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never said that I hoped to finish the Report stage on Friday. What I said was that according to my forecast we should take the Report of this Bill on Friday, and as the coal tax is dealt with in a new clause it would come up early.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said financial business was work for Committee. When the Prime Minister postponed discussions on everything important from the Committee to the Report stage, he was absolutely reversing the traditions of the House. It was not the first reversal, he was sorry to say, that the Prime Minister had initiated. The House of Commons was the only place in which this discussion could take place. There were three speeches in 1853 which took five hours each to deliver; and the right hon. Gentleman ought to be grateful to hon. Members who had confined their speeches to the dimensions they had done. He really marvelled at the moderation of the discussion.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said it seemed to him that the proposal made was a most reasonable one, and if the right hon. Gentleman could see his way to meet the views of those interested in the coal trade. that would enable the Committee to get on to the new clauses. If the right hon. Gentleman would agree to that, he would withdraw his Motion.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said he understood that hon. Gentlemen opposite thought that discussion on the Report stage was of infinitely less importance than on the Committee stage. If so he would be willing to redistribute the time, giving more to the Committee and less to Report, but both stages must be finished on Monday. If assured that the Committee stage would finish on Friday, he would agree to give that day for the discussion of the coal tax.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said he appreciated the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman, but he did not think he was entitled to attach conditions to the proposals he had made.

Mr. FISON (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster), said that at the time the coal tax was introduced, he was very much opposed to it, and he had voted against it. Curiously enough, one part of his constituency which most approved of it was a mining centre. From his own personal knowledge, not having received one single complaint against it, he could say there was no real grievance in the coal tax.

Mr. LOUGH said that the general opinion was that the Report stage would be very much abbreviated if the discussion of the coal tax was then taken.

Mr. COURTENAY WARNER said he wished to make a suggestion. His constituency had been very hard hit by the coal tax, and his suggestion was that the House might sit on Saturday to discuss it. He was quite sure that all the hon Gentlemen who took an interest in the coal tax would be willing to sit then, while at the same time the object of the Prime Minister would be attained.

*__Mr. JOSEPH WALTON__ (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley) said he hoped that the Prime Minister's suggestion would be accepted, and that Friday should be given to the discussion of the coal tax. This tax directly affected over 4,000,000 of the inhabitants of this country, and he had received, both from colliery owners and others, communications of the strongest possible character to secure the repeal of the tax owing to the very serious injury which had been inflicted on the trade.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said he was prepared to accept the Prime Minister's offer to now report Progress and take the coal Resolutions and the rest of the Bill on Friday and to finish the Report stage on the following Monday. He thought, however, that the right hon. Gentleman was driving a very hard bargain.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR assured the Committee of his desire to meet their wishes consistently with the due progress of business. But in order that there should be no misunderstanding on a matter of public honour, he wished it to be understood that they were to finish the clauses of the Bill in Committee at that sitting and the remaining part of the Bill by half-past five on Friday. There might be some difficulty as to the reprinting of the Bill between Friday and Monday next, but he thought it would be possible to have the amended Bill printed and circulated on the Saturday morning.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON asked whether under those circumstances the Report stage could not be fixed for Tuesday instead of Monday.

Mr. LOUGH protested that if the Report stage were to be taken on the Monday no time would be allowed in which to put down Amendments.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL agreed with the hon. Member for Poplar that the Prime Minister had offered them very hard terms. Everyone was anxious that the representatives of the great mining industry should have the opportunity of bringing their case forward at a fresh sitting when the House could properly consider the arguments. Could not the right hon. Gentleman confine the bargain to the Committee stage? It was unreasonable to desire to make a bargain upon the Report stage when they were only in the Committee stage.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said to comply with a request to confine the bargain to the Committee stage of the Bill would be the height of folly. He could not see how it was possible to devote a greater amount of time to the Bill than had been suggested. If it were difficult to take the Report stage on the Monday it might be possible to take it on the Tuesday.

SIR EDWARD GREY said he had often heard of bargains of this kind being made when Members were anxious to avoid an all-night sitting, but the bargains were always confined to one stage of the measure in question. To couple the Report and Committee stages was a very far-reaching bargain to attempt to drive in the middle of the night. The Committee were prepared to agree to conclude the Committee stage on Friday, but they were not unanimous about the Report stage. He suggested, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman should accept the undertaking with regard to the Committee stage, leaving the Report stage out of the question for the present.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said the Committee would recognise the difficulty of collecting the opinion of hon. Members in two or three minutes. As far as he was able he endeavoured to ascertain that opinion, but apparently he did not obtain it correctly. Under these circumstances, it was clear that the proceedings must go on.

MR. RUNCIMAN said it was evident from the cheers on the other side that there was an organised attempt to bully the Committee in this matter. If that was the spirit abroad, the Opposition were quite prepared to fight. The suggestion of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Northumberland was an essentially reasonable one, and, with a view to the rapid passage not only of the Bill before the Committee but also of other business, the Prime Minister would be well advised to fall in with the proposal.

MR. TREVELYAN pointed out that the sitting began with three quarters of an hour's obstruction by Ministerialists; then came the Motion for the adjournment——

***THE CHAIRMAN**: We cannot fight all our battles over again.

MR. TREVELYAN said he was merely indicating that all the delay had not been caused by the Opposition. Most of the debate on the Motion for adjournment might have been avoided if any intimation whatever had been conveyed——

***THE CHAIRMAN**: We cannot now go into the matter. I must ask the hon. Member to confine his remarks to the Motion.

MR. TREVELYAN thought at any rate it would be in order to refer to the discussion on the income-tax clause. By far the greater part of that debate might have been avoided had the Chancellor of the Exchequer shown a more conciliatory spirit. When it could not be shown that the dilatory tactics of the Opposition had been worse than those of the supporters of the Government it was most unreasonable to ask the House to make such sacrifices as the right hon. Gentleman demanded.

***MR. JOSEPH WALTON** hoped, in the interest of the dignity and efficiency of the House of Commons, the Prime Minister would agree to the suggestion of the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division. With his majority behind him the right hon. Gentleman could well afford to leave over the question of the conclusion of the Report stage, and the concession would probably save a double discussion on the coal tax. As they intended to act upon the Prime Minister's suggestion that they should educate public opinion with regard to this iniquitous tax, it would be absolutely necessary to rediscuss it on the Report stage of the Finance Bill, and he asked the right hon. Gentleman whether that sort of arrangement was likely to facilitate and forward business.

*MR. EUGENE WASON thought it a thousand pities that when they were on the point of coming to an agreement negotiations were broken off; and he ventured to urge that the right hon. Gentleman might so far meet them as to agree to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Berwick.

*MR. EMMOTT (Oldham) said he should like to add one word of appeal. There were two matters which had prolonged the discussion and led to the breakdown of arrangements. The Prime Minister told them first of all that he must have the Bill on Monday night, and then they found it was not necessary to have it by Monday night at all. That was one thing. The other was this. Hon. Members opposite called out that they desired to sit all night. He thought, however, they on that side would be able to last out as long as hon. Members opposite. He really hoped the suggestion of his hon. friend would be accepted by the Prime Minister.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 75; Noes, 168. (Division List No. 253.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Atherley-Jones, L.
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt E C (S Andrw'sBghs)
Emmott, Alfred
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Soares, Ernest J.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn. Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Curtis Charles (Antrim, S.
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore

Mr. Joseph Walton.

Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke,Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber,Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald,Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy,Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster,PhilipS.(Warwick,S. W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon,Hn.J.E. (Elgin & Nairn
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,SirEW.(B'ryS.Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath,Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hobhouse,RtHn H.(Somers't,E
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Howard,John(Kent,Faversham
Hozier, Hon. James HenryCecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys,Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon-Slaney,Rt. Hn.Col. W.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks.N.R.)
Lee,Arthur H.(Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long,Col.CharlesW. (Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas,Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver,SirLewis (EdinburghW
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,W.J.H (Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan,David J.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray,RtHn.A.Graham (Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley,S.Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith,HC (North'mb.Tyneside
Smith,RtHn J.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W.F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thompson,Dr.EC(Monagh'n,N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.SirCEH (Sheffield)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby,SirCharles G.E. (Notts.)
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Whiteley,H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson,A.Stanley (York,E.R.)
Wortley,Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question, 'That the clause stand part of the Bill,' be now put."

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey), speaking seated and covered, said he had an important Amendment on the Paper which he had put down practically at the invitation of the right hon. Gentleman himself, and which he had heard the Government intended to accept. Was that to be shut out by this Motion? If so, it having been placed on the Paper at the invitation of the right hon. Gentleman, he thought it extremely harsh treatment on the part of the Government.

*THE CHAIRMAN said the point raised by the hon. Member was not a point of order. Moreover, the Amendment to which he referred was down in the wrong place.

Question put, "That the Question 'That the clause stand part of the Bill' be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 167; Noes, 74. (Division List No. 254.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,Rt. Hn. A.J. (Manch'r.
Balfour,Rt.Hn.GeraldW(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R.(Christch.
Bathurst, Hn. Allen Benjamin

Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles,Lt.-Col.H.F.(Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell,J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain,RtHn.J.A.(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim S.
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir JohnE.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robt. Penrose-
Fitzroy,Hon.Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S.(Warwick,S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon,Hn.J.E.(Elgin & Nairn
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,SirE.W(B'ryS.Edm'nds
Greene,Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath,James (Staffords.,N.W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hobhouse,RtHnH.(Somers't,E
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Howard,John(Kent,Faversham
Hozier,Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon-Slaney,Rt.Hn. Col. W.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson,JohnGrant(Yorks,N.R
Lee,ArthurH.(Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long,Col.Charles W.(Evesham
Long,RtHnWalter (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(EdinburghW
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, A. H.
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W.J.H(Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner,Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan,David J(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray,RtHn.A.Graham(Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Non. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hn. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde(BethnalGreen
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville,Colonel S.G.Stopford)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith,H.C(North'mb,Tyneside
Smith,RtHnJ Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thompson,Dr.E.C(Monagh'n,N
Thornton, Percy, M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Liout.-Col. Edward
Valentia Viscount
Vincent,ColSirC.E.H.(Sheffield
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Atherley-Jones, L.
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,CaptEC((S.Andrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey,Rt. Hn. Sir E.(Berwick)
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, VincentP.(Cavan,W.
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)

O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Price, Robert John
Priestly, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Soares, Ernest J.
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David Alfred(Merthyr
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 166; Noes, 70. (Division List No. 255.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt HnA.J.(Manch'rE.
Balfour, Rt Hn GeraldW(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.)
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H F (Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J H M(DublinUniv.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W.(Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, RtHnJ.A.(Worc.)
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos.H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis(AntrimS.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Saville
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S.(Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, HnJ E(Elgin &Nairn)
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E W(B'ryS.Edm'nd
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hobhouse, Rt Hn H(Somers'tE
Hope, J F(Sheffield, Brightside
Howard, John(Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt Hn. Col. W.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar(Glasgow)
Lawson, John Grant(YorksN.R
Lee, Arthur H(Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W.(Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(EdinburghW
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W J. H.(Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt HnA Graham(Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hn. M. W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (BethnalGreen
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col, S. G. Stopford-
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, H C(North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, RtHnJ. Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thompson, DrE.C.(Monagh'n, N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col SirC.EH(Sheffield.
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)

Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

Tellers for the Ayes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Atherley-Jones, L.
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, CaptE C(S Andrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman, Thomas Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt HnHerbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, RtHnSir E. (Berwick)
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, John Frederick
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P(Cavan, W.
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, CharlesEdward(Stafford
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Soares, Ernest J.
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred(Merthyr
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Lough and Mr. Runciman.

Clause 7—

*Mr. McCRAE said that with the exception of the tax on tea this was the most serious proposition in the Finance Bill. It went directly in the teeth of all principles of sound finance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had sheltered himself behind what Mr. Gladstone had done in regard to unclaimed dividends, but the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor had applied them to a reduction of debt instead of taking them for revenue purposes. This was an extraordinary proposal. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was faced with a deficit of £5,140,000, and to meet that deficit he took £2,800,000 from the Exchequer which had been raised by way of loan, and was going to apply this £1,000,000 from the unclaimed dividends. This was not only a departure from the principles of sound finance, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not fairly and squarely meeting his liabilities by the imposition of taxation. The deficit of last year and this year ought to have been met out of taxation, but the right hon. Gentleman had taken a course which no financial authority would approve. The unclaimed dividends ought to be applied to the reduction of the National Debt. He made bold to say that at no period in the history of the country was there greater necessity for reducing the capital indebtedness of the nation, not only because of its financial, but of its moral effect. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would seriously consider the Amendment and give an opportunity to apply the unclaimed dividends to the reduction of the National Debt.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 25, to leave out the words from the word 'shall' to the word 'out,' in line 26, and insert the word 'pay.'" — (*Mr. McCrae.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he saw nothing financially unsound in the proposal to cancel the stock. The present time called upon the taxpayers to make great sacrifices, and they ought not to be called upon to raise extra taxation for this special purpose. Not only would he not call upon the taxpayer to make this extra sacrifice, but he would not be a party to it.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had put forward a most extraordinary plea. It was on the same footing as a householder who said, "I am so badly off that I must sell my furniture." That situation was characteristic of this Government, which had been driven into a corner. The Chancellor of the Exchequer must not be too sure that this money belonged to the State. This proposal could not be defended on the ground of sound finance. The effect of this expedient would be to mislead the public as to the amount of their expenditure. No really adequate explanation of the proposal had been given, and the way in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had dealt with the matter was a proof of the absolute folly and the farcical character of discussions taken at that hour of the morning. The proposal was absolutely unprecedented. The right hon. Gentleman was escheating the property of private persons, and Governments had done nothing of the kind since the time of Henry VIII.

MR. DISRAELI (Cheshire, Altrincham) said it was exactly the same as Mr. Gladstone had done.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said it was exactly what Mr. Gladstone did not do. To apply the money to the repayment of debt was a very different thing from using it for current revenue. The proposal of his hon. friend was admitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be a perfectly sound one; it had the authority of the greatest finance Minister the country had ever seen; and yet it was perfunctorily dealt with in a speech lasting less than two minutes. That was respectful neither to the House of Commons nor to the traditions of the right hon. Gentleman's own office, and it was the greatest condemnation of the action of the Government in forcing so important a measure through Committee at four o'clock in the morning. The Committee knew where this money was going to; it was going to pay for the extravagances of the Government. But where was it coming from? Why did not the Government admit that they had run into debt, and therefore were forced to find the money somewhere and somehow? The Government had evidently come to the conclusion that all they had to do was to formulate their proposals, and that the House of Commons was not to discuss, but to pass them. It was time the Committee made it perfectly clear that that was a position they could not accept. The prime function of the Committee of the House of Commons was to discuss Supply and redress grievances. The right hon. Gentleman was forcing his proposals through, knowing that he could depend upon his majority, which was mechanical in more senses than one. It was a monstrous and perfectly unparalleled proceeding that £1,000,000 should be taken from that money without the transaction being explained.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: I think the hon. Member is wandering from the question before the Committee.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE, proceeding, said that if anybody could explain what this fund was he should be pleased to resume his seat. Could anybody tell him what the fund was, or where it came from? This conduct on the part of the Government was really quite in keeping with most of their legislation. The only defence they had was the defence the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave at the very start when he said: "We are poor and needy, and really we have got to get our cash somehow."

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said his hon. friend had shown the enormous disadvantages under which they were discussing the proposal. Here at that hour in the morning they were asked to discuss a totally new subject of great complication and difficulty, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had only condescended to give them two-and-a-half minutes explanation. He thought the hon. Member who moved the Amendment made out a strong case against the Chancellor of the Exchequer which he had not attempted to meet. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in these debates had been fond of quoting Mr. Gladstone, either correcting him or following his example. When he corrected him, he put a tax on stripped tobacco and lost all his revenue, because he gave it back in rebates, and now they had it stated that he was following his example. But he was certainly not following his example when, instead of using the money for the extinction of the Debt, he used it for current purposes. The right hon. Gentleman defended his actions on the ground that he wanted money. That, of course, was the chronic state of the present Government, and surely it was no defence to say that he had such a large deficit in the last year as to frighten him, so that he dared not impose taxation to meet it. Had he wanted to follow Mr. Gladstone's example, he would have asked the House to allow him to propose taxation to meet his deficiency. There were two ways of dealing with this deficiency. One was to borrow this money, which ought to have gone to the extinction of the National Debt, and the other was to carry over the deficiency of £1,500,000. He was going to meet some of it by the surplus he expected to have in hand upon the taxation of the current year. It was not a sound transaction for a Government which had reduced the credit of the country to its present state to take £1,000,000 of Consols and sell them in the open market. The financial position as evidenced by this transaction was a very serious one, and the methods adopted for dealing with it would not redound to the credit of the Government.

Mr. RUNCIMAN complained that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not explained whether the money he proposed to appropriate would remain the property of the anonymous owners. He understood that it would, inasmuch as the right hon. Gentleman himself had said that claims amounting to £4,000 or £5,000 were made each year upon this fund; therefore if any of this money was subsequently claimed it would be necessary for the right hon. Gentleman to float new Debt. The likelihood of that contingency arising was doubtless remote, but it made no difference to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman was meeting current expenditure out of a loan not yet raised and not out of current taxation. The assertion that to raise further taxation for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the year would be financially unsound was the most absurd statement ever made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the House of Commons. The total expenditure of the year, amounting to £153,000,000, was being met by £140,000,000 of taxation and about £12,000,000 loans. That was a serious situation which had not been made clear to the country. The particular transaction under discussion, however, was only one of a series for which the present Budget was remarkable; it was one of the numerous makeshifts for which the right hon. Gentleman was responsible; and it proved the Budget to be financially unsound, because it increased the burdens of the country and did not meet current expenditure out of current revenue.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL said that at first he was surprised that the Government did not want this discussion to be taken when it could be recorded in the newspapers, but he was surprised no longer. After the total lack of defence or justification it was perfectly clear why it was desired to hustle the matter through at such an inconvenient hour. The proposal to take £1,000,000 from the unclaimed dividends account was an astounding one in itself. Could the right hon. Gentleman state the total amount of the fund?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: About £1,750,000.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL said that that meant that the right hon. Gentleman was taking four-sevenths of the sum which had been laboriously accumulated during a long period of years and using it simply to pay the out-of-pocket expenses of the Government. In time of peace the right hon. Gentleman had by questionable methods produced £1,000,000 merely for the purpose of relieving himself from the necessity of imposing taxation. That was a discouraging fact and was not at all creditable to the right hon. Gentleman's financial principles. The right hon. Gentleman was perfectly ready to allow spending Departments to spend on a scale that had never been permitted before, but when it came to paying the bill, instead of imposing fresh taxation which would have enabled the country to realise the true financial position, he secretly abstracted £1,000,000 from this fund. The country at large did not realise how the Chancellor of the Exchequer had attempted to balance the account. Rather than impose taxation to meet current expenditure, he had abstracted £1,000,000 from the unclaimed dividends account for this special purpose. Taxation pressed hardly on the people of this country, but there was one thing about it which was healthy, and that was its disciplinary effect. It was unfortunate that the right hon. Gentleman who had been called at an early age to fill a high office should have lamentably disappointed the hopes of his well-wishers. He could well imagine that an occasion might arise when it would be legitimate for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to go to this reserve fund and to take some money from it. But during the South African War the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol refused to be a party to such a transaction as this. He would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer how long this kind of thing was to go on. The right hon. Gentleman might get the proposal through this time, but what was his successor going to do? He would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to think not only of himself but of those who would follow him. He was very anxious indeed that they should arrive at a compromise on this subject, and it was his intention to move that the amount should be £500,000 instead of £1,000,000. He urged the Committee to examine this proposal with the greatest attention. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had advanced no argument to justify it at all, and until the Committee got more information it was their duty to resist the proposal to the utmost.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY said he took part in the discussion as a business man who wished to see matters carried out on a business-like footing. Hon. Members would agree with him that the chief characteristic of any business man should be the ability to distinguish between what was capital and what was revenue. One of the worst parts of the Budget was this particular clause now before the Committee. They had discussed the merits of stripped tobacco, and the merits of the tea duty, which was particularly obnoxious to the working people of the country.

*THE CHAIRMAN (who had at this point relieved Mr. JEFFREYS) said that the hon. Member was discussing everything but the Question before the House.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY said that what he was trying to make good was that the particular features embodied in the clause they were now discussing were very much worse than any other in the Bill. Just think what a temptation there would be to any impecunious Chancellor of the Exchequer who had overstepped prudence in expenditure, to lay violent hands on these large sums of unclaimed dividends when his Treasury was empty. The right hon. Gentleman might do so by means of his pliant majority, but he was sure the right hon. Gentleman himself must have qualms of conscience. Was this particular sum of money to be regarded in the future as a kind of "Tom Tidler's ground"? The right hon. Gentleman had no right whatever to absorb any part of this money; but he was trying to dam the lade, and was practically dipping his hands into the fund which ought to remain for some critical national eventuality. His own contention was that these sums ought to go to the reduction of the National Debt. The right hon. Gentleman should find some other means of meeting the large and extravagant expenditure of the Government. Was it not wonderful that when this Government came into power Consols were higher than ever they were before, and now Consols were lower than they ever were before? He was sure that the Government and the country would look back with regret on this, the worst piece of finance the House had ever considered.

*MR. AINSWORTH (Argyllshire) wished to put the case to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that these unused assets could only be employed in reduction of the National Debt. The country had been getting the benefit of these unpaid dividends all this time and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to use them in order to make up his deficit he could only do so by increasing the national indebtedness. The moment that dividends were unclaimed the stocks became dead and the nation and the Chancellor of the Exchequer reaped the benefit of them. In this case the Chancellor of the Exchequer was acting in a way to mislead the public and the House of Commons. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would take the whole matter into serious consideration and put himself in a position to give them a sufficient explanation on the Report stage.

MR. McKENNA asked why the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not sell Suez Canal shares or mortgage Westminster Abbey in order to make up his deficit. The right hon. Gentleman was realising the country's assets in order to pay his debts, and if they allowed that form of realisation of assets to take place they would never have any assets in the country. This was an expedient to cover up the extravagant expenditure of the Government. It was the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to clear off the burdens of each year out of the revenue of each year. He hoped that when the time came the right hon. Gentleman would at any rate go half way, and that he would accept the suggestion of the hon. Member for Oldham and be content with realising only £500,000 of public property.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL asked whether no answer of any kind was to be vouchsafed to the Committee. Under circumstances of great physical irritation the debate had been conducted with much good-humour and patience, but it was pushing the temper of the Committee to the extreme verge when the Chancellor of the Exchequer sat there and gave no answer to the Questions put to him. Were they to be confronted with the fact that the two representatives of the Treasury were perfectly unable to give practical reasons for this proposal. It would facilitate the proceedings if the right hon. Gentleman gave answers to the Questions put to him; but instead of that, he sat on the Treasury Bench with a stony glare, saying nothing. The course the right hon. Gentleman was taking would not add to his financial reputation.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 158; Noes, 65. (Division List. No 256.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell. Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col.H.F(Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
ChamberlainRtHnJA(Worcest.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (AntrimS.
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants.,W.
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald,Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster,Philip S.(Warwick,S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon,Hn.J.E. (Elgin&Nairn
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,SirEW(B'ry S.Edm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath,ArthurHoward (Hanley
Heath,James(Staffords. N.W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Howard,John (Kent,Favers'm)
Hozier, Hon.James HenryCecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon-Slaney,Rt.Hn. Col. W.
Kerr, John
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks.N.R.)
Lee,ArthurH (Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long,Col.Charles W.(Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb. Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas,Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie A. W
M'Iver,SirLewis (EdinburghW
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.

Massey-Mainwairing, Hn. W.F.
Maxwell, W.J.H (Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, David J (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt Hn. A. Graham (Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George

Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff. R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Robert, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, H. C (North'mb Tyneside
Smith, Rt. Hn J. Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)

Thompson, Dr. E C (Monagh'n, N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H (Sheffield)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C.B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt E C (S Andrw's Bghs)
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale

Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald

Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Soares, Ernest J.
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Churchill and Mr. Emmott.

Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question, 'That the clause stand part of the Bill,' be now put.'"

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE, speaking seated, asked as a point of order if there was any precedent for the closure being moved on a new tax in Committee on a Finance Bill after only two and a half minutes explanation from a Minister.

*THE CHAIRMAN said no point of order arose. The closure could be moved at any time, and it was for the Chairman to accept or refuse the Motion.

Question put, "That the Question, 'That the clause stand part of the Bill,' be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 157; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 257.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert

Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A.J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur

Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F (Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James

Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain,Rt Hn.J.A(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence,Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt.Hn. Col.W.
Kerr, John
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col.CharlesW.(Evesham)
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W.J.H. (Dumfriessh.)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt.Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith,H C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith,RtHn.J.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)N
Thompson,DrE.C(Monagh'n,N.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, VincentP.(Cavan,W.
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Soares, Ernest J.
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Toulmin, George

Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Josph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 158; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 258.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hn.A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H F (Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, J.H.M.(Dublin Univ
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbysh.
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn.J.A.(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis(Antrim, S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn.J.E. (Elgin&Nairn)
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, SirE.W(B'r ySEdm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N. W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope, J.F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W.
Kerr, John
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(Edinburgh, W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F
Maxwell, W.J.H. (Dumfriessh.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt.Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, H C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith, RtHn J.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thompson, Dr.E C(Monagh'n, N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley(York, E.R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of

Ellice,Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Soares, Ernest J.
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Toulmin, George
Trevelyn, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL: I rise to a point of order. I desire to draw your attention to the fact that it is now broad daylight and to ask whether it would not be for the convenience of the Committee and in the interest of true economy that the top lights should be extinguished.

Clause 8.

MR. SOARES said he begged to move the omission of the words, "and the Acts amending that Act," his object being to enumerate each particular Act. They were not given any reference, marginal or otherwise, to the Acts with which this one was to be construed, relating to the duties of Excise and Customs. This was another very bad example of legislation by reference, which was growing up under the present Government. There was another example in reference to drawbacks. This matter was well worthy of the attention of the Attorney-General. The right hon. and learned Gentleman might very well find time to codify these Acts. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed—

"In page 3, line 34, to leave out the words 'and the Acts amending that Act.'"—(*Mr. Soares.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

SIR ROBERT FINLAY said that the hon. Member had entirely misconceived legislation by reference. This was the invariable way of incorporating Acts of this kind—the ordinary form of drafting, and it would be a childish waste of time to frame the clause in any other way.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said it would be a great pity if they had to listen to the hon. and learned Gentleman in these debates with any acerbity of manner. He was bound to say that the Government refused every proposal, however reasonable. It seemed to him that the Government could hardly object to the proposal of the hon. Member, which was not only a simple plan, but a very convenient one. There was a growing inconvenience caused by legislation by reference.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said that the Attorney-General seemed to know all about the clause. Would his hon. and learned friend say how many Acts and amending Acts would be included in the operation of this clause.

SIR ROBERT FINLAY said the hon. Gentleman would find the information he wanted in the Index to the Statutes.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said that the right hon. and learned Gentleman referred him to a book which he had never heard of before. He supposed he could go to the Library of the House of Commons and consult it there, but he did not see why he should be forced to do that. Why should there be anything in these Acts which the ordinary person who had to obey them could not understand and would have to go through all these books in order to understand, although he might not have any means of access to the books? He thought the Attorney-General had not met this matter in a proper spirit at all. He maintained that legislation by reference was a growing scandal.

Mr. ATTORNEY-GENERAL rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL asked if the Chairman had given the closure on the whole of the clause, or simply on the Amendment to this sub-section.

*THE CHAIRMAN: On the Amendment.

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 155; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 259.)

AYES

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hn Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt. Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin&Nairn)
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E W. (B'ry S. Edm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley)
Heath, James (Staffords., N. W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Howard, John (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt Hon. Col. W.
Kerr, John
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. N. R
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn Walter (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W J H (Dumfriesshire)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, David J (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hn A Graham (Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, H C (North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, Rt Hn J Parker (Lanarks)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thompson, Dr E C (Monagh'n, N.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H (Sheffield)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard

Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, CaptEC(SAndrew'sBgh
Emmott, Alfred
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Harcourt, LewisV.(Rossendale
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan,W
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Soares, Ernest J.
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A.(Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

Question put accordingly, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 156; Noes, 64. (Division List No. 260.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A.J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn GeraldW(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. AllenBenjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col.H.F(Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt.Hn.J.A(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, CharlesCurtis(AntrimS.
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hon.SirWilliamHart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir RobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, PhilipS.Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, HnJE(Elgin&Nairn)
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir EW(B'rySEdm'nds'
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy, Laurence(Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, ArthurHoward(Hanley)
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope, J.F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Howard, John(Kent, Faversha'
Hozier, Hon.JamesHenryCecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt.Hon.Col.W
Kerr, John
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, JohnGrant(Yorks.N.R
Lee, ArthurH.(Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. CharlesW(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis(Lowestoft)
Lucas, ReginaldJ(Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, SirLewis(EdinburghW
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W.F.
Maxwell, W.J.H(Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt.Hn.SirFrederickG.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, David J(Walthamst'w
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, RtHnAGraham(Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hon.M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(BethnalGreen
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)

Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, H. C.(North'mbTynesid
Smith, RtHnJParker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thompson,DrEC (Monagh'n,N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.SirC.EH (Sheffield)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley(York, E.R.)
Wortley, Rt.Hon.C.B.Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Asher, Alexander
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Brigg, John
Brown, George M.(Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, CaptEC(SAndrew'sBrhs
Emmott, Alfred
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, RtHnHerbertJohn
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E (Berwick)
Harcourt, LewisV(Rossendale
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, VincentP.(Cavan,W.
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr
Toulmin, Charles
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Mr. Soares and Mr. Charles Allen.

Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question, 'That the clause stand part of the Bill,' be now put."

Question put, "That the Question, 'That the clause stand part of the Bill,' be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 155; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 261.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon.A. J.(Manch'r
Balfour,Rt HnGeraldW (Leeds
Balfour,Kenneth R.(Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles,Lt.-Col.H.F.(Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell,J.H.M (Dublin Univ.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish,V.C.W. (Derbyshire.
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain,Rt Hn J.A(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane,Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim,S)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke,Rt Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy,Hon.Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster,Philip S(Warwick,S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon,HnJ E.(Elgin & Nairn
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, SirEW(B'ry SEdm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble

Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W
Kerr, John
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. N.R
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham.
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W J H (Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, David J (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt Hn A Graham (Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, H C (North'mb. Tyneside
Smith, Rt Hn J Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thompson, Dr E C (Managh'n, N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col Sir C E H (Sheffield
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt E C (S Andrw's Bghs
Emmott, Alfred
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F
Fuller, J. M. F.
Grey, Rt, Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackelton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Soares, Ernest J.
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

Question put accordingly.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 156; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 262.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F (Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Cautley, Henry Strother

Cavendish,V C W(Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain,RtHn.J.A.(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thomas H. A. E
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke,Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald,Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy,Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, PhilipS.(Warwick,S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon,Hn.J. E (Elgin & Nairn
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,SirEW (B'ry SEdm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy,Laurence(Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath,Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath,James (Staffords. N.W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield,Brightside
Howard,John(Kent,Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. ArthurFred.
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn.Col.W.
Kerr, John
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson,JohnGrant (YorksN.R
Lee,ArthurH.(Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long,Col.Charles W.(Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver,Sir Lewis (EdinbughW.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,W J.H.(Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir FrederickG.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan,David J.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray,Rt.HnA Graham(Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hn.M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley,S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel, (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W.(Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith,H.C.(North'mbTyneside
Smith,RtHn.J.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D.(Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thompson,DrE C(Monagh'n,N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,ColSirC EH(Sheffield..
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby, de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B.Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,CaptE C(S Andrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E.(Berwick)
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Priestley, Arthur
Rickett, J. Compton
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas,Sir A(Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas,David Alfred(Merthyr
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Soares and Mr. Russell Rea.

[Mr. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.) took the Chair.]

MR. JOHN WILSON, who rose at 6.10 A.M., said he thought this was a fitting time to make another appeal to the Leader of the House, and to ask him to agree to report Progress. So far as he was concerned he did not move to report Progress on account of his being tired, because every vote he had given had rather refreshed him. Nor did he move it because he wanted his speeches to be reported. He moved to report Progress because he was interested in the question of the coal tax, and he was rather sorry that an hon. Gentleman below the Gangway stated incidentally that if the debate took place now those interested in the question would not get their speeches reported. If they did wish publicity it was for the purpose of making their arguments known. They did not come to the House to seek popularity. The people they represented knew them very well. He attended a Royal Commission yesterday at eleven o'clock, and he had been in the House since half past three. They were all desirous of getting to bed for an hour or two before undertaking the labours of the day. He begged to move.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. John Wilson, Durham.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said he did not think they need bandy words as to whether it would be agreeable or not to go to bed. He had no doubt they might occupy themselves more agreeably at this hour after the night they had spent, but he did not really see any ground for changing the decision which was arrived at three or four hours ago. He did his best according to his lights to give the hon. Member the opportunity for which he asked, and if the suggestion he made fell to the ground it was through no fault of his own. It might have been that the suggestion he made did not meet the circumstances of the case—he did not argue that—but it was the best he could make. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would feel that, though under rather unsatisfactory conditions, they were still in a condition to argue the case in which he was interested. He would remind the hon. Member that on the Report stage on Friday he would have a full opportunity for discussing the coal tax. An hon. Member had said something about the desirability of the discussion taking place in Committee rather than on the Report stage. He did not see any special advantage in discussing it in Committee, but, of course, if the hon. Gentleman wanted to discuss the question twice this was the only way he could do it. What he wished to point out was that, so far as he knew, there was little, if any, advantage in taking a debate of this kind on the Committee stage rather than on the Report stage. There were cases in which it was very important to take the discussion on the Committee stage.

MR. LOUGH: There are the questions of tea and sugar to be taken on the Committee stage as well as coal.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said he had made the best suggestion he could.

MR. FENWICK said several hon. Members had been sitting on a Royal Commission and on Private Bill Committees since eleven o'clock yesterday morning. He was sure the Prime Minister did not wish to unduly cut short the discussion on the coal tax, and if it was to be adequately debated it was bound to go on for some time. Those hon. Members who were due to sit on the Royal Commission and on Private Bill Committees might very well be excused from attending after their arduous labours in the House, running into two days. He asked the Prime Minister to consider what that meant. Witnesses were called from a considerable distance. Their expenses were running on. Counsel would have to be feed as if the Committee were meeting. All that meant not only considerable inconvenience to Members of the House, but very considerable inconvenience to those who were appearing before the Committees. He thought that if the right hon. Gentleman would give consideration to these facts, he would be inclined to allow Progress to be reported. This coal tax could not be discussed adequately under two or three hours. He and his colleagues were justified in bringing this matter before the Committee. They knew that they would have this question of their own to bring before the Committee, and they had carefully abstained from obtruding themselves on the Committee in debating other questions. Therefore they appealed to the Prime Minister to agree to the Motion to report Progress.

SIR EDWARD GREY said that the Prime Minister knew—he had admitted it—that the coal tax was an important question, and that it ought to be adequately discussed. The House had already been sitting for nineteen hours, and he doubted whether the Government were prepared to discuss the coal tax at that hour of the morning. The hon. Member for Durham was perfectly prepared to discuss it, but he doubted whether under the circumstances there would be adequate discussion. All-night sittings never accelerated the business of the House; they led to a certain exacerbation of feeling and he regretted that the Prime Minister had insisted some four hours previously upon having the unanimous consent of the House, not only to a fixed date for closing the Committee stage, but also to affix a date for closing the Report stage.

MR. LOUGH said that the proposal to report Progress was perfectly reasonable, and he protested against the manner in which the Prime Minister had received it. In the twelve years of his Parliamentary experience he had never witnessed a more reasonable Motion received with such indifference by the Government. He would remind the Prime Minister that they had to deal with all the new clauses which ranged over a variety of subjects. There was a review of the sugar tax, and several questions in regard to the tea tax which was the most important part of the Budget, as hon. Gentlemen opposite would find when they went down to their constituents. There was also the clause which dealt with the Sinking Fund, and now the Prime Minister asked the Committee to go into all these questions after sitting nineteen hours on end. He maintained that it was a monstrous abuse of the forms of the House, and an act of tyranny which he had not seen equalled during the past twelve years. He had never seen such an abuse of the closure.

*THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN said that the hon. Member was not in order in alluding to the closure.

MR. LOUGH said there was an abuse of the closure on the part of Ministers. They had not arrived at that stage of the session when hon. Members might assume that the twelve o'clock rule was suspended. It was merely for the convenience of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and was a totally unprecedented procedure. In the great Budget of 1894 there was no closure. He held that there had been no prolonged attempt to obstruct the business of the House, and yet in one case the Chancellor of the Exchequer had accepted the closure on a new clause practically without discussion. The right hon. Gentleman ought to have some feeling for the dignity of the House. He thought that some hon. Gentlemen opposite should give fairplay now if they themselves expected to get fairplay in the future.

MR. JOHNSON (Gateshead) asked the Prime Minister to give way and allow Progress to be reported.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said they had witnessed a most unedifying spectacle. The Prime Minister had not met in a friendly spirit the very generous proposals made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwick. The right hon. Gentleman had not been listening to the debate and probably he had been preparing his speech for the British Association. [Cries of "Withdraw."] He would gladly withdraw, but he must remark that the lengthy sitting had not improved the temper of hon. Members opposite. He only hoped that it would not prove as detrimental to their health as it had been to their manners.

*THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That remark is not in order.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said one result had been to secure that the coal tax would not be discussed in the small hours of the morning at a time when discussion would not be noticed, but at a period when it would be published and an especial amount of interest would be added to the debate. The discussion would take place in broad daylight. The Prime Minister had treated the House in a merciless manner, but the right hon. Gentleman would have to sit there until the coal tax was discussed or the Speaker took the Chair to begin the business of the next day. The Prime Minister said truly that hon. Gentlemen did not want to discuss the whole matter over again, but on the Report stage they might wish to make a few additions to their previous speeches. It was most convenient to have a discussion when the House was in Committee as mistakes could then more easily be corrected and Members could rise more than once. He could not understand why the Prime Minister was so anxious to prevent the discussion on the coal tax taking place at an hour when it could be reasonably discussed. But, after all, the right hon. Gentleman was not a free agent. The feelings of his supporters had been ruffled, and therefore they would not allow the discussion to come on at a reasonable hour. As a way out of the difficulty, he suggested that the right hon. Gentleman should ascertain from those interested in the coal tax how long they would require for the discussion, fix the discussion for Friday, and let them have it in Committee or on Report as they preferred. The right hon. Gentleman would not be in any way the loser, because there would be a discussion on the coal tax on Friday in any case.

*MR. CLAUDE LOWTHER (Cumberland, Eskdale) hoped the Prime Minister would not accept the Motion. He would suggest that the hon. Member for Oldham was suffering, no doubt because of the great interest he took in Chinese labour, from the disease known as beriberi.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN said he must ask the hon. Member to confine his remarks to the Motion.

*MR. CLAUDE LOWTHER said he bowed entirely to the Deputy-Chairman's ruling, but he had made that remark because he had heard that the most marked and characteristic symptom of the disease was a terrific swelling of the head.

MR. LYELL (Dorsetshire, E.): On a point of order, may I ask you, Sir, whether the hon. Member is not precluded from discussing that subject by a Notice of Motion already on the Paper.

MR. BELL (Derby) said he understood that beri-beri was contagious. He wished to know whether the hon. Gentleman had caught it.

THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The Motion before the Committee is that Progress be reported.

*MR. CLAUDE LOWTHER said he thought they could have got on very well, he would not say without all, but without nine or ten of the speeches of the hon. Member for Oldham that night. He hoped the Motion would not be accepted.

*MR. JOSEPH WALTON asked the Prime Minister whether he intended to take this important discussion of the coal tax in the absence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He submitted that he was gaining nothing whatever, and he was losing a great deal by forcing them to discuss the coal tax after the House had sat for over seventeen hours. It was entirely unprecedented and a violation of the regulation by which the Finance Bill could be discussed after twelve o'clock, which was only for the purpose of allowing a particular piece of business then under discussion to be finished. There was no reason whatever for refusing this Motion to report Progress. They did not wish to discuss the coal tax twice unless the Prime Minister forced them to do it. He was not only gagging the House of Commons, but he was also gagging the Press of the country, because he was forcing them to discuss it at a time when the Press could not report the matter. They would be driven to raise the question again on the Report stage and discuss it at a time when it could be reported.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL: I rise to a point of order to call your attention to the hon. Member for the Altrincham Division, who repeatedly interrupts, and to ask if these interruptions are orderly.

The DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN: I have not heard any disorderly remarks.

***Mr. JOSEPH WALTON** said he would appeal to the Prime Minister whether he was not dealing a blow at the prestige and political reputation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Where was the Chancellor of the Exchequer? In his absence, how could they have a proper and adequate reply?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: He will be here when the coal tax is discussed.

[Mr. J. W. Lowther here again took the Chair.]

Mr. JOSEPH WALTON said he should be glad if the Prime Minister would give them a distinct reply. He was deeply sorry the Prime Minister should be so obdurate? They were attached to the Prime Minister, but a small concession on his part would do a great deal to still more endear him to their hearts.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Mr. McKENNA asked, on a point of order, whether the closure should be accepted when the Chairman (Mr. Lowther) had not been in the House during the discussion. He was under the impression that the closure was given by the Chairmen as a matter of discretion, and not as a matter of necessity whenever it was asked for by a Minister of the Crown. If it were given as a matter of discretion, he wished to ask how that discretion could be exercised when the Chairman had not been in the House.

***The CHAIRMAN**: I naturally informed myself of what had been done in my comparatively short absence.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL: Are we to understand that you adhere to your ruling?

***The CHAIRMAN**: Yes.

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 154; Noes, 65. (Division List No. 263.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour. Rt. HnGerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. HF (Middlesex)
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, J.H.M. (Dublin Univ.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, RtHn. J.A. (Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, CharlesCurtis (Antrim, S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J.E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir EW. (B'ry S. Edm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy, Laurence (Kent Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope, J.F. (Sheffield Brightside
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W
Kerr, John
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks. N.R.)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants. Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.

Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriess)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt Hn. A. Graham (Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge)
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, H. C (North'mb Tyneside
Smith, Rt Hn. J. Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thompson, Dr. E. C. (Monagh'nN
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tuffnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir CEH (Sheffield)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. EC (S. Andrw's Bghs
Emmott, Alfred
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Soares, Ernest J.
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W. R.
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

Question put accordingly, "That the Chairman do report Progress and ask leave to sit again."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 65; Noes, 155. (Division List No. 264.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt E. C. (S Andrw's Bghs
Emmott, Alfred
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Healy, Timothy Michael
Higham, John Sharpe
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire)
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid.
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Priestley, Arthur

Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackelton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Soares, Ernest J.
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A (Glamorgan E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. John Wilson (Durham) and Mr. Fenwick.

NOES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F (Middlesex
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, J H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster Philip S. (Warwick, S. W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E. W. (B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N. W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Howard, John (Kent Faversham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W.
Kerr, John
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks. N. R.
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants. Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliot (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Henage
Llewellyn Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W (Evesham.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, C. (Cumb. Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, W. J. H. (Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hn A. Graham (Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green)
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, H C. (North'mb Tyneside
Smith, Rt Hn. J. Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E (Chichester)
Thompson, Dr E C (Monaghan, N.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H (Sheffield)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Mr. LOUGH moved a new clause providing that the sugar duty imposed in 1901 should expire on the 1st of July this year. He said that so far as his observation went there had been no obstruction on this Bill. The Amendment which he proposed was a very important one. It would have a very striking effect on one of the most important articles of commerce, and this was the only way in which they could call attention to the operations of the sugar duties. The original sugar duty, which was a most oppressive tax, was accepted very hurriedly by the House, and although the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that it was to be a permanent tax, the House generally acknowledged that it was a war tax. In the first year of its imposition it produced £6,399,000; in the second year £4,898,000; and in the third year £5,426,000, so that the Committee would see that this tax was a most disappointing one. The tax was laid on one of the most important articles of food in the country, and an article which had been steadily increasing in use for manufactures. Since the tax had been imposed a check had been given to its use by the people as a food and as an article of manufacture. The sugar duties were now levied under an entirely new method from that employed in 1901, and he thought the Committee would see that if these changes were to be made they should have had new legislation. It was not enough for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say he got as much from the sugar duty as he estimated to get. This matter was a mere subject of calculation on the part of the right hon. Gentleman, but it was a very serious matter to the trade of the country. It was a very grave thing if the consumption of sugar was falling off as the Customs returns indicated. He asked if the downward progress was likely to be checked, and if the right hon. Gentleman could not accept the clause, he should tell them whether he saw his way to take any steps in that direction, or whether he thought it necessary to do anything whatever.

New Clause (Amendment of Section 2 of Finance Act, 1901)—

"On the first day of July, 1904, the duties on sugar, molasses, glucose, and other articles, imposed by Sections 2 and 5 of the Finance Act, 1901, and the drawbacks allowed under the Act, shall cease and determine."—(*Mr. Lough.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. Lough.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that with regard to the alleged falling off in the consumption of sugar, and the inquiry whether he could hold out any expectation of a recovery having taken place, or being likely to take place, he would point out that the figures of the second year were much larger than those of the year before. Last year they got almost exactly the estimated amount. They had £5,750,000 instead of £6,000,000, and the difference of the £250,000 was due to the alteration in the duty that was charged. Sugar instead of being refined in bond was now refined out of bond, and but for that cause there would have been the anticipated £6,000,000. There had been, however, a very considerable falling off in other articles of consumption, such as spirits. Sugar held its own, and he had no reason to suppose that it would not produce the full amount estimated for the present year. As to the scale of duty imposed by the Act, it might be possible to make some alteration, but he was afraid it would have a rather disturbing effect on the trade. The hon. Member had asked whether he could hold out the hope of an early abolition of the duty. He was afraid he could not hold out any hope of that kind. When the duty was proposed by the hon. Member for West Bristol it was proposed as a permanent duty, and he could not make any pledges as to the future. He did not suppose the hon. Member expected the new clause to be accepted, and presumed it was only put down for the purpose of raising discussion.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said the present discussion showed the difficulty that the House was put to in discussing these taxes which were permanent, and not annual taxes. He experienced considerable difficulty in discussing this matter at the present moment, because he did not think it would be taken that night. He appreciated some of the explanations given by the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the consumption of sugar. It was clear that the tax was unwieldy and disorganised the trade, and as regarded the consumer the full weight of the tax had fallen on him and something in addition. There had been a considerable falling off in the consumption of sugar since the tax was imposed three years ago, and it could not be wondered at. When the consumers had to pay five or six millions more of taxation on tea, tobacco, spirits, and beer, and six millions more on sugar, it naturally affected the consumption. The right hon. Gentleman had made no reply with reference to the basis on which the tax was levied. In the schedule there was a carefully arranged table under which the duty was to be charged according to different percentages of polarisation. In practice that scale had practically disappeared, and he submitted that before such an alteration was made the matter ought to have been brought before the notice of Parliament. He was glad the matter had been raised, though he admitted the Chancellor of the Exchequer could hardly be expected to give up the whole of the revenue under present conditions.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said sugar consumers had fared somewhat unfortunately at the hands of the Government, because, not only had there been a Convention under which the price of sugar had been raised, but a heavy tax had been imposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, by which an additional £3,000,000 a year was raised. That tax was a very real and severe tax, but it was a good tax, inasmuch as it reached the consumer, as all indirect taxation ought properly to do. It placed the burden on the backs of consumers as a whole, and did not draw thousands of pounds out of the pockets of a few unfortunate individuals, as other proposals would do. But though he would like to see the duty removed, he agreed that it would be difficult for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to accept the clause. The principle of the original arrangement was that the whole of the burden should descend upon the consumer, and that the trade should not be injured at all. The calculations upon which that arrangement was based were so carefully made, that it would be difficult for any partial repeal to be effected without the concession being largely absorbed by the trade, and thus it would be some time before the consumers derived any advantage. It was not surprising that there had been a great decline in consumption, as that must necessarily be the result of the imposition of a heavy duty upon an article in general use. The right hon. Gentleman also declined to embark upon an elaborate alteration of the duty. He was again bound to say that he thought he was right. There were, no doubt, some alterations some of them would like to see, but the sugar trade had been disturbed enough already. The double dislocation which had disturbed the sugar trade had made that trade highly feverish, sensitive, and in an irritable condition, and further alterations, excepting in the nature of reduction, were greatly to be deprecated. Sugar was a subject they should be particularly careful in dealing with, because it was not only an article of great importance as a commodity, but it was also a most important raw material which was the foundation of a large number of secondary industries which had increased the gross exports of the country, and had found employment for a great number of persons.

*THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That has really nothing whatever to do with the Motion before the Committee.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL said he was only endeavouring to show the importance of the subject. The right hon. Gentleman said this tax was not imposed for the purposes of the war, but that it was imposed by the hon. Member for West Bristol as a permanent part of the taxation of the country. He was not sure that was the intention of the hon. Member. Of course, the excuse for the occasion was the war, and of course also there had been a steady rise in the permanent expenditure; but he did not think the hon. Member for West Bristol contemplated that the tax would stay on for ever, and that they would never have the sugar tax removed from the list of duties.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he had never held that the sugar tax was not a just tax so long as the occasion was an adequate one to justify the Chancellor of the Exchequer in imposing it. He dared say that during the war it might have been a perfectly fair tax to impose. It was right that every class of the community should take its share of the burdens of the war which the Government was carrying through. Nor had he ever taken the view that under no conditions should they impose a tax on sugar. For instance, if they had any great scheme of social reform it would be perfectly fair to impose a tax on sugar, among other things, so that the people who got the benefit should take their share of the burden. But the sugar tax was like the income-tax in this respect—that the income-tax had always been treated as a war reserve by every great Chancellor of the Exchequer and by every Government up to the present Government. He always thought that taxes like the sugar and tea taxes which involved the food of the people should be treated as special reserves. His objection to the sugar tax was the same as he had already raised to the tea tax. It was a tax imposed without any corresponding benefit at all. It was simply a tax to help the Government out of a difficulty they had brought upon themselves. He did not think that under those conditions they ought to continue a tax of that character as a permanent burden upon the people of the country. It added a burden to the poorer classes of the people, because sugar was an essential part of their daily food, and if they cut it down very largely, they diminished the comfort of the poorer classes of the community. It was a tax that the poor bore more proportionately to their incomes than the wealthy portion of the community, and therefore it ought not to be imposed without very good reason for doing so. The hon. Member for Islington had pointed out that one effect of the tax was to diminish the consumption. That must necessarily be so. The tax amounted to a considerable part of the income of a working-class family. If the country were confronted with great perils and had to put forth all its reserve and energy in order to go through those perils, then every section of the community, rich and poor, high and low, ought to take their share; but when that trouble was passed and the only difficulties were the difficulties of the Government, then he thought the poorer classes of the people had a right to say they really ought to release them from this burden.

MR. RUNCIMAN called attention to the fact that there were not forty Members present.

A count having been made and a quorum formed.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE continued his remarks, and submitted that the Government had not really considered how their financial arrangements affected the great bulk of the people. They had only to look at the sugar tax to see how their taxation had depressed the standard of living. The consumption of sugar had so diminished that the amount derived from the duty had decreased from £6,400,000 in 1901–2 to £5,700,000 in 1903–4, a decrease which represented a prodigious diminution in the consumption of sugar, probably by the poorer classes of the community. He protested against the tax because it imposed a heavy burden upon the poorest of the poor, and because it was necessitated, not by any great national emergency but by the extravagance and mismanagement of the Government.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY said it was only by such an Amendment as that under discussion that this duty could be brought before the Committee. But for the war with the Transvaal they would probably never have witnessed the birth of the tax, but the condition of the national finances was such that it had now to be regarded as a permanent part of their fiscal system. Sugar was one of the prime necessities of life.

*THE CHAIRMAN intimated that the hon. Member was not entitled to go over the whole field of indirect taxation.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY submitted that he was simply following a line of argument which had been pursued by others.

*THE CHAIRMAN said he had already stopped other hon. Members from taking that course.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY said he would not pursue that point further. According to the figures of the right hon. Gentleman the duties had not produced the amount which had been estimated to come from them, but he thought the Committee ought to have statistics showing the present consumption of sugar as compared with the consumption when the duties were imposed, so that the actual effect of the duty might be seen. Figures might also be given showing the result of the duties upon prices.

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member seems determined to go beyond my ruling. I must warn him that if he again infringes it I shall have to put the Standing Order into force.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY said he had no desire to contravene the ruling of the Chair, but it was somewhat difficult to know where the line had to be drawn. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that returns dealing with the taxes upon food gave evidence of a decrease in the purchasing power of the people. That was a very important statement coming from one in the right hon. Gentleman's position, and yet the right hon. Gentleman had increased the price of tea, sugar——

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is now dealing with matters which are wholly irrelevant to the Motion before the Committee.

MR. McKENNA submitted that as the duty upon sugar affected the price the hon. Member was surely in order in discussing the price.

*THE CHAIRMAN: But the hon. Member was dealing with other matters, including tea.

MR. McKENNA: Tea and sugar together.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY said that at any rate the Chancellor of the Exchequer had declared that the purchasing power of the people was decreasing. That was a most grave statement, and he could only hope that next year the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give [a better account of the financial position of the country.

MR. RUNCIMAN said the objections to this tax were first stated when it was proposed to impose it, and every prophecy which was then made had been fulfilled. The tax had increased the price of sugar so considerably that the consumption per head had actually gone down. The reduction was by no means insignificant, being no less than 10 per cent. in the course of three years. That was a serious drop, and the present Government were directly responsible for it. In order to arrive at what had been the decrease or increase in the consumption of commodities they were bound, of course, to depend upon the Customs figures which varied from year to year as revenue was anticipated or not anticipated. In regard to the sugar tax they had now had three years in which to judge of the effect of it. The figures showed clearly that, so far from this being a tax that would be easily absorbed by the trade without falling in any great measure on the consumer, the whole of the tax had fallen on the consuming classes. One of the great faults of this tax was that the graduation of the burden went in the wrong direction. Those who were the poorest had to pay the largest portion of the tax. Another objection was that it was not only a tax on an article of food but a tax on trade. He did not refer to subsidiary trades, but to some trades which had to use sugar in the course of their manufactures. He understood that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was pledged to a system which would not allow any tax to be laid on raw materials. The 10 per cent. tax proposed by the tariff reformers was not to touch raw materials. There was here a tax of 33 per cent. on a raw material, and it was having a serious effect on certain trades which were bound to use sugar in the course of their manufactures. If the right hon. Gentleman would not consider the poor, he hoped he would consider the case of the manufacturing classes and that this protest would have some effect on the Budget of next year.

MR. LOUGH said the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his sympathetic answer stated that the duties which were imposed in 1901 required his attention. The right hon. Gentleman had admitted that there was a serious falling off in the consumption of sugar. That was a matter of very grave significance, and he thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer would do well during the year to turn his attention to it. The duties on articles which contained sugar were of the most complicated character. He thought they were entitled to point out that, while a great burden had been cast on the people, the sugar tax was rather disappointing as a source of revenue. He was sorry to hear the hon. Members for Carnarvon and Oldham rather approve of the tax. He thought they were both free-traders. The sooner the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or some of his successors, could turn their attention to the question how to get rid of the sugar duties the better it would be for the country.

Mr. McKENNA said the figures showed a total decline in the consumption of sugar amounting to 10 per cent., but the position was still more serious than appeared from that fact, because if they analysed the figures it would certainly be fair to say that the sugar duty had not affected the consumption of sugar in the case of at least half of the people of this country. What did that mean? It meant that the 10 per cent. decrease in consumption had altogether fallen on the remaining 50 per cent. If they were to analyse them further, it would be found that, so far from being a decline of 10 per cent. in the case of the poorest class, it would be 20, 30, or 40 per cent. That was a very serious matter. He was sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer realised how important it was for the health of children, at any rate, that they should have an adequate supply of sugar. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would turn his attention most seriously to the need of getting rid of this tax. If his hon. friend went to a division he would support the new clause.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL said his hon. friend the Member for West Islington had been unnecessarily severe when he rebuked him for the way in which he had spoken of this tax. Everyone would like to see indirect taxation reduced to a minimum, but he believed this had been an exceedingly good tax for it had operated on the people in such a way as to make them feel it. He thought it ought to be felt. He did hope that the hon. Gentleman would pursue his Amendment to a division. He thought it was very important, although he regarded the tax as a valuable financial expedient. He protested against the way in which the Committee had been treated for the last seventeen or eighteen hours, It was so different from the manner in which the late Chancellor of the Exchequer had managed his financial arrangements.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 66; Noes, 150. (Division List No. 265.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Brigg, John
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Causton, Richard Knight
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Delany, William
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,CaptEC(SAndrew'sBghs.
Emmott, Alfred
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey,Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Higham, John Sharpe
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Cornarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P. (Cavan,W.
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Crae, George
M'Kenna, Reginald
Nannetti, Joseph P.
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien (Patrick Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Soares, Ernest J.
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas,David Alfred (Merthyr
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)

Tellers for the Ayes.—Mr. Lough and Mr. George Whiteley.

NOES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour,Rt.HnGeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour,Kenneth R. (Christch.)
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col.HF(Middlesex)
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell,J.H.M.(DublinUniv.)
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn J.A.(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Craig,Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt.Hon.A.Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke,Rt.Hon.Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. D. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir RobertPenrose-
Fitzroy, Hon.EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster,PhilipS.(Warwick,S,W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn.J.E(Elgin&Nairn)
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,SirEW.(B'ryS.Edm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy,Laurence (Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, James(Staffords.,N.W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Howard,John(Kent,Faversham
Hozier,Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland
Kenyon-Slaney,Rt.Hon Col.W.
Kerr, John
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson, JohnGrant(Yorks.N.R
Lee, ArthurH(Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col.CharlesW.(Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, C. (Cumb. Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis(Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver,SirLewis(Edinburgh,W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,W.J.H.(Dumfriesshire
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner,Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Milvain, Thomas
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Morgan, DavidJ(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt.HnAGraham(Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hon.M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley,S.Forde(Bethnal Green)
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, H.C(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith,RtHnJ.Parker (Lanarks)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thompson,DrE.C.(Monagh'n,N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col.SirCEH(Sheffield)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley,H.(Ashton und.Lyne)
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson,A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wortley,Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

MR. JOHN WILSON said he claimed to speak for the whole body of miners on the subject of the coal tax. He was surprised to hear the hon. Member for Doncaster say that he represented a very large number of miners, and that he thought if he spoke in favour of this tax he was expressing their will and their wish. He (Mr. Wilson) had attended all the conferences which had been held by the miners of the nation and had seen on all occasions the representatives of Yorkshire miners there in very large force, although not in such large numbers as they who were on the seaboard. They felt that their trade was jeopardised by this tax. If the hon. Member held the views he had put forward he was surprised that the miners had sent him there to represent them. No doubt when the next general election came the hon. Member would find a tribunal erected for him, and if he voted for this tax the condemnation of his conduct would be most severe. The Prime Minister had said that they who represented miners were eager to get to the coal tax and had little, if any, regard for the tea and sugar taxes. He hoped the Prime Minister did not believe that, because they took an interest in both the tea and the sugar taxes, as they felt that these indirect taxes were pressing very heavily upon the people, and were pressing still more severely on account of this coal tax. In discussing this question they took up the position that the smaller the income the heavier was the pressure of taxation. Taxation was simply like a burden, and when put upon a strong man was not nearly so heavy as when put upon a weak and delicate man. A miner whose income was only 15s. or 16s. a week found this imposition a dual evil because wages were lessened through the working time being limited and the burden upon his small income was enlarged. They had not taken any active part in the discussion on the tea and sugar duties simply because they tried to reserve their strength for this opportunity and did not desire to make themselves in any way a bore to the House. They reserved themselves for the question of which they had knowledge, and which they could state in such a manner as to give some enlightenment to the House. He and his colleagues wanted to discuss this matter in a friendly fashion. He liked to wear his heart on his sleeve, and he had some sympathy with the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer because he had seen the right hon. Gentleman do his best to pull through an obnoxious Budget. He was not a god, but he would like to put himself in the position of a god who sympathised with a good man who was struggling with adversity.

This was a question which no man by any amount of abstract reasoning or theoretical statement could understand as well as the man whose life interests were touched. It was true that the Amendment recognised the principle of taxation, but that was simply as a matter of expediency. He was a "whole-hogger" in the matter of the tax, but he had been informed that this was the only way in which they could bring up the matter. The tax was an outcome of the war into which the country rushed in 1899, but he believed that had the same conditions existed then as existed now no Chancellor of the Exchequer would have dared to impose the tax. It had taken all the power of some of the leaders of the men to prevent a national strike. But they were then in the hey-day of circumstances and in the full flush of trade, and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had tried to impose the tax under circumstances of trade such as at present existed there would have been a war within our own borders, because no power on earth would have prevented the men from going on strike. The wages of the miners had been and would be reduced; their working days had been and would be diminished; their opportunities for full and right living had been and would be restricted. The right hon. Gentleman might say that he sympathised with the men; in the words of St. James, "Let him show his faith by his works." There were other sources of taxation to which the right hon. Gentleman might have turned. The line of least resistance was not always the safest line to take. The line of right was the one that ought to be sought. Those who received the largest incomes from the nation's operations ought to bear the largest proportion of the cost of the upkeep of the State. It was necessary in this matter to distinguish between the consumer and the producer. They were pleading at present for the miner because he was a producer, although it was perfectly true that he was also a consumer. It was a direct tax and nothing more nor less. It was gathered at the port of shipment, a shilling for every ton. The tax had to be paid by the coal-owner, and therefore it was a direct tax.

Another reason was put forward for this tax; it was urged that the coal was so precious to the life of the nation that it ought to be kept at home. This was a very unsound and dangerous argument. It was an argument which only a very bold man dared to advance so absolutely. If coal were so precious to their national life, why not absolutely prohibit any coal from being exported? Why be satisfied with a shilling, because there was a certain class of coal, most essential to their national life that they got outside that shilling? It was the superior coal that would bear the shilling. If this argument were logical, then, of course, having regard to their national life and prestige they should say that this coal should not be exported at all. What did that mean? It meant that they had to deal with a trade now employing 842,000 men and boys, and with counties, which the hon. Member for Wansbeck and others represented, 80 per cent of whose trade in coal was export. They had to deal with Scotland on the East and with South Wales on the West, and, if it were logical that they should keep this coal at home because it was one of their best national assets, he said they should consider what to do with those men who had produced that 80 per cent., and those men who had produced the export coal in South Wales, Scotland, and Durham. It was unsound from the commencement, it was wrong in principle, and in practice it was dangerous to the best interests of the country. Let them see its ramifications and its effect upon the trade of the country. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol introduced the tax he felt that he was treading upon dangerous ground, and he said that, of course, he saw how their shipping enabled them to bring back commodities at lower rates than otherwise would be possible. Every cargo of coal they restricted from exportation interfered with the free intercourse of trade, limited its operations, and raised the price of the commodity the ship was to bring back to the consumer in this country. It was equal to a tax upon imports.

He was told, and a great deal was made of it, that Mr. Gladstone approved of this in 1845, but he ventured to say that if Mr. Gladstone had been alive in 1900, under the changed circumstances and conditions in their relations with other countries, and in the development of coal-fields in other nations, he would not have advocated it. In 1845 they were the coal-producing nation of the world; all nations turned to them for coal, and they could put what price they liked upon it. But now the thing was different. They were in direct competition with other countries—Belgium, France, and Austria on the Continent; and America. The same circumstances and conditions did not obtain as at that time. They were assured enough at the time the tax was imposed that certain things in their minds were true, and experience had borne them out. They asserted that it was unsound economically and dangerous to trade to put a tax on coal, and they said that the real effect would not be seen until depression had gone some way down. In the first year or two after 1900 the downward tendency of the trade was not felt. Men's wages were comparatively high. He had, however, been surprised that newspapers such as *The Times* and others should have spoken of the fabulous wages the miner was receiving. The average wage of the miner in the highest times was not above 7s. 6d. a day, and would anybody say that 7s. 6d. a day was too much for a man working in a two feet seam—he had seen them working in 18 inches—cramped, cabined, confined, in comparative darkness, wet and dirty, two or three miles underground in a noxious atmosphere surrounded by dangers? They asserted then, and asserted now, that the depression would be, and was, a long way ahead of what it was in 1900. All these objections were being accumulated and intensified, and to those immediately concerned they were becoming more regretful and urgent. A number of men who otherwise would have been employed had been discharged. As secretary of the Durham Miners Association he could say that there were over 1,000 men out of work more than was the case a year ago, and those men had been kept out of the workhouse only by grants from the organisation to which they belonged. The result of the tax had been to depopulate villages. There were districts in which the whole of the trade depended upon the mines; if through depression of trade and low prices the mine stopped, the whole district was depopulated, and that had happened in more cases than one as a direct result of this tax.

In Northumberland in 1900 the price of coal at the pit-mouth was 11s. 2d. per ton; at the ascertainment in May last it was only 6s. 4d., or a drop of nearly 5s. per ton. Wages had gone down in Scotland by 25 per cent., in Durham by 30 per cent., and in Northumberland by more than 40 per cent. The restriction of the export of coal also brought about greater competition in the home market, because coal which otherwise would have been exported was sent inland. Under ordinary conditions, 80 per cent. of the Northumberland coal was exported, and the amount by which that exportation was restricted in consequence of the export duty went to compete in markets in which other coal had previously had a clear field. Thus the tax had bad effects in both ways, and the miners in each case felt the full burden. The nation's strength and stability depended upon its coal, but if coal was nature's element, the miner was the human element, and as such he ought to be regarded in these questions of taxation. The tax had also tended to develop Continental coalfields, and thus the foolish home policy had intensified foreign competition. He was old enough to remember the Franco-German War. He knew the sudden development that took place then in the coal trade in his own county. When the war broke out the men in France and Germany were drafted from the mines, and these countries sought England for their coal supplies. He held in his hand a quotation taken from a Newcastle paper anent the present development of the German coal trade. It said—

> "There is remarkable activity in the German coalfields; exhaustive surveys are being made with a view to sinking new shafts, and experimental borings are being made."

There had been a suggestive development in the German coalfields which arose simply and solely from the operation of this tax. He had with him a quotation from a Conservative paper of 18th April, and he was sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer would agree with him that it spoke words of truth and soberness. It said—

> "There have been many instances on Newcastle Quayside recently of losses sustained by Northern coal exporters through the coal tax The contract for 40,000 tons of coal for the Montana Iron Company, Santander, which has annually come to Durham, has been placed with a German firm. Not the slightest doubt is entertained as to the reason of this loss to the Northern coalfields. The order was given for a shilling less than the Durham tender."

The loss of contracts here lessened the demand for men's labour. The deputation that waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer some time ago consisted of shippers, coal-owners, and miners' representatives. He knew the men who spoke for the workmen, and he felt sure that they considered they had a real grievance in this matter. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to his deputation, said—

> "Other speakers have suggested that the tax falls mainly upon particular sections of those engaged in the production and export of coal, and, in particular, that it falls with very depressing effects upon the wages of the men employed in the mines. Now, if I thought that was seriously the case I should certainly admit that that was good ground for a reconsideration of our policy. But I am not by any means convinced of it, and even after the explanation which Mr. Cory put in as a postscript to the remarks of other members of the deputation I do not think that it is proved, or that it is even made probable, that this tax is responsible in any degree for the fall in prices or for the fall in wages which has taken place in the last year or two."

He had dealt with that statement by anticipation. He had endeavoured to show that there was a direct and indirect influence arising from the operation of this tax. There was the shilling duty, and the competition with coal which otherwise would be exported. While it might be difficult to give a mathematical definition as to the amount of reduction of wages that arose directly from this coal tax, yet he thought the words of men from Wales, Scotland, and Northumberland were worthy of attention. He asked the Committee to consider the amount paid in coal tax for the past three years. From a Return issued not long ago by the right hon. Gentleman it appeared that the total for the United Kingdom for the three years was £5,322,825. Would any gentleman say, except the employers, that the payment of that sum in taxation would not interfere with the wages of the workers? Speaking for his own county, and other districts, he could say that, with slight differences, it was the price of coal that regulated the men's wages. It was axiomatic that the tax was bound to interfere with men's wages. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had defended the tax by stating that the output of coal had increased. But had it increased in proportion to the number of men? He would show, comparing 1900 with 1903, that while the output had increased the men had decreased. If they took the number of tons produced and divided it amongst the workmen employed, the result was 305 tons per man before the tax and only 289 tons last year, or a reduction of 5 per cent. The right hon. Gentleman said that some Consuls had told him that the tax did not interfere with the foreign trade. There were more Consuls than one. Mr. Martin Cecil Gurney, the Consul-General at Marseilles, said that the tax weighed heavily on the trade in his district, and that if it were taken off it would be quite sufficient to replace British coal in a position to compete successfully with that produced abroad. There were three other Consuls all giving the like evidence. In fact the balance of evidence was all on his side. The increase arose from the bunker coal, which was below 6s. per ton. The value of small coal had been raised from 6s. 3d. to 7s., but the vendors had been compelled to sell it at 6s., in order to evade the tax.

One other thought as to this deputation which met the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman said that the tea tax had been decided upon when all other resources on taxation had been exhausted. He, however, contended that there were other sources of taxation. He would take the coal trade, in which there were three people interested, the employer, the employee, and the royalty owner. In 1903 the royalty owners, at the royalty of 6d. per ton, had obtained £6,000,000 on the output of coal. He believed that the land and the minerals belonged to the nation; but of course that was a complicated question. But if the coal of the country was to be taxed, then the employer and the employee should not be the only persons to be taxed, and the royalty owner allowed to go scot free. He was one of those who believed that the land of this country should bear extra taxation. They should go back to first principles, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer should follow the example of the bold effort made by his great predecessor in his Budget of 1894, and place the burdens of this country on the shoulders best able to bear it. Every word he had said and every fact he had stated he believed to be true and could be borne out by experience.

*MR. JOSEPH WALTON in rising to second the clause which had been so eloquently, ably, and unanswerably moved by his hon. friend, said it would be regretted by every Member of this House, that this most unfortunate hour should have been selected for this discussion. The speech was so weighty, convincing. and unanswerable that it ought to have been listened to in a House with crowded Benches and it ought to have been reported at length in all the newspapers. In the hon. Member for Mid-Durham the House had a representative of the working class of whom Members on both sides of the House were justly proud. The hon. Member had so covered the ground that it only remained for him to glance at a limited number of points upon which, perhaps, the hon. Member had not fully touched. Upon this, the great coal industry, depended the livelihood of 5,000,000 people throughout the United Kingdom. They had been told by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the coal tax had not proved injurious to the export trade in coal because he showed that more coal had been put on ships last year than in the previous year. The right hon. Gentleman, however, had included 5,000,000 of tons of coal exported under 6s. in value and not subject to the coal tax. He had also included 16,000,000 tons of bunker coal which bore no tax. If they compared the coal exported and subject to taxation they would find that in 1901 there were 43,329,000 tons, whilst in 1903 the quantity was only 41,660,000, a decrease of 1,660,000 tons. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had quoted certain other figures showing that our exports were going up and not down. They could do a little grouping of figures which would show a very different result as far as certain countries in Europe went. In 1901 they exported to Belgium, Holland, and France 8,900,000 tons, whilst in 1903 the quantity was 7,376,000 tons, a decrease of 1,500,000 tons. If they took the figures of increase in the coal production of different countries they would find the increase in Germany last year was 9·20, in France 16·80, and in England 1·40. This coal tax violated the principle of equal incidence of taxation. They were taxed in connection with collieries in every respect the same as other great industries and in addition they had to make returns for income-tax based on five years, instead of three years or on the preceding year. Thus there was an enormous sum to be paid in the shape of income-tax beyond their real income. That was a very heavy burden and made this coal tax still more unbearable.

On what ground could this imposition on this great industry be defended? They were told that it was necessary in order that they should husband their coal resources. Had this tax had that effect? It had been absolutely opposite, because owing to the great fall in price they got 1s. per ton less at the pit's mouth. The result was that they could not afford to work the more expensive seams and had to work the cheaper seams in order to keep going at all. The tax was a protective duty in favour of every other coal-producing country against this country. Coal from Scotland, Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire was sold on the Continent in competition with coal produced by Belgium, Germany, and France; the price asked by the Continental countries fixed the price the British exporter could get from the foreigner; and were the export duty abolished to-morrow the exporter would not get a penny less for his coal abroad, but he would get a shilling more at the pit-mouth. He submitted that they had a right to object to the British Government hindering and harassing one of the greatest industries in the country by the imposition of a protective tax in favour of the foreigner. It meant nothing more or less than a confiscation of £2,000,000 out of the earnings of the miners, mine-owners, and coal exporters. Eighty per cent. of the cost of coal was represented by wages, and there were 840,000 men and boys employed in the industry. If the export trade was injured, the inland trade suffered through the additional competition to which it was in consequence subjected, and thus the whole trade was affected. Those interested did not receive the sympathy to which they were entitled in the matter. Coal consumers had the idea that they had only to restrict the export of coal to reduce the price to their own advantage. Human nature being what it was, that was not surprising, but surely they might be asked to take a juster view of the situation, and consider whether it was really a sound principle that was embodied in the tax under discussion.

One of the largest collieries in Northumberland averaged for the first two months of this year four days a week; it exported 103,000 tons of coal; it paid export duties amounting to £3,500, with the result that that huge colliery, employing 2,500 men, was out of pocket to the extent of £1,700, whereas but for the export duty there would have been a profit of £1,800. He could give a yet stronger case from his own division. From one colliery there they exported 240,000 tons, and paid £12,000 export duty, with the result that the colliery was being worked at a loss, and the owner had decided that he would be driven to close the pit. But for this unjust imposition there would have been no necessity to consider such a step. If the tax was to be continued at all, it ought to be as an *ad valorem* duty. It was perfectly ridiculous that the same rate of duty should be charged on coal worth 6s. as on coal worth 12s. per ton. The rate should also be levied on the price at the pit, and not f.o.b. It paid a colliery better to sell coal at 5s. 11d. than at 6s. 10d., because on the latter price the duty of 1s. had to be paid. Rates of carriage to put coal f. o. b. varied considerably. A colliery that had to pay 2s. 7d. rate of carriage and received 6s. 1d. for its coal, actually obtained 3s. 6d., out of which 1s. duty had be paid, leaving 2s. 6d. for the coal at the pit; whereas another colliery producing the same class of coal, might have a sixpenny cost of carriage, and by selling the coal at 5s. 11d. would have no duty to pay, and thus make 5s. 5d. for precisely the same class of coal. If the right hon. Gentleman would accept the suggestion that had been made, and put 2d. per ton on the whole coal output of the country, charging one-half to the royalty owner and one-half to the mine-owner the hardship would be much less. No hardship would be done to the royalty owner, because in the great majority of cases his royalties were fixed according to a sliding scale, so that when prices went up the royalty owner obtained enormously increased royalties, and consequently when prices went down, having shared in the increase, he ought to share in the decrease. If that could be arranged it would, at any rate, make it more equitable, but, of course, what was contended was that they could in justice demand the entire removal of this tax, which involved a complete revolution of their fiscal system, and was really a protective tax to every other country producing coal outside the British Isles.

They had had convincing figures given them to show what large reductions in the price of coal and in wages in every coal-producing district in the United Kingdom had taken place. He would not, therefore, labour that point, but he would give an expression of opinion as to the present position and future prospect of the coal trade. These words were uttered in a coal-exporting district by the ex-Colonial Secretary.—

> "You miners are only waiting to be eaten up. If you look, you will see that the production of coal in Germany, France, and America has been increasing at gigantic speed, and it is as sure as anything that in a comparatively few years they will want no more of your coal, and they will probably be exporters of coal here. What is your standby ?"

Certainly not the British Government. Instead of being their standby they had injured them and their trade by giving a protective tariff of 1s. a ton in favour of every country but their own. Why did they object to sugar bounties on the one hand and then give a bounty of 1s. a ton to every nation which sold coal in competition with them? A more absolutely unjustifiable and suicidal course they could not find. He challenged the Government to mention any country in the world where they hampered their coal trade by such a mischievous tax. They had had it proved that this tax had decreased the wages of the miner and was likely to decrease them still further, and therefore, on all these grounds, he submitted to the Committee that they had made out an absolutely unanswerable case, and in demanding the removal of this most iniquitous and unjust tax they were only seeking that measure of justice from Parliament that every section of the community had every right to demand.

New clause (Reduction of Coal Duty)—

> "On and after the first day of August nineteen hundred and four one penny shall be substituted for one shilling as the duty on coal under Section 3 of The Finance Act, 1901." —(*Mr. John Wilson, Durham.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

MR. WILLIAM ABRAHAM said that when the tax was first imposed it was generally supposed, especially by those favouring it, that it would have little effect upon our exports. The opinion was expressed that foreign counties were more or less dependent upon us for their coal supply and that consequently they would pay this tax. But, since then, they had had a very rude awakening indeed. Not only had they not been dependent upon us, but we had lost considerably in the markets which hitherto we thought we had the monoply of. Therefore, every argument that had been used against high prices and low wages hitherto, as favouring foreign competition and killing our trade, should be used with great force against this tax. America had profited to some degree as a consequence of the tax, but Germany had benefited more than any other country. Once the English contracts with France terminated, the duty became applicable, and the shipments from Rotterdam increased by leaps and bounds, cheap transit from the colliery to the port and from the port to the destination giving them such an advantage over us that for the first time in history the freights from German collieries to the markets in France were reduced to the same level as those from Welsh and English ports. Consequently, the imposition of this 1s. tax had given the German vendor the full benefit of that amount to be used against us in the markets that were entirely our own. It was really not until 1902 that the Westphalian Syndicate turned itself to the object of invading French ports. As soon as the 1s. tax was put on, the German vendors saw their chances and they conducted their business accordingly. He found by returns supplied by the Consuls at the respective ports that the importation of German coal showed the following progressive increases: In 1901 they sent 5,000 tons; in 1902 it had increased to 242,000; and in 1903 to 630,000. It would be seen at a glance what a great advantage German exporters had over English the moment the duty was imposed. We were losing ground just as Germany was gaining.

The assertion that the tax had not made the slightest difference to the workers was altogether erroneous. Two-thirds of the South Wales output had not been affected to the same degree as other exporting districts because of the quality of their coal; the workers there had benefited from the fact that their fellow-men were murdering one another; the demand for coal for war purposes had enabled them to work a little more regularly. But the western part of South Wales had been very seriously affected. Thousands of men had been thrown out of work, and their organisation had paid thousands of pounds to assist them to live. Even the districts with the best coal had suffered with other districts a reduction of wages of over 30 per cent. since the imposition of the duty. The whole of that might not have been effected by the coal tax, but it was impossible for the competition not to be intensified by the loss of 1s. per ton. As a rule the workers nominally received about 10 per cent. in the shilling so that for three years they had been losing 10 per cent. of their wages. During the past three years that shilling alone meant to every man earning 5s. a day no less than £23. That loss was directly in consequence of the tax. He hoped there would be no effort made in the face of these facts to assert that the workers of South Wales had not suffered loss on account of the coal tax. They knew that it was impossible for the right hon. Gentleman to meet their request this year, but what they asked was that, in view of the facts stated, the imposition should be removed at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said hon. Members had raised this question rather with a view to future consideration than with any expectation of an immediate and satisfactory answer. They had directed attention to the effect of the tax, urging that the course of trade should be carefully watched. Of course he would do that. At the present time a Royal Commission was sitting, appointed to examine a great number of questions affecting our coal industry and coal supplies, and among other matters the effect of this tax on our export trade. The Report of that Commission would in itself provide material of great value and would require the serious attention of His Majesty's Government. Earlier in the year he received a deputation representing every interest in the coal-mining industry, and on that occasion he had thought it only courteous to give a reply in detail, and yet he had been blamed for not confining his observations to an acknowledgment of the case presented and merely pleading the financial necessities of the year. Probably hon. Members would now expect a full answer, and he could assure them that he was keeping an open ear for any new evidence and an open mind for the consideration of the Report of the Commission. The hon. Member complained that our coal trade was being destroyed and that we were being cut out of markets where we used to have a large trade. But was that true? In 1903 we exported more coal than in any previous year.

*Mr. JOSEPH WALTON asked if the right hon. Gentleman included the 5,000,000 tons of coal below 6s. per ton in respect of which no duty was paid?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he certainly did include both the small coal and the bunker coal. As to German competition, of course there had been a great development in the German coal trade in the last few years, but it did not begin with this tax, and it would have come just the same whether there had been a tax or not. There was no doubt that the facilities for water carriage which Westphalian coal now enjoyed enabled it to compete on more favourable terms than were possible formerly, and, further, it was shipped for the market with greater care and anxiety to meet the needs of the particular market than was common with our coal. It was graded better and put on the market with a closer standard as to quality than our own coal. But during the first six months of this year the export of coal had risen again, compared with the same period last year. It was true that the prices were much lower, but hon. Gentlemen could not expect that high prices could be maintained from season to season. There must be a greater falling-off in prices and wages than before prices were lowered in 1900–1901, 1902–1903. They were, in fact, lower than in any year previous to 1886, except at the beginning of 1890.

MR. FENWICK: No, that is not so, at least in reference to my own county.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that he had not the figures for more than four months of the present year, but if they compared them with the corresponding four months of last year they would find that the export from the Channel ports showed an increase, the export from the East of Scotland showed an increase, the export from the north-eastern ports was practically unchanged, while the export from the north-western ports and the West of Scotland showed decreases. If it was true that our export trade as a whole had been larger, so also was it true that it bore a larger proportion to the total output of coal in this country than in any preceding year. It was a remarkable fact which had some bearing on this question as to whether wages had been lowered. No doubt there was a great falling-off compared with abnormal years, but the exports had increased not only in themselves but also in proportion to the total exports of the country. He found that in the first five months of the present year we had exported to Germany more coal than in 1903 or in 1902. The same remark applied in the cases of Holland, Belgium, and Russia. In the case of France, which was said to be a vanishing market, the five months showed the figures to be almost unchanged. He did not think he need detain the Committee longer; he had put before them some of the observations which he wished to make and he asked their attention to those points, whilst he would certainly give his own attention to the points they had raised. He did not think it right whilst this question was *sub judice* before the Royal Commission to definitely commit the Government to any course of action for them to follow. He could not pledge himself to anything without considering the Report and the evidence laid before the Commission. Nothing he had said that day was meant to indicate any intention to close the door against new facts which might be brought before his notice, but he felt bound to call their attention to the case as presented to him.

MR. FENWICK said he could not find fault with the tone or temper with which the right hon. Gentleman had addressed himself to the consideration of the case. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that the observations with which he concluded his speech would be welcomed on that side of the House and would also be welcomed by miners in the country whose wages were adversely affected by the operation of this tax. If he had to criticise some of the figures which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had placed before the Committee he begged the right hon. Gentleman to believe that he did not criticise either his arguments or his figures in any unfriendly manner. If the right hon. Gentleman was able to upset their figures they would be very glad to welcome any information that he was able to give them. Before he dealt with some of the points raised by the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer he thought he should like to offer his congratulations to the hon. Member for Mid-Durham for the very able and lucid way in which he had raised this question. The Committee appreciated the enormous physical as well as mental disadvantages under which his hon. friend had laboured in having to raise this question after the House had been in session for eighteen and a half hours and after the hon. Member had been engaged continuously on public duty for more than twenty-two and a half hours. Yet the Committee would agree that the vigour and eloquence with which the hon. Member presented this case for the consideration of the Committee were, under the circumstances, very creditable indeed. His hon. friend had referred to the reduction which had taken place in the wages of Northumberland miners, and he (Mr. Fenwick) interjected an observation to correct what he thought was a mistake in stating that wages had fallen 42 per cent. in Northumberland. He should explain that that fall was from the highest point to which wages had risen in the coal trade. The actual fall in wages from the time that the coal tax was imposed up to the present was 10 per cent. on the miners' wages and the fall in price from the highest point to the present was over 4s. 10d. per ton at the pit's mouth, though, since the tax was imposed, the fall was represented by something like 2s. 4d. per ton.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer was quite right in saying that he never had anticipated that the wages and prices would be kept up to the high level of 1900 or 1901. They knew perfectly well that from natural causes both prices and wages would fall, but they contended that the imposition of this tax accelerated that fall and accelerated the rate at which the wages had been reduced. In Northumberland wages were lower than they had been for many years past. They were not endeavouring to throw the burden upon another set; their complaint was that the other set, whoever they were, had thrown an additional burden upon them. The dislocation of trade alleged by *The Times* had not arisen from the action of districts like Northumberland, because they produced absolutely for a foreign market. Eighty per cent. of their sales went abroad, and did not interfere in any way with the competition in the home market. The people who, according to *The Times*, got the high prices were not the people who were penalised by this tax. Of all the taxes imposed by the present Government the coal tax was the least defensible. It was a tax not upon an industry as a whole, but upon a portion of an industry; it was not even upon a class, but upon a section of a class, and it was levied in such a way as to give foreign competitors a bounty in the markets where the British producer had to compete with the foreign producer. The Prime Minister justified the repeal of the corn tax on the ground that one-fourth or one-fifth of the tax was a charge on the raw material of the farmer. What was the fact in regard to the coal tax? The total yield last year was £2,303,411, of which no less than £583,383 was collected from Clyde and Tyne ports. If the Prime Minister's argument was valid in the case of the corn tax, there was infinitely more justification for claiming the repeal of the coal tax, because more than one-fourth of the total produce of the tax fell upon a small proportion of the industry.

The right hon. Gentleman had informed the Committee that last year the exports were greater and that the number of persons employed was larger than in any previous year. That was true, but he had left out of account that the increase was entirely due to the natural increase in the population. For the ten years prior to the tax the average annual increase in the export was 1,502,389 tons; but since the imposition of the tax the increase had been only 138,229 tons. He thought the Committee, and especially the commercial men, would be able to appreciate the position he put before them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was quite correct when he said that our export was greater last year than ever before, that the number of persons employed was greater than it had been in any previous year, and that the total aggregated amount of wages had been higher than at least for some considerable time, but there was the stern fact confronting him, that the normal or average annual rate of progress and development of the industry had been checked, in their judgment at least, by means of this tax to the very serious extent of nearly 1,500,000 tons per annum. He was certain that if a tax were imposed upon any other industry, say, the textile or the iron and steel industry, which had the effect of checking the normal average annual increase or development of those industries, they would have an outcry from hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who were interested in those industries; and, while they allowed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was perfectly correct in saying that the exports had increased and that the number of persons employed had also increased, he had not borne in mind that the natural rate of development had not been maintained. He was perfectly sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not intend to mislead any one in putting the case before the deputation or this Committee, but from information which he (the hon. Member) had received, an impression had been created in certain quarters by the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the deputation which waited upon him in April that they could not be badly off, seeing that their exports had increased, that the number of persons employed had increased, and that the aggregate amount of wages paid had also increased; but he thought he would see, when he examined the facts he (the hon. Member) had brought to his notice, that in the checking of the natural development of the industry they had a grievance. He was glad to hear that he preserved a perfectly open mind on the subject and was quite prepared to be guided by the recommendations of the Royal Commission that was now considering the question of our coal supply. He was not sure that he would find a great deal of guidance from the Report and recommendations of that Commission. He believed it was quite true to say that, whilst they had taken incidentally some evidence in reference to the coal tax, the Commission did not consider this was a question that was directly referred to them.

*Mr. JOHNSON said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a quotation which rather startled him. He stated that the highest point of wages was touched in 1901. This rather differed from the parts he (the hon. Member) had in his mind. So far as their trade in Durham was concerned, that was not so. He supposed the right hon. Gentleman was speaking for the whole country in 1901.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No, not 1901: 1900.

*Mr. JOHNSON: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. I understood him to say 1901. Proceeding, he said the coal tax was one very keenly felt, at all events amongst the mining community which he had the honour to represent, because they felt and knew that it interfered with their wages. The miners were not slack and had no desire to shirk their fair share of responsibility in paying this enormous war tax, but they did object to paying the tax two or three times over. There was a general consensus of opinion not only among the miners of the northern counties and Wales but throughout the whole of the mining districts in opposition to this tax. The miners were not disposed to tax themselves, and yet they had done so in the following manner. Year after year they had held conferences and condemned this tax; they had sent deputations to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and had put before him their views and indicated to him that what they were concerned with mostly was the effect that the tax had upon the workmen's wages. In 1901 they waited upon the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and indicated to him that they did not hold a brief for the coal-owners or capitalists but they were specially and particularly representing the miners. They expressed the opinion that the owners could no doubt take care of themselves, and they put before him such facts as they could to influence his mind as to the feeling of the working miners. They clearly indicated to him that the effect would be a falling wage, and that the unanimous opinion of the miners throughout the country was that those having the larger incomes ought to be called upon to pay the larger share of taxation. The hon. Member for Mid-Durham had said it was not well to take the line of least resistance in this matter, but that would appear to be what the Government had done. He had heard workmen express the opinion time and again that if there was to be increased revenue it must come from them instead of from the large landowners and those who had large incomes, who were quite able to bear a larger portion of the burden of taxation than the workmen. The right hon. Gentleman finally based his tax on increased trade. But they had to base their case on diminished wages and diminished working time. That was the best test upon which to try this question. With the workman it was not a question of dividend or of the balance of his banker's account. It was a question of his actual wages, his actual bread and butter, and the workman said he had been taxed sufficiently, and if increased taxation was sought it must be sought in some other direction.

It could not be gainsaid that the coal trade had been considerably handicapped in the Continental markets through this tax. That was proved by the consular reports sent from Rotterdam and Hamburg. The Consuls of those towns who were on the spot were the best able to judge what the conditions were, and they had come to the conclusion that the 1s. per ton imposed on coal exported from this country had been a very great hindrance to our trade. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and others continued to state the fact, however, that our trade was not diminishing although we had suffered considerably both in wages and in working time. While on a journey to London recently from Durham he was informed by a colliery owner that he had lost two contracts, one for 275,000 tons of coal spread over two years and another for 40,000 tons of coal. Those contracts were both lost because of the coal tax, which would not permit him to compete in the foreign market. If this tax did not handicap the coal industry then it meant that the coal-owners before the imposition of this tax were selling their commodity at 1s. a ton less than they had any reason to do. He had sufficient knowledge of the colliery owner to know that they would not sell their coal at 1s. a ton less than they could get, and he did not blame them for it. It must be perfectly plain that the 1s. a ton had to be paid by them, which meant that a competitive advantage of 1s. a ton was given to the Continental coal industry. It was patent on the face of it that if a commodity was taxed it must be at a competitive disadvantage with the commodity with which it competed which was not taxed, and he asserted that these contracts were lost simply and solely because of the tax which had been put on coal exported from this country.

The miners were quite prepared to pay their fair share of taxation, but they objected to be taxed two or three times over. One of the ways in which they were now taxed was that the miners' associations had to provide for those out of employment. From June, 1902, to the 1st July, 1903, the society with which he was connected paid nearly £6,000 to members out of employment. That was a very great tax indeed on the miners' association, because it meant that not only were the men thrown out of employment because of the operations of this tax, but those men so thrown out had to be kept by those in work, and so they were paying a double and triple tax. It had been suggested in the course of this debate that there might be other sources of taxation if the Government only had the courage to face them. Why did they not take a portion of the £6,000,000 royalty rent owned by a class who did nothing whatever for it, who went into no speculation, who sunk no shafts, nor took upon themselves any of the financial burdens undertaken by the coal-owners. In this way the industry was handicapped and taxed for the benefit of the income of men who did nothing to advantage the country. Why did not the Chancellor of the Exchequer get hold of some of that £6,000,000; but, after all, perhaps it was not likely that the right hon. Gentlemen or the present Government would attempt to tax their own friends, because they believed in the dictum of Artemus Ward, "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours." If they wanted money they did not go to the wealthier but to the poorer classes. There was another great source of taxation in this country—the land. The land did not bear by any means its fair share of taxation, the landed proprietors of this country were shuffling from their shoulders a large burden which they were putting on the heavily taxed poor. If the Government would face this question of land taxation and would make the landowners bear their proper share of the burden of taxation the Government would receive the thanks of the whole of the working classes of this country. He hoped that these observations would not be lost upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer or on his successors but that they would seek some means by which the incidence of taxation should fall more equitably on the rich and on the poor, so that life might be made more tolerable for the latter, on whose shoulders the heavier portion of the burden now fell.

*Mr. BURT (Morpeth) stated that he was closely associated with a mining district which was very seriously affected by this tax. According to the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer he was keeping an open mind on the subject and was fully considering facts which had been put before him. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the coal tax had not killed export trade. Well, he (Mr. Burt) did not think that anybody had ever said that it had. But it had greatly checked exports and had brought the increase to a standstill. The right hon. Gentleman stated that 1903 was the highest export year for coal in their records. That was true; but there were certain considerations connected with 1903 that greatly increased the export of coal during that year. There was a good deal of extra trade with France and the United States, owing to strikes of miners in these countries. To the latter country more than 1,000,000 tons of coal were sent because of the strike, and that was entirely exceptional and abnormal. If they deducted that, and if they further deducted bunker coal they found that the exports for 1903 were really considerably less than not only 1901 but also 1900. The right hon. Gentleman objected to 1900 being taken into comparison on the ground that it was an exceptional year, and he excluded 1901 on the same ground; so they had never had a normal year since the tax was imposed. But 1900 was the year when the tax was imposed, and the tax itself was an abnormality. In his own district of Northumberland the tax was affecting wages. What the workmen objected to was that they were not only taxed as citizens on tea, tobacco, beer, and other articles, but that they were also called upon to pay an entirely exceptional tax, which affected one trade only and only a portion of that trade. He was glad to know that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give every consideration to the question that was put before him. Both the present Chancellor and his predecessor declared that if they believed this tax would injuriously affect the miners it would be an important consideration in dealing with the subject. It had been conclusively shown that the coal tax had a very considerable effect in diminishing wages, and that it tended to diminish the price of exported coal. He hoped circumstances would change, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have a surplus next year, and that one of the earliest things he would do would be to abolish this wholly inequitable and exceptional tax.

SIR H. CAMPBELL BANNERMAN said he rose for the purpose of calling the attention of the Committee to the hour of the day which the Committee had now reached. They had had an interesting and temperate discussion, temperate on both sides of the House, on the coal tax, but the subject was by no means exhausted even in the most moderate interpretation of the word "exhaustion," because he would mention one particular item that up to now had not even been referred to. That was the Scotch case which had peculiar elements in it which were not represented in the speeches to which the House had listened. The Committee had now arrived at the hour when the ordinary business of the House of Commons, not in the House itself but elsewhere, commenced. The Grand Committee on Trade commenced its sitting at 11.30 and had to consider the Irish Labourers Bill, a Bill which excited a great deal of feeling among Irish Members, at any rate. On that Grand Committee there ought to be eighty-three Members present. Besides that there were three Private Bill Committees, one of which sat at 11, one at 11.30, and one at 11.45, each having four Members, so that there were ninety-five Members of this House whose Parliamentary duties called them to another part of the building; and who would have to sit there in spite of the fact that they had been kept all night here. That was a very strong reason why the Committee should report Progress at this point. This particular discussion, as he had said, was not in the most moderate interpretation of the term exhausted. There were other clauses of great importance which deserved the attention of the House, as part of the general scheme of the taxation of this country, so that the Committee could not be held to have come to the end of this stage of the Finance Bill by any means. It was rather hard for these ninety-five Members who had been up all night to be transferred from one place of torture to another. He assumed also that at two o'clock the consideration of the Licensing Bill would come before the House, it being one of the allotted days given for the purpose. On those grounds which he had endeavoured to put as temperately as possible he thought he was justified in moving to report Progress. He had devoted himself for the greater part of the night to the discussion in the House, which had been most temperate in its character, and he hoped that the Committee would now in the same temperate spirit come to the conclusion which he invited them to come to, which would at all events discharge them from overlapping one day's duty with another, and thus bringing Parliament into disrepute.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR, who was cheered on rising, said the right hon. Gentleman had been quite accurately informed by those who, in his own words, had had the fortune to sit up all night, that their proceedings had, with some small exceptions, been conducted in a good-natured and friendly spirit. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would admit that this clause had already been long discussed. This part of the Budget proceedings had extended over a larger period than any Budget proceedings in his recollection. The Committee stage had lasted two days more than the Committee on the Budget in which a shilling duty on food was proposed. That proposal involved a whole set of considerations absolutely novel and of great importance. This Budget did not involve any new principle, and the discussion they were engaged on was one which could not at this stage modify the Budget. This clause had been discussed for more than three hours, and would again come on for discussion early in the next stage of their proceedings on the Bill. Therefore, he thought the right hon. Gentleman was hardly justified in suggesting that they should leave the debate midway and proceed to other matters. The right hon. Gentleman had pointed out that other duties required the attendance of a large number of Members, but in the first place the inconvenience was not so great numerically as the right hon. Gentleman supposed, for the Grand Committee had separated for the day——

MR. JOHN ELLIS (Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe) said he might perhaps explain as Chairman of the Grand Committee that by Standing Orders it could not sit whilst the House was sitting without leave obtained from the House. [Cries of "Order."]

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

*THE CHAIRMAN said an interruption was not necessarily out of order.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR accepted the hon. Member's explanation, and said it disposed of a large part of the right hon. Gentleman's argument.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN asked to be allowed to say, without being guilty of disorder, that if Progress were reported the Speaker would return to the Chair, the Chairman would come into relations with the Speaker, and on the adjournment the Grand Committee might proceed.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR rather thought the right hon. Gentleman was mistaken. A large part of the right hon. Gentleman's argument being disposed of, he hoped it would not be felt that he was making an unreasonable request in saying that they really ought to finish the discussion on the coal tax at this sitting; and, if Members thought it was a question not thoroughly disposed of, the Report stage would offer a further opportunity for discussion.

SIR EDWARD GREY demurred to the statement that this Budget had already taken an unduly long time. The discussions on Budgets immediately preceding this could not be regarded as normal, as they were conducted under pressure in a time of war. A great deal of the time taken up on this Budget had been occupied with a number of details as to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the first place had received imperfect information. The coal tax had been passed with little discussion in former years. Its opponents had chosen this year for bringing their case against it in full force, and for that they had only had three hours. Surely, considering the many aspects of the coal tax and the great strain to which the House had been subjected, it was only reasonable that Progress should be reported, especially as, if the Motion were agreed to, it would not lengthen the ultimate proceedings on the Bill.

MR. EMMOTT quite agreed with what the Prime Minister had said about the temperateness with which their long discussion during the night had been carried on—in fact, he did not know, but for one speech in singularly bad taste, the speech by the hon. Member for Eskdale [MINISTERIAL laughter and ironical cheers], that there was any very—— [the close of the sentence was drowned by interruptions by MINISTERIALISTS and cries of "Divide."] There was no use in hon. Members crying "Divide," he was not going to be shouted down by them. The Prime Minister said the Budget in which the 1s. tax on corn was imposed involved new and novel principles whereas this Budget did not. He ventured to contest that point. They had already had a similar duty on sugar and when the Budget containing that proposal was introduced it was explained that no protection was meant. The same thing was said of this Budget and they found that protection would at any rate be carried out. The next point he wished to make was this. Was it not a farce to allot days to the Licensing Bill and then to spoil them by an all-night sitting preceding. How could they do their work properly when they had to sit up all night without getting any sleep at all and then go straight on to the consideration of the Licensing Bill. It was not treating the House fairly. The Finance Bill had always been treated somewhat exceptionally by the House. A great deal more latitude had been allowed in regard to that Bill than in regard to any other matter. But they could not discuss the Finance Bill properly in the circumstances in which they had been discussing it. Was it not a very bad example to set to the Liberal Party [Cries of "Oh, oh!"] if they ever crossed the floor of the House and had the introduction of a Finance Bill. There was no possibility of dealing with that Bill in the House of Lords. This precedent had now been set, and if the Prime Minister was going to force the Bill through was it not a very bad precedent to put into the hands of the Liberal Party and one which might be used at a moment when the Conservative Party might not like it, and be, as they might perhaps think, much to the detriment of good government. Finally what good could possibly be done by making them discuss the matter any longer now, he did not mean the Motion to report Progress, but the Finance Bill. There they had been debating for twenty-two hours and surely it was time that their discussion might be stopped and resumed again on Friday. He was perfectly certain it would add to the good temper of all Parties if the Prime Minister could see his way to accept the Motion.

MR. EUGENE WASON said he had risen half-a-dozen times in his desire to put before the Committee the views of the Scotch miners upon this tax. He had not much to say, but it was only right that the views of his constituents who were largely miners should be heard. Therefore he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister to accede to the request of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. It would be good, not only for Members of the House but also for the officials, if Progress were now reported. If the right hon. Gentleman would consent to that course he would, for his part, promise to only occupy a very short time.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER supported the appeal. Many of those he had the honour to represent were miners and felt very strongly upon this matter. Their views ought to be heard, and therefore he hoped the Prime Minister would give way and allow this coal tax to be a little more fully discussed than it could be if they were to continue it now. He did not agree with the statement that there was no novelty in this Budget. There were some perfectly new features in it, not the least novel of which was the way in which the unclaimed dividends were being dealt with.

MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe) observed that four hours ago he endeavoured to get a word in on this question. His object then was not to make a further appeal because he thought then, and he thought now, that the appeal made by the hon. Member for Mid-Durham and his colleagues was appreciated fully by the Prime Minister. He felt that if the Prime Minister could not agree to their request it was impossible for an outside Member to make an appeal which would have any effect upon him. The Prime Minister hardly knew what he was doing just now with the

Party that was supporting him. That was his opinion. He did not think Mr. Balfour fully appreciated the work that had been going on in the last twenty-four hours—and certainly since midnight. [" Oh, oh ! " and cries of " He has not been here."] He was making no charge that the Prime Minister had not given fair attention to the debate, but what he wished to point out was that this matter of the coal tax had been before the House one way or the other for six weeks, and it had compelled the attendance in London of representatives of the coal-mining industry almost weekly. It had cost a few hundred pounds for the associations to have their men there to do the work of their Members and what was the return for it ? They were told that they must not have a fair opportunity. They were told that their Members should speak when they had been in the House twelve, fourteen, or sixteen hours and lay the case of the men before that Assembly when they had been attending to the debate on other matters. Who were they who were making that request ?—he wanted the country to know it. Half a million of those men in districts throughout the Kingdom would remember the slight that had been done to the leaders of the miners in a matter which affected them seriously, which had been the means of reducing their wages, of curtailing their hours of employment, and which had brought continual suffering on their families. He wanted the House to realise that they would not forget that day's proceedings—that they would tell the miners of the treatment they had received at the hands of the Prime Minister, backed by his Party—yes, backed by his Party. He was glad of that cheer, it only added power to the argument. He felt certain that the day would come when Mr. Balfour would regret having treated the representatives of that industry in the manner he had done early that morning.

Mr. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) concluded that the Committee was justified in asking the right hon. Gentleman to give the reasons which justified him in this course of procedure, and for asking them to sit longer on this occasion. There was no urgency for this Bill, and the only difficulty, if this Motion were accepted, would be the absorption of perhaps three hours some afternoon later on. Surely the right hon. Gentleman did not wish to dragoon the Committeee in this matter. No doubt the only consideration which weighed with the right hon. Gentleman was that he desired to get his Budget through, but would any Budget carried by the Government under such circumstances as these be an advantage to them in the long run ? Surely some compromise might be arrived at in this matter. Let the right hon. Gentleman estimate the amount of time he would be content to give for the discussion of what remained of the Budget, and then some arrangement might perhaps be made. He, himself, represented some thousands of miners, and had received many communications from them on the subject of this tax. Their views might be right or they might be wrong, but they were certainly entitled to complain if this question was not fully and adequately discussed. The right hon. Gentleman himself had supporters who represented large mining districts, and he might appeal on their behalf also for some consideration in this matter. He also appealed on behalf of the officials of the House who had been on duty continuously for twenty-four hours, and he believed if the right hon. Gentleman would assent to the Motion he would greatly gain in the end.

*Sir FREDERICK MILNER (Nottinghamshire, Bassetlaw) said that during the whole of the time he had been a Member of the House of Commons, and he had been a Member for many years, he had never witnessed such a deliberate attempt as had been made this session on the part of the Opposition to make legislation impossible. He had never witnessed more scandalous obstruction.

Mr. LOUGH asked whether the hon. Member was in order in making use of such an expression.

* The CHAIRMAN said that " scandalous " was rather a strong epithet, and he hoped the hon. Member would withdraw it.

* Sir FREDERICK MILNER said he would withdraw the word " scandalous." He had never witnessed such wilful and deliberate obstruction.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON, on a point of order, said he recently brought exactly the same charge against hon. Members opposite as that now made against the Members of the Opposition, and it would be in the recollection of the Chairman that on that occasion he (the Chairman) made him withdraw the phrase. He therefore asked that the hon. Member should be made to withdraw this statement, which was quite untrue.

* THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has put himself entirely out of order by telling another hon. Member that what he said was untrue.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I withdraw that, Sir.

* THE CHAIRMAN: On the occasion referred to the hon. Member was imputing a motive which was not in order. On this occasion the hon. Gentleman was stating what he conceives to be a fact. Whether the fact is well founded or not it is not for me to say, but the word obstruction has constantly been used in debate——

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: But, Sir, "wilful and deliberate."

*THE CHAIRMAN: I say with regard to those epithets what I said with regard to the epithet "scandalous." I think they are disagreeable if not reprehensible. I do not think the hon. Member ought to use such epithets, and I hope he will withdraw them. But the word obstruction is one that has been used frequently on both sides of the House and it is not one I can ask the hon. Member to withdraw.

*SIR FREDERICK MILNER said he did not wish to add to the difficulty of the Chairman's task. He would content himself with the word "obstruction" and leave it to the majority of the House to decide whether what he had asserted was correct or not. When the hon. Member assumed the task of Chancellor of the Exchequer—and he supposed the hon. Member thought that time would soon come—he hoped the Unionist Party would not retaliate by following the evil example set by the Opposition in this debate. He hoped the Prime Minister would stand firm and insist upon carrying on this stage of the Bill.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.) said he had been in the House since the commencement of the discussion on the coal tax and he did not think the Minister in charge of the Bill would allege for one moment that a single act of obstruction, or an unnecessary speech or sentence, had been made use of in regard to this particular tax. If there had been obstruction the chief obstructionist was the hon. Gentleman who had just resumed his seat as was shown by the speech he had made. Up to now there had been good temper on both sides of the House, but the speech they had listened to had put an end to all good temper. Forty minutes had now been absorbed in the discussion of this Motion, they would go to a division, and from the Government's point of view a whole hour would have been wasted in discussing whether the Committee should or should not go on with the debate. He had never known a Government to gain anything at any time by pressing a thing when the Opposition were determined to hold out. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to consent to the Motion to report Progress and to bring the discussion to an end now, so that they might come to the further discussion of the subject with fresh minds.

*MR. McCRAE said as one who had taken part in the debate since the House met at two o'clock on the previous day he felt he was entitled to repudiate the statement of the hon. Baronet opposite. He had no desire to ruffle anybody's susceptibilities and he was quite sure that no one on the Treasury Bench would suggest that there had been any obstruction. Let hon. Members look through the Paper and consider how these Amendments had been debated and they also would agree that there had been no obstruction. Everybody must concede the fact that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had shown the greatest good temper and good feeling throughout the whole discussion, and it would be unfortunate if any heat and ill-feeling were now introduced into the debate. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House would lose nothing by accepting the Motion, and, therefore, he would suggest that they should now separate in good feeling with each other; that they should consider this a drawn battle and that they should resume the discussion of the coal tax under more favourable conditions.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said he approached this question in a spirit of perfect calmness, having on the previous night "slept the sleep of the just." He did not quite understand the position of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House. Did the right hon. Gentleman propose to carry this sitting over until after two o'clock if it was not finished before, because in that case he would gain nothing, because, that day being an allotted day for the discussion of the Licensing Bill, if the Committee went on with the present discussion the Licensing Bill could not come on as first order, and any discussion which took place on that Bill after the Committee had disposed of this question could not be held to be as coming within the allotted day. He thought the right hon. Gentleman, in his own interests and in the interests of Parliament, would do well under the circumstances to take the Licensing Bill at two o'clock and give some other day to that debate. The right hon. Gentleman would see that he gained no more time for himself, but, in fact, lost time by pursuing the course he was now taking.

Sir CHRISTOPHER FURNESS (Hartlepool) said he wished to associate himself with the appeal made by the hon. Member for Mid-Durham. He had listened with pleasure to the remark of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he was ready to consider with an open mind any fresh facts that were brought before him. For this reason he now ventured to occupy a little of the time of the House. The imposition of this coal-tax, or indeed of any tax upon an article of consumption——

The CHAIRMAN said the hon. Member would not be in order in discussing the tax, he must confine himself to discussing the Motion to report Progress.

Sir CHRISTOPHER FURNESS said he had associated himself with the appeal of his hon. friend the Member for Mid-Durham, and he was proposing to give one or two fresh facts to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but if that were not in order he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to accept the Motion of the Leader of the Opposition, and thus give him (Sir Christopher) the opportunity of bringing those fresh facts to the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

***Mr. JOSEPH WALTON** asked whether the First Lord of the Treasury would state to the House the grounds for his not accepting a Motion which had the united support of the entire Opposition.

Sir JAMES JOICEY (Durham, Chester-le-Street) said that if the right hon. Gentleman would accept the Motion to report Progress, hon. Members who wished to discuss this tax would, he was quite sure, be quite willing, if the discussion was taken again on Friday, to bring the debate to a conclusion by the hour at which the House rose for luncheon. He hoped this suggestion might meet the views of the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. LOUGH appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to consider this suggestion which, in his opinion, might form the basis of a compromise. Surely before the House commenced its ordinary sitting at two o'clock the right hon. Gentleman would like the place cleaned out. He put it to the Prime Minister whether, having regard to the suggestion made by his hon. friend, some compromise could not be arrived at.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 112; Noes, 195. (Division List No. 266.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James

Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P, C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt.EC(S.Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt Hon.Sir E. (Berwick)
Hammond, John.
Harcourt, LewisV.(Rossendale
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C.E.H.(Bristol, E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leese,Sir JosephF.(Accrington)
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Crae, George
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh,N.)
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Wilson, Henry J.(York,W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse, SirJT(Hudd'rsf'd)
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.HughO
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manc'r
Balfour, RtHnGeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Beach,Rt.Hn.Sir MichaelHicks
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Bowles,Lt.-Col,H.F.(Middlesex
Bowles, T. Gibson(King's Lynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, J.H.M(DublinUniv.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt.HnJA(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.
Cross, Herb.Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dewar,SirT.R.(TowerHamlets)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, RtHon.SirJohnE.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt.Hon.A.Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fergusson, Rt.Hn SirJ (Manc'r
Finch, Rt.Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon.EdwardAlgernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster,Philip S.(Warwick,S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon,Hn.J.E (Elgin &Nairn)
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, SirEW(BrySEdm'nds)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hardy, Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, Dr.Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, James (Staffords.,N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, JF(Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, John(KentFaversham
Howard, J.(Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon.JamesHenryCecil
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys,Rt.Hon.ArthurFred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney,Rt.Hon.Col.W.
Kerr, John
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)

Lawrence, SirJoseph(Monm'th
Lawson,JohnGrant(YorksN,R,
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col.Charles W.(Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M‘Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M‘Iver, SirLewis(EdinburghW
M‘Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, WJH(Dumfriesshire)
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, RtHnSirFrederickG.
Milvain, Thomas
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moore, William
Morgan,DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, RtHnAGraham(Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hon.M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(BethnalGreen
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Shaw-Stewart,SirH(Renfrew,E
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith,RtHnJ.Parker(Lanarks)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson, Dr.EC(Monagh'nN
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col.SirCEH(Sheffield)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und,Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York,E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Original Question again proposed.

SIR JAMES JOICEY said he made no apology for detaining the House at this hour, because he represented a constituency largely composed of a mining population who took the deepest interest in this question, and who believed that it affected to a great extent their prosperity and the prosperity of the industry in which they were engaged. He could not understand, in the first place, how the Government could have so far forgotten their political economy as to put an export tax on anything sent out of this country. It was a well-known axiom with political economists that the very worst means of raising revenue that a country could adopt was an export tax. This was the only export tax they had at the present time, and in no other case should, in his opinion, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer impose a tax of this kind without giving overwhelming reasons for its necessity. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol imposed the tax he said h desired to raise revenue: that it would do no harm to the coal industry: that even if it did some harm to the coa industry that industry was well able to bear it. The right hon. Gentleman also said that it would be a good thing to put a tax upon coal, because it would save the coal from exportation, and keep it for home consumption; but those familiar with the trade knew perfectly well that that was a fallacy; that instead of saving the coal for our home consumers the result was likely to be the absolute loss of the mineral which would otherwise have come into use for the benefit of the community. The mines in the Wansbeck Division were the oldest coal mines in the country, and could only be kept working with difficulty at the present prices, and if once it was found that they were losing money and had to be closed, then we might say good-bye to all the coal in those mines, because it was well-known that when a mine was closed the workings were apt to fall in and cover the coal seams, and in the present condition of affairs it would never pay to go to the expense of putting them into working order again. It must be remembered that it was only when one was on the fringe of a particular coal district that one could successfully compete; in any other part of the coal district the cost of carriage became so large as to render it quite impossible to compete with any prospect of success.

When this tax was imposed the coal trade was in an exceptional condition. He stated to the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, the right hon. Member for West Bristol, at the time that it would be quite impossible to judge of the effect of this tax for certainly two or three years after its imposition. It was now perfectly clear that they had lost a considerable amount of trade, owing to the imposition of this tax, particularly with countries like Germany, Holland, France, and Belgium, to which might be added Australia, Chili, and all those countries within reach of our ships. They were also losing trade by the opening up of coal mines in India and in South Africa. People forgot that there was in all parts a large quantity of coal, and that it only wanted to be sought for and developed in order to compete with them. This tax was a protective tax to every country in the world producing coal in competition with them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that it was a most pernicious and unfortunate thing that the Chancellors of the Exchequer had not sufficiently encouraged trade in this country as against foreign trade; but what did the right hon. Gentleman do in this case? He gave a benefit to France in this case and had really protected France and other countries against the producer of coal in these islands. In his opinion as time went on the effect would be much more serious than it had been. During the last two years, owing to the exceptional condition of the shipping trade, which had resulted in extremely low freights, the coal producers had not lost so very much, but like the coal trade shipping was in a very bad financial condition. Shippers were losing money instead of gaining it; he doubted whether a single ship was paying its expenses, but there would come a change, and when that change came with a great rise in freights, it would result in a very much greater loss to the export coal trade of this country.

He could not understand how any hon. Gentlemen could say that an export tax like the coal tax was not paid by this country. It was clear to him that, if they paid 1s. export duty on coals sent to every country with which they competed, it had exactly the same effect as if they paid 1s. a ton more for railway carriage or for freight to the port of delivery. Therefore, in the market where the competition took place, it was perfectly clear that the one country which put an export duty of 1s. a ton on its coal must be handicapped very considerably. Supposing he sent coal to Hamburg, where he competed with Westphalian coal, and suppose that he was able to secure a market at the price of 15s. a ton, that being the price that the foreign coal producer charged, and the price they allowed him to get. If an export duty of 1s. a ton was put upon the coal he was supplying, he would have to supply it at the price of 14s. a ton excluding the tax in order to compete with the foreign producer, and therefore he had to pay the tax by reducing his price in order to secure the market. If any tax reduced the price the coal producer received, it must of necessity also reduce the wages given to the miners. If this 1s. ton was to be paid by the foreigner, he would be the first to say, "Don't let it be 1s., let them pay 5s. or even 10s." But everybody knew and could see perfectly clearly that it was paid by the coal trade in this country.

For the ten years ending 1900, before this export tax was imposed, our export trade in coal was increasing—it had increased 1,500,000 tons per annum; but if the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer looked into the figures he would find that on the coal exported from this country since the tax had been imposed, there had been practically no increase for two or three years. No Government had a right to tax any trade in such a manner as to restrict the operations of that trade, unless they had the strongest belief, supported by the most overwhelming proof, that it was their duty to do so in the interests of the country at large. He challenged the Government to show that any argument had been brought forward, either by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer or anybody else, in favour of the tax which had not been destroyed again and again by the arguments brought forward to rebut it. He thought the Government had better be guided by those engaged in the industry. In this matter the Committee had seen what had taken place with regard to the tobacco duty in consequence of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer accepting the advice of experts at the Treasury and elsewhere, which had proved to be absolutely wrong, and which had done an immense injury to the tobacco trade, which it would take many years to recover from. It was the same thing with regard to the export coal trade; they had seen channels of trade, which for the past fifty years coalowners had worked hard to secure for themselves, stopped up by this tax and secured by foreign producers for themselves. That was a most severe loss, because it was very difficult to open again a channel of trade which had once been closed. It might have been true that German coal, as was suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had been shipped in cleaner and better condition than English coal, but the British producers had adapted themselves to the present conditions, and were putting coal upon the market in exactly the same condition as their German competitors. The right hon. Gentleman had also accounted for the falling off in exports by saying that the use of machinery had substituted to a great extent small coal for large coal, which accounted for the large increase in the export of small coal. That increase was due to the facts that small coal did not pay the export tax and that Germany was able to make coke far cheaper than this country. As he understood the Chancellor of the Exchequer was going to be largely guided by the Report of the Royal Commission in this matter he would not detain the House further.

*MR. EUGENE WASON was very glad indeed to have an opportunity of saying a few words in Committee on this all-important question. They had had speeches from hon. Members who represented the great mining constituencies in England and Wales, many of whom had themselves known what the life and the peril of a miner were, but up to the present time they had no representative from Scotland to address the Committee, although he had several times—he might say all night—ineffectually endeavoured to catch the Chairman's eye. The hon. Member who had just addressed the House had shown pretty conclusively that, so far as this 1s. export duty on coal was concerned, it was a tax which was not paid by the foreigner, but by the producer and miner at home, and there was a unanimous consensus of feeling amongst the miners that that 1s. directly or indirectly helped to lower their wages. He represented a considerable body of miners in Scotland. A deputation had come up to see him on the matter and he had always voted, since that tax was put on by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, against it, and he would continue to do so until the end. He could assure the hon. Members from England and Wales who had spoken in that debate that so far as the Scotch miners were concerned they were determined to leave no stone unturned to get the 1s. tax removed, because they believed it was an injury to their wages. Earlier in the morning the hon. Member for Mid-Durham, in one of the most moving and eloquent speeches he had ever listened to, gave a quotation from a man who was well known on the East Coast of Scotland—Mr. Weir. He thought the hon. Member put it that the effect of this tax had been to reduce the miners wages by something like 25 per cent. But he happened to have with him the exact figure which Mr. Weir did state that tax had caused wages to fall. Mr. Weir said that so far as the Scotch miners were concerned they had suffered to the extent of at least 10 per cent. From what he knew of the mining industries in his own district while the wages were at present falling they had not got he was afraid, as yet, to the lowest point they were likely to reach because of this imposition of 1s. duty on exported coal. Mr. Weir also stated that this was the opinion of the whole of the Scottish miners. They were of opinion that this tax was an injury to the whole of the coal trade, injuring the wages and decreasing the trade. They saw men going about idle or only doing two days a week, and they also observed in some parts of Scotland that soup kitchens had to be opened in order to relieve the distress occasioned by the loss in the coal trade. Having regard to these things it was the unanimous opinion of the Scottish miners in the East that the tax should now be removed, and he thought he might say that the same applied to the miners in South Ayrshire, a constituency which he once had the honour to represent. Miners believed that the effect of the tax had been to lower wages, and as a representative of the miners he would certainly oppose it by every means in his power.

MR. PARROTT (Yorkshire, W.R., Normanton) said as a representative of a mining division he wished to join his friends on that side in entering his protest against the 1s. tax on exported coal. He was very much impressed when the Deputy-Chairman ruled an hon. Gentleman out of order because he used the word "scandalous." He felt some amusement at his own thoughts then. He thought that if the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, along with the Prime Minister and as many of their friends as they chose to take, would go into the mining counties and explain to the miners that this tax did not affect them in the least either in trade or wages they would hear language which would cause the word "scandalous" to feel ashamed of itself for being so mild. He could not understand how Gentlemen could state earnestly and emphatically that the tax did not affect either miners or mine-owners. At the present moment the question of a 5 per cent. reduction was being discussed by nearly 400 miners in the Miners' Federation. That tax was made use of as one of the reasons for that reduction. They knew that trade was very bad, and they had hundreds and thousands of miners who were only working a few days a week and many who were not working at all. They believed, and he also believed, that it was largely because of this 1s. tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said some time ago to a deputation, which he accompanied, that if it could be proved to him that it did affect the trade he would then reconsider his decision. He had been told again and again that it did affect the trade both by the colliery proprietors and by the miners' representatives, and he thought no one in the House would for a moment doubt the word of the hon. Member for Morpeth, whom they knew to be a consistent, a truthful, and, as a rule, a non-exaggerating gentleman. That hon. Member had stated again and again that the tax was injurious to the trade and that the miners and mine-owners in Cumberland and the North were suffering. What more did the Chancellor of the Exchequer require? He told him from Yorkshire that the miners were suffering, and that the mine owners said that they were suffering.

One hon. Member had stated that the miners were not opposed to the tax in the district which he represented. The miners were opposed to it and he was now speaking for the whole of Yorkshire. The coal-owners would tell the right hon. Gentleman if he asked them whether they had suffered or not. They told the miners they had suffered and that was why they wanted a reduction, and that was also why the question was being debated by the Miners' Federation. What more did the Chancellor of the Exchequer require? The owner of some very large collieries told him the other day that he had been in the trade from boyhood and had never known it so bad as at the present time; certain collieries that he and his partner owned were doing worse than ever they did. No one need try to make him believe—they might try but they could never succeed—that miners who were only working two days a week did not feel the effects of that tax. It was a fact that they were very much affected and were protesting in all parts of the mining districts in the country against the tax. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer required petitions they could get them, and he was quite sure the hon. Member who represented Doncaster would find that the miners in his Division would protest by petition.

MR. FISON: I have not the slightest doubt they will send a petition.

MR. PARROTT: Yes, and they would remind the hon. Member of it at the next general election. He knew the Prime Minister represented a few miners in his Division, but he would be surprised after this if any miner in the country voted for a Conservative again for a long time. They had ruined the trade and were ruining the people. There were

800,000 or 900,000 people with their wives and families, which added up to millions, who were feeling this tax very seriously and he would advise the Chancellor of the Exchequer to allow the Amendment to pass, substituting 1d. in the place of 1s. He took that opportunity of entering his protest against that ruinous tax on the coal trade. Why did the right hon. Gentleman not put a tax on all trades in the country? Why did he select the coal trade alone? He knew that if he put a tax on other trades there would be such an uprising in this country as had never been seen before. The miners were getting disgusted with the Conservative Party and they were swearing by all that was sacred that they would never vote for them any more.

Sir EDWARD GREY said it was, he thought, the first time the hon. Member who had just spoken had taken part in debate. He was sure on both sides of the House they would congratulate him upon having contributed materially. He thought they would all condole with him in the very exceptional circumstances under which his first speech had had to be delivered. They would wish that the hon. Member should continue to take part in their debates, and that it would be seldom he would have to do so under such trying conditions. If anything could convince the Government and the country of the earnestness and the sincerity and the deep importance which hon. Members attached to this question it would be the force, the vigour, the knowledge and the clearness with which this debate had been pressed under such exceptional circumstances. Most of the hon. Members who had spoken—he thought it would be admitted with great ability and knowledge—against this tax, had done so after they had been at work, some of them for twenty hours and some of them even longer, and he thought everybody who had listened to the debate would agree that since they entered upon the debate on the coal tax there had been a degree of earnestness and vigour which nothing but great zeal and great sincerity could have maintained undiminished under such trying circumstances. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the fairness of whose tone also under trying circumstances they all recognised, had told them that he had an open mind with regard to the future of that tax. That, he thought, was what his predecessor told them. He felt this about an open mind. It was rather like an open door. One ought to be careful of releasing their pressure for fear one should find the doors had become shut. So while they welcomed the Chancellor of the Exchequer's open mind he did not think that that was a reason for not pressing strongly upon him the arguments which had already been pressed with regard to that tax, because even if they could not have effect on the present Budget the vigour of them might at any rate do something to keep the Chancellor's mind open.

All taxes were disagreeable but this tax was really an invidious and odious tax. It was, of course, especially disagreeable and disappointing that it should be kept on, because it was one of the taxes imposed while they were at war. It was quite true that the Chancellor of the Exchequer of that day said he contemplated it becoming a permanent part of their system of taxation, but the general feeling of the House and the country was that if there had been no war this tax would never have come into being. There was a sense of disappointment that now the war had been so long over the tax showed no signs of being removed. They were told the tax was going to fall either on the foreigner or on the coal-owner, and there was some feeling at the time as to the miners' position. The miners were getting very high wages, the price of coal was high, and it was urged that the rest of the community had been so penalised by the high price of coal that neither the mine-owners nor the miners could be regarded as objects of sympathy if some burden fell upon them. The answer of course was that the miners were having temporary conditions of prosperity sure to be followed by a reaction. In the mining, just as in other trades, he had heard the leaders of the unions impress upon the men that in good times they ought to be provident so as to have something to fall back upon during long spells of bad trade. Those times were being felt now. Surely in principle an export duty was about the most vicious thing one could impose. It must handicap them in competition, not only in the coal trade but in other trades as well. It affected the shipping trade as well as the coal trade. They could not tell how that tax in time might disturb shipping by altering the export trade. If they disturbed their export of coal they not only affected the shipping trade in that way, but they probably increased the charge upon the other cargo which was brought to this country, and in this way such a tax affected the shipping industry and those who depended upon it. He was told that last year the additional price which British ships had to pay for British coal purchased in foreign ports, being coal which had paid the export duty, amounted to no less than £275,000. The shipping industry was not prosperous at the present time, and such a charge as that pressed heavily upon the shipping interest. Then they had the effect of the tax upon different ports. In some cases coal was shipped from one port instead of from another, going in some cases to the port which entailed the shortest railway journey. That was hard lines on the port that lost the trade and also upon the coal trade.

So far as the monopoly coal was concerned—the coal of special quality, of which they had a monopoly—he had always been ready to admit that that coal might perhaps bear a tax, and, if that coal was a monopoly, some of the tax would be paid by the foreigner, but that was a small proportion of the whole, the bulk of the trade being a competitive trade. It might be urged that they had coal of such a fine quality that it would be an advantage to impose a tax which would reserve that coal to their own use. That was just the class of coal which would not be retained by the tax, and if there were coal of that sort of which it was desirable for Admiralty or other purposes that they should keep a good reserve, the proper course was for the Government to purchase it and work it. As to the rest, the burden certainly did not fall upon the foreigner. The burden he believed had been coming out of wages, which had been falling heavily. Everybody admitted that the whole of the fall was not due to the tax, but could they believe that with this definite and permanent tax upon the coal trade it would not in the long run come upon the wages? However much the tax might hit the owners and other interests, in the long run the tendency would be, where there was competition, for it to filter through to the miner. Everybody pushed off the tax if they could on to somebody else. The miner was at the bottom rung and could not push it off on anybody else, and therefore upon him it was likely to be fixed. That was why he called this an invidious tax—because it bore upon a particular class which already bore its fair proportion of the other burdens of the war. They were face to face with a fall in profits and in wages and there was no prospect at present of that tendency diminishing. If that were so the tax would be felt with a keen sense of injustice, because it fell specially upon one class of the community, and that was why he urged again that that tax of all taxes was the one which the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to remove on the first opportunity. It pressed with special injustice upon a particular class of the community and, being an export tax, it was especially vicious in principle, being certain to bear upon the shipping and other export trades.

Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs) said the case for the British coal trade had been so well put that he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not think public opinion was less strong in Scotland upon that subject than in the North of England. Their arguments would be much the same as those advanced by the representatives of the North of England, but their case was an even stronger one, because their coals were cheaper and the duty pressed more heavily upon them than upon the English coal trade. There was only one opinion upon the subject that he had heard in Scotland, that was that all of them who had any connection with coal lost, and that the working miners lost most of all. Their exports were very large to the Eastern ports in the Baltic, and there they came into direct competition with German coal. There was no doubt that but for the abnormal development of recent years in the port coalfields there would be far greater depression than there had been resulting from that tax, because it could not be denied from the figures and the evidence of all concerned in the trade that the 1s. tax had handicapped their export trade with the Baltic from the Scottish ports. There was one other point with regard to the effects of the tax—its influence upon shipping. The export trade in coal was so much the basis upon which a great part of their shipping trade rested as a paying enterprise, that anything which tended to discourage the export trade in coal was a discouragement to the great shipping industries of the country. It should not be assumed, as was often done, that this was merely a coal-owners, coal masters, or coal miners question. The future of the shipping industry was affected by it as much, he believed, as the coal trade itself, and the two together represented in Scotland so very important a section of the national life that he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would recollect that Scotland was just as much against the tax as was public opinion in England. There was no doubt that a great deal of their competitive trade had been going to the Germans, whenever they were competing in a neutral market. He had heard the strongest opinions expressed against the tax ever since its real effects became known.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 173; Noes, 117. (Division List No. 267.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A (Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph

Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants., W.)
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, Walford D. (Wednesbury
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Jn. (Kent, Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hunt, Rowland

Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt. Hn. Col. W.
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G.
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moore, William
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (Bute
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl

Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Samuel,Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone, W.)
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H.(Renfrew)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith,HC.(North'mb.Tyneside
Smith,RtHn.J.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur (Ormskirk
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson,Dr.E.C(Monagh'n,N
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunton
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley(York, E.R.)
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B.Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cawley, Frederick
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel James Henry
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt.E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol,E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh,N.)
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Dowd, John
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold John
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan,E.)
Thomas,DavidAlfred(Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Tully, Jasper
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason,John Cathcart(Orkney)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

Question put accordingly, "That the clause be read a second time."

The Committee divided:—Ayes, 129; Noes, 173. (Division List No. 268.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asquith,Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John

Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cawley, Frederick
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts)
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt. Hn Sir E. (Berwick)
Hammond John
Harcout, Lewis V (Rossendale
Hayden, John Patrick
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Hope, John Deans (Fife, West)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrd (Cornwall)
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M‘Hugh, Patrick A.
Kenna, Reginald
M‘Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
Norman, Henry
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Dowd, John
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pirie, Duncan V.
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Runciman, Walter
Russell, T. W.
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smith, H C(North'mb. Tyneside
Soares, Ernest J.
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Sir A. (Glamorgan, E.
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Woodhouse, Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr Herbert Gladstone and Mr William M‘Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Bull, William James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Campbell, J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J.A(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alywne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Faber, Edmund B.(Hants., W.)
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, Walford D. (Wednesbury
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
Harwood, George
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse, Rt Hn H(Somers't, E
Hope, J.F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Jn. (Kent, Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil

Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T.(Denbigh)
Kenyon-Slaney, Rt.Hn. Col.W.
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. CharlesW.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
MacIver, David (Liverpool)
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
Majendie, James A. H.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Milner, Rt.Hn.Sir Frederick G.
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moore, William
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Samuel, SirHarryS.(Limehouse
Scott, Sir S. (Marylebone,W.)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H.(Renfrew)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Hn. Arthur(Ormskirk)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson,Dr.E C(Monagh'n,N
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he desired to obtain from the Chairman an explanation of "where they stood." He submitted that they had no right to continue the sitting after 2 o'clock. The Standing Order laid it down that—

> "Unless the House otherwise order, the House shall meet every Monday, Tuesday. Wednesday, and Thursday at 2 o'clock for an afternoon sitting and at 9 o'clock for an evening sitting."

That was perfectly explicit—the House must meet at 2 o'clock for the afternoon sitting unless the House otherwise ordered. The only orders at present were the orders of the Government, but there was nothing in the Standing Order to say that these were to supersede the Orders of the House. He submitted as a matter of order, therefore, that the Committee had no right to proceed with the present discussion.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about prayers?

*THE CHAIRMAN: We are still in yesterday's sitting. Until that comes to a conclusion in some way or other, I have no power to leave the Chair.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: As this question has been very naturally raised, I think it well to ask the Leader of the House, at this stage, what the intentions of the Government are with regard to the business of the House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is not a point of order. [Opposition cries of "Move."]

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Then I will move that the Chairman do report Progress in order to ascertain what are the intentions of the Government with regard to the scheme of business. It is perfectly clear that matters have got into a tangle. [MINISTERIAL cries of "No."] Some hon. Members think they have not. I think they have. In any case, one necessary thing for us to know is what view the Government take on the matter, and in order to give them an opportunity of explaining their intentions to the House I move to report progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is perfectly true that the rather unusual, and, I may add, unexpected proceedings which have occurred since yesterday have, no doubt, altered the programme which I originally sketched to the House as being the one most convenient for the transaction of public business. As the Chairman has pointed out, yesterday's sitting will remain, I understand, yesterday's sitting until it comes to a conclusion. It cannot now come to a conclusion at such time as will enable us to give the full sitting which I had desired to give to-day to the Licensing Bill.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Is it not an allotted day for the Licensing Bill?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will not stop to argue that now. I will argue it when we reach to-day. It would, I take it, in ordinary course, become an allotted day.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: No.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My hon. friend says it cannot be an allotted day. But we need not dispute about it because I should certainly be very reluctant, even if I had the technical power under the closure rule which was moved in regard to the Licensing Bill, to take advantage of the transactions of the last twenty-four hours materially to shorten the time of debate which was allowed for the Report stage of the Licensing Bill. Hon. Gentlemen opposite think themselves rather ill-used by what has passed. I think myself rather ill-used, but I will not make any further reference to that. At all events, whether we have a grievance or not, I do not propose, whatever our technical rights may be, to ask the House to take the Licensing Bill to-day. I think probably it would be most convenient, though the notice is short, to take Colonial Supply to-morrow—by the ordinary time. The House is aware that in the previously existing state of things I proposed to have no Supply day this week, but to have two days next week. I very greatly regret that the Government have been driven out of that situation, and I think now probably the best plan would be to take Thursday for the Colonial Vote, for which, I think, the House is quite prepared. I have been long pressed about it, and I imagine that hon. Members know the case they want to bring up. In these circumstances, we shall go on, of course, with the Budget to-day and take Supply to-morrow.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: And what about Friday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR. I must not be taken as pledging myself, but I think we shall take the Report of the Budget.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I wish to ask a further Question in order to clear the matter up. A good deal of conjectural misapprehension prevails as to the possibilities of to-day. I presume that what the right hon. Gentleman means is that to-day, so far as the House shall sit to-day, will be occupied in finishing Tuesday's sitting.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR. Yes.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANFERMAN: And that there cannot be initiated a new Wednesday sitting to-day in succession to what I may call the fag-end of Tuesday's sitting. I understand the right hon. Gentleman expects the Committee to go on with the Budget Bill, but, of course, no other part of the business on the Paper for Tuesday can be proceeded with now as it is after twelve o'clock at night.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he took it that the Prime Minister proposed to proceed with the Budget Bill right through to the end—with the new clauses as well as with the Amendments. Some of the new clauses were of very great importance and stood in the names of hon. Gentleman on both sides of the House. He should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he proposed to set up the evening sitting, or whether he meant to go through this business at this sitting, and not take any further business at all.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As the House will see, I have been asked a Question which can only be finally decided, I take it, by Mr. Speaker. But my own personal impression is that, under the rules of the House, when Tuesday comes to an end Wednesday begins, and that we could go on with other business at the second sitting which will begin when this sitting is over. But, as I have said, that is a question which cannot be decided by me. It is a question which must be decided by the Speaker, and by the Speaker alone.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about Questions?

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): What about prayers?

MR. A. J BALFOUR: I respectfully submit that that becomes a question of order for the Speaker rather than for me. But I take it that Wednesday will not begin till after three o'clock, that is to say, after Question time. That is my view. I quite agree that the position is not without difficulty, and I may be entirely wrong.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: Is there going to be a Wednesday at all?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I shall not propose to ask the House to undergo any great exertions on Wednesday. I have promised not to take the Licensing Bill, and I should not desire to take any other Bill of first-rate importance.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE asked whether the right hon. Gentleman intended to go on immediately, or at nine o'clock.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: And before the right hon. Gentleman answers that Question, will he explain how, either immediately or at nine o'clock, he can proceed with the Orders of the Day, which are prescribed for two o'clock on Wednesday? How can he bring into life the second portion of the sitting when the first portion has not been brought into life?

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: On the question of sittings, am I not right, Sir, in saying that although one sitting may become merged in the previous sitting, as this has done, that does not in the least interfere with the sitting at nine o'clock? The right hon. Gentleman has held out expectations of this day beginning; Sir, this day can never now begin. This day continues to be yesterday evening, and when the right hon. Gentleman suggests that there is some period, which he calls three o'clock, when the day might begin, may I point out to him that that is an unknown hour?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, no!

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: The right hon. Gentleman certainly mentioned three o'clock.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I was asked whether when Wednesday began we should begin with Questions. ["Prayers."] With regard to Questions, I said that I was not qualified to give an opinion, but that, as Wednesday would probably begin after three o'clock, Questions might not be put. But I am not the authority on the subject.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: That is the point. There is no such thing as three o'clock in the Standing Order. What, then, is to become of the Questions? The Standing Order says that Questions "shall" begin at a quarter past 2 and end at five minutes to 3 o'clock. Am I right in the belief that under the present extraordinary circumstances there can be no Questions, and that the Answers thereto will have to be circulated with the Votes?

MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.): It would be well if we could arrive at some practical solution. What I am going to submit to the right hon. Gentleman is this—that the Parliamentary Wednesday is the day which begins at 2 o'clock, and that if the House has not sat at 2 o'clock on Wednesday there is no Wednesday possible at all. I do not at all agree with the hon. Member for King's Lynn that the 9 o'clock sitting is an independent sitting; it is nothing of the sort, but a mere continuation of the 2 o'clock sitting after a convenient interval.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: If the right hon. Gentleman will refer to the Standing Order he will see that there are two sittings.

MR. ASQUITH: I have done so, and that is my construction. There are one or two points to be settled. We want to get an authoritative ruling as to whether the Parliamentary Wednesday is possible or not, and I take it that that can only be given by Mr. Speaker in the Chair.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I should think that is so.

Mr. ASQUITH: I presume Mr. Speaker will resume the Chair before the conclusion of this sitting on the question that the House do now adjourn, and that will probably be the most convenient moment. But I am going to suggest to the right hon. Gentleman what I think is a more simple solution. Let us continue Tuesday's sitting until we have disposed of the only business which can be taken on a Tuesday sitting after 12 o'clock, namely, the Committee stage of the Finance Bill, for none of the other orders can be taken. Why not dispose of that, and then get rid of the question of a Wednesday sitting by taking nothing else at all? I understand the right hon. Gentleman does not propose to take any other serious business, and if, as I believe, the Wednesday sitting is an impossibility, he will by that means get rid of all technical difficulties.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman has made a suggestion which I am sure is dictated by a desire of getting through business; and if that is the understanding generally come to—namely, that we should get this stage of the Bill—I would not press the House, which I admit must be fatigued, to take at a new sitting new business. I have already told the House that I would not in any circumstances take business of an important controversial character—I do not think that would be fair to the House, and if it would really conduce to the amenity of our feeling on the remaining new clauses of the Bill, and to the general harmony of our proceedings, I should be glad to make that concession, which I hope will be received by both sides of the House.

Mr. LOUGH: The right hon. Gentleman suggests that it might be possible to take the Report stage of the Budget on Friday; but that will not allow time for the Bill to be reprinted.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course, I will consider it. I ought, by the way, to enter a caveat, which may affect the form, though not the substance, of what I have just said. I think it quite possible that Mr. Speaker may take the view that I, with great humility, have offered to the House—namely, that in the natural and ordinary course of our Parliamentary procedure there must be a Wednesday sitting, if Wednesday still exists, when the Tuesday sitting is over; and in that case I presume Mr. Speaker will think it necessary, when this sitting comes to its natural conclusion, to take the Chair. But all that is necessary for me to say is that I will not ask the House to proceed with any Bill.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Will there be the usual ceremony, prayers, etc.?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope so.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Will all the ceremony take place which would accompany the ordinary beginning of a sitting at the usual hour, and then immediately after that will the House be adjourned?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course it will be understood that no objection will be offered to the Motion for the adjournment. A difficulty occurs to my mind, which is that when Mr. Speaker takes the Chair it will, evidently be after one o'clock last night, and at one o'clock at night Mr. Speaker adjourns without Question put.

***Sir CHARLES DILKE** said a practical difficulty, if the sitting were not avoided altogether by the plan suggested by the right hon. Gentleman, would be that they would meet without any Orders of the Day having been printed, and they would not know what was the business appointed.

Mr. BUCHANAN said the course which the right hon. Gentleman was going to pursue would be according to the precedent of 1881, when the House met at Tuesday at four o'clock and sat till after two o'clock on Thursday. Mr. Gladstone moved the adjournment of the House on Thursday, and the Wednesday sitting was obliterated, but he reserved the power of asking the House to do more business on Tuesday's Orders, although he did not think it fair to ask the House to proceed with them.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think in substance that precedent is illuminating, but whether the change in our procedure rules since then has made any difference I do not know.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE asked what was to become of Wednesday's Questions. Would there be an instruction to carry them over to Thursday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I should think that would be the convenient course, but it is one on which I can give no ruling. There are two courses, one is for Ministers to whom Questions are addressed to put their Answers on the Paper, and the other is that they should be transferred bodily to Thursday's Paper. It rests with Mr. Speaker, but I should think the House would prefer the second course.

MR. ASQUITH: The right hon. Gentleman has suggested that there is a difficulty owing to the one o'clock rule, but I think not. The rule is that if the House is sitting at one o'clock Mr. Speaker adjourns the House without Question put, unless exempted business is then under consideration. But at one o'clock exempted business was under consideration.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I presume we have got all the satisfaction we can. I therefore will ask leave to withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. LOUGH moved a new clause dealing with the warehousing charges on tea. The object was to remit these charges, the hon. Member said. When they were first imposed in 1850 there was some idea of service being rendered in return for them, but now there were no services rendered. So far as he knew the Customs had not themselves opened any of these warehouses. They were private property, and consequently these charges simply constituted an addition to the Customs duty. There were two clauses on the Paper—his own, and one in the name of the senior Member for Devonport, who had asked him to submit it to the House. His own suggested the abolition of the charges altogether; his hon. friend suggested merely an alteration of them. In reply to a Question he put to the Chancellor of the Exchequer he was informed that last year these charges produced £16,000. Four years ago, before the tea duty was raised, they only amounted to £10,000 or £11,000. This year there had been another increase of the tea duty and the sum of £20,000 would probably be collected. He submitted that that was not fair; on the contrary it was harsh and unjust and for this reason, that the extra amount paid would not arise from the handling of an increased quantity of tea. Less tea was handled last year than four years ago, and it certainly was not likely that more tea would be handled with the duty at 8d. than there was with the duty at 4d. The loss through the abolition of these charges would be very small indeed, and the result would probably be to increase the dealings in tea. With regard to the proposal of his hon. friend, which suggested that it was impossible to deal with tea separately, he thought it was a case of making two bites at a cherry. The whole charge, including tobacco, sugar, wines and spirits, etc. produced less than £50,000. The charges were antiquated and unjust; they were a great imposition on trade, and instead of varying [them] it would be better to abolish them altogether, and he would suggest that alternative to the consideration of the right hon. Gentleman who, he hoped, would make a handsome concession. He begged to move.

New clause. (Charge on delivery of tea from warehouse.)

"Such part of the Customs Tariff Act, 1876, as refers to a charge upon the delivery of tea from any warehouse for home consumption is hereby repealed."—(*Mr. Lough.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON confessed that he was not prepared to go so far as his hon. friend suggested in urging on the Chancellor of the Exchequer the total abolition of the duties. It was only fair that certain charges should be made for services rendered, but that they should not increase proportionately with the duty, seeing that no additional service was involved.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he had had this matter under consideration and he felt some sympathy with the views that had been put forward. But he would be placed in a position of very great difficulty if he made this concession in respect of one article only. On the other hand, he felt it was an additional irritation to the trade that when the duty on an article was raised, automatically this warehousing charge was raised also. He was prepared to accept a new clause standing in the name of the hon. Member for Devonport reducing the present warehousing charges on all goods. He had hoped, to meet the views of the deputation which waited upon him on the subject in another way, but he found that that was not possible.

Mr. LOUGH thanked [the right hon. Gentleman for the handsome concession he had made. He asked leave to withdraw his clause.

Clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. LOUGH next moved the following clause standing in the name of the hon. Member for Devonport.

New clause. (Amendment of 39 and 40 Vic., c. 35.)

"In lieu and instead of the additional rates provided for in The Customs Tariff Act, 1876, there shall be charged upon the delivery of the following goods from any warehouse for home consumption, in addition to the duties of Customs and any other charges thereon, for every one hundred pounds of such duties of Customs payable thereon, the rates following (that is to say):—In respect of tobacco, 1s. 3d.; in respect of other goods, 2s. 6d.; whether such tobacco or other goods shall have been removed to such warehouse under bond or not.'—(*Mr. Kearley.*)

Brought up, and read the first and second time and added to the Bill.

Mr. BUCHANAN next moved a new clause dealing with the amount of permanent annual charge for the National Debt. It was, he said, remarkable that no proposal was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget for the substantial reduction of the Debt, and particularly that part of it due to war expenditure. It was a particularly disappointing Budget, and they might fairly have anticipated that the right hon. Gentleman entering freshly upon office would have been prepared with some scheme by which in the course of the next few years substantial inroads might be made upon the accumulated Debt under which we laboured and particularly of that part which was incurred for the war. No doubt, however, the present state of national finance had prevented him making any substantial proposal. Last year the right hon. Member for Croydon in his Budget suggested various schemes by which within a limited number of years there might be a substantial reduction of the Debt, but they all hinged upon the anticipated receipt from the Transvaal of £30,000,000. The first instalment of that amount was not likely to be paid for some years to come, and he would like to know how far the Chancellor of the Exchequer had reconsidered the subject in view of that fact. This country ought to maintain its claim, both as a matter of justice and in order to enable Parliament to advance some scheme for the reduction of the Debt. There was a very general feeling that some immediate steps must be taken by the right hon. Gentleman to curb the ever-increasing loan expenditure in respect of naval and military works. Here was a separate field of action for the right hon. Gentleman. Some steps ought certainly to be taken by the head of the Treasury to check this constantly increasing loan expenditure. The Public Accounts Committee had made a very strong recommendation on the subject. They had reported that, save for works of a very special and permanent character entailing large expenditure over a long period of years, the present system of aiding naval and military Estimates out of loan money should be discontinued, and the former system of meeting expenditure on new works out of the Estimates of the year reverted to. Referring to the Unfunded Debt, he said it stood at a higher figure than at any previous period in their history. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman in the ensuing year would be able to accept that recommendation in substance. In the course of the last week the Chancellor of the Exchequer had again been in the market and raised two million more Treasury bills, so that they had the total Unfunded Debt standing at £79,133,000. That was the highest figure in the history of the country, and he asked the Chancellor what steps he intended to take to bring about an early diminution of this amount.

New clause (Amount of permanent annual charge for National Debt.)

"The amount of the permanent annual charge for the National Debt during the current and every subsequent financial year shall be the sum of twenty-six million pounds, and 'twenty-six million eight hundred thousand pounds' shall be substituted for 'twenty-seven' in Section six (one) of The Finance Act, 1903."—(*Mr. Buchanan.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he quite appreciated some of the points raised by the hon. Gentleman, but he had unfortunately not supplied himself with such full information as he would like to have done, and he did not like to trust to his memory in the matter of figures. It was, of course, true that the amount of Treasury Bills outstanding at the present time was very considerable. As long as the income-tax stood at so high a figure the Treasury borrowings in the early part of the year must be considerable, and the reason was that a very large proportion of the income-tax was only paid in the last quarter of the year. With regard to the borrowings under the Military and Naval Works Acts, the

Report which had been made upon that subject by the Public Accounts Committee would have to be seriously considered by the Government. It was never intended, he believed, that these borrowings should be a permanent annual charge. They were adopted in the first instance he believed by right hon. Gentlemen opposite at a time when the need for capital expenditure was very great, and works for the Navy had not advanced in proportion to the growth of the Navy, and great arrears had to be made up. The growth of capital expenditure for the Navy and the Army had been such that it would be impossible for the country to bear the enormous burden by annual Votes. He had, however, been in communication with the spending Departments to impress upon them the need at the present time for having recourse as little as possible to borrowings for this purpose, but of course the Committee would understand, when vast contracts were entered upon, it would not be economic to stop half-way, and thus obtain no remunerative return on half-finished work. With regard to the Transvaal war contribution, it would not be in the public interest to discuss the matter in detail, but he looked forward when circumstances were favourable to receiving the promised contribution. With regard to the Sinking Fund, and the question of its adequacy or otherwise, he would like to point out that it represented nearly 1 per cent. on the interest of the Debt. He thought it was not inadequate. He had looked at the figures for 1879, 1884, 1889, 1894, 1899, and 1904, and he had found that only in 1884 and 1894 did the percentage of the Fund stand higher than at present. He quite appreciated the importance of reducing the National Debt, but at the present time, when our burdens were so heavy, he could not have proposed the imposition of fresh taxation for the purpose of increasing the Sinking Fund.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said he, too, was unprepared with figures for that discussion, which he had hardly expected would be reached.

Mr. BUCHANAN said he did not propose to press his clause. He thought, however, it was a question whether 1 per cent. was a fair Sinking Fund for a large Debt like ours.

Clause, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. GEORGE WHITELEY moved a new clause relating to the exemption from income-tax in the case of unregistered friendly societies whose income was less than £160. His object was to place these societies in the position of individuals who were aggregated together.

New clause. (Amendment of 5 and 6 Vic., c. 35, and 59 and 60 Vic., c. 16.)

"Section one hundred and ninety-two of the Income - Tax Act, 1842, shall read as if the words 'and unregistered friendly societies having an income of less than one hundred and sixty pounds a year' were inserted after the word 'corporate.'"

"Section two of the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896, as extended by the Agricultural Rates Act, 1896, etc., Continuance Act, 1901, which authorises certain payments to be made out of the Local Taxation Account and requires the Commissioners of Inland Revenue to pay to the Local Taxation Account, out of the proceeds of the Estate Duty derived in England from personal property, the annual sum required by that section to be paid to that account, shall cease to have effect from and after the thirty-first day of March next after the passing of this Act."—(*Mr. George Whiteley.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

MR. A. K. LOYD (Berkshire, Abingdon) said he had intended to move the Amendment standing in his name, but as the Government, so far as the important concession which they had made went, had practically followed the words of his Amendment, he should not feel justified in detaining the Committee, after so protracted a sitting, with any controversial matters. Two things, however, he wished to have clearly understood. First, that it was not the object of the present Amendment to ask for any new privilege for unregistered societies, but only to put an end to a long-standing injustice and illegality. Secondly, it was not desired in any way to discourage registration. He desired to encourage voluntary registration in every legitimate way. He did not think it a legitimate way of encouraging registration to deprive unregistered societies of income-tax exemptions to which they were legally entitled. The clause, as accepted by the Government, was declaratory and would prevent the continuance of an illegality.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause added to the Bill.

*MR. SCOTT-MONTAGU moved a new clause (standing in the name of the hon. Member for Middlesborough) providing that alcohol which had been suitably denatured and rendered unpotable and was required for motive power, lighting, heating, and manufacturing purposes should be sold without payment of any duty or tax, and that absolute alcohol should also be exempt from duty when employed in manufacturing operations where it could be proved to the Commissioners that denaturing agents would prevent its use. He asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if a Committee could not be appointed to investigate the whole subject. It would be a great advantage to the agricultural community and to manufacturers also.

New clause. (Exemption from duty of alcohol used for motive power.)

"On and after the first day of August, 1904, where it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue that alcohol which has been suitably denatured and rendered unpotable is required for motive power, lighting, heating, and manufacturing purposes, it shall be lawful to sell such spirit without payment of any duty or tax thereon. and further, subject to such regulations as the Commissioners may require for the security of the revenue, absolute alcohol shall also be exempt from duty when employed in manufacturing operations where it can be proved to the Commissioners that denaturing agents would prevent its use-"—(*Mr. Scott-Montagu.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he could not accept the clause as it stood on the Paper, but he would accept the suggestion to have a Committee appointed to look into the matter. He was aware that a great deal of importance was attached to the question, and he agreed that the public should have an opportunity of explaining what it was they wanted as well as an opportunity of learning the facilities which the law provided—facilities which were not so well known as they ought to be. He could not undertake to deal with a point of legislation in the Finance Bill. He would be pleased to consult hon. Members interested as to the terms of reference.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked whether alcohol for motive power would be the only question inquired into by the Committee, or whether the inquiry would be extended to the exemption of alcohol for use in various trades.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I intended the Committee to cover both subjects.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES warned the right hon. Gentleman against agreeing too readily to these exemptions of alcohol. Exemption of one man meant an increased burden on another. The Committee might disclose grievances, of course, but the right hon. Gentleman should not be led away to propose in his next Budget anything in the interest of the motor industries or any other industries. He did not agree with the proposal that spirits which were not drunk should be exempt any more than spirits that were drunk. He could see no greater merit in spirit used for propelling motor-cars than in spirits used for raising the spirits of Members of Parliament during a long all-night sitting.

Clause, by leave, withdrawn

Schedule.

Amendments proposed—

"In page 4, line 27, to leave out the word 'said.'"

"In page 4, line 27, after the word 'provisions,' to insert the words 'applicable thereto.'"

"In page 4, line 33, at end, to insert the words '(5) Notwithstanding anything in Section 1 of The Manufactured Tobacco Act, 1863, drawback on tobacco shall be allowed in respect of fractions of a pound in accordance with the provisions of Section 17 of The Customs Consolidation Act, 1876.'"

"In page 4, line 36, at end, to insert the words, 'and that sub-section shall apply to stalks, shorts, and other refuse of tobacco not of the fineness of snuff.'"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendments agreed to.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said that, speaking on behalf of hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House, he was sure they were all really very much obliged to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the very good-natured and good-humoured way in which he had carried through his Bill under what had been very trying circumstances.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I thank the Committee generally for the courteous way they have treated me during the discussions upon this Bill in Committee.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered upon Friday, and to be printed. [Bill 276.]

ADJOURNMENT.

*MR. SPEAKER: In declaring that this House now stands adjourned, I think it right to say that under the construction which I put upon the Standing Order the adjournment will stand until to-morrow.

And, it being after One of the clock on Wednesday morning, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House, pursuant to the Standing Order, without Question put.

Adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Four o'clock in the afternoon.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 21st July, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Surrey Commercial Dock Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Tottenham Improvement Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

London United Tramways Bill. Read 3^a, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Swindon Corporation Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill. Read 3^a (according to order) with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill. Read 3^a, according to order, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS—I. ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3225. Sweden (Gothenburg).
No. 3226. France (Algeria).
No. 3227. China (Wuchow).

II. MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.

No. 615. Germany (Special Technical Schools for the Ceramic Industries).

No. 616. Fishing trade of the Weser seaports.

ARMY.

(Extensions of Service.) Statement showing the extensions of service, since 1st April, 1904, of men enlisted for three years with the colours (rank and file only) to seven and eight years respectively.

(Special Pensions.) Return, for the year ended the 31st March, 1904, of pensions specially granted under Articles 730, 1173A, and 1207 of the Army Pay Warrant.

PHYSICAL DETERIORATION.

Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Vol. I. Report and appendix.

CENSUS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

General Report, with appendices, 1901.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK.

Annual Report of the President for the Session 1903–1904.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1887 (EVICTION NOTICES).

Return of the number of eviction notices filed during the quarter ended 30th June, 1904.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

POST OFFICE (FOREIGN AND COLONIAL PARCEL POST) STATUTORY RULES AND ORDERS, 1904. No. 1077.

Foreign and Colonial Parcel Post Amendment (No. 10) Warrant, 1904, dated 22nd June, 1904. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

NEW BILL.

POOR LAW AUTHORITIES (TRANSFER OF PROPERTY) BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to make provision for the transfer of property and other matters consequent upon the dissolution of districts and poor law unions or the addition of one poor law union to another, was presented by the Earl Waldegrave (for the Lord Kenyon); read 1^a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a on Tuesday next. (No. 154.)

REGISTRATION OF CLUBS (IRELAND) BILL.

Amendments reported (according to order); and Bill to be read 3^a To-morrow.

PUBLIC HEALTH BILL [H.L.].

Read 3^a (according to order), and passed, and sent to the Commons.

RAILWAYS (PRIVATE SIDINGS) BILL.

Amendment reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3^a To-morrow.

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clauses 1 and 2 agreed to.

Clause 3:—

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 3, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 4:—

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 5 and 6 agreed to.

Clause 7:—

The LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Marquess of **Salisbury**) explained that this clause enabled a limited number of trustees to sign documents on behalf of the whole body. As the clause was at present drawn, two trustees were held to be sufficient, but it had been thought by many persons that greater security would be given if "four" were inserted instead of "two." He therefore moved this.

Amendment moved—

"In page 4, line 3, to leave out the word 'two' and insert the word 'four.'"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Clause 7, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 8 agreed to.

Clause 9:—

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Clause 9, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 10 and 11 agreed to.

Clause 12:—

The Marquess of SALISBURY said that the object of this Amendment was to include India within the purview of the Bill.

Amendment moved—

"In page 5, line 24, to leave out the words 'foreign or colonial,' and in line 25, after the word 'authority' to insert the words 'in any British Possession or foreign country.'"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

On Question, Amendment agreed to.

Drafting Amendments agreed to.

Clause 12, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 13 agreed to.

Clause 14:—

Drafting Amendment agreed to.

Clause 14, as amended, agreed to.

Remaining Clauses agreed to; and Bill reported with Amendments to the House.

The Report of Amendments to be received To-morrow, and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 155.)

REORGANISATION OF THE ARMY.

Lord BURGHCLERE: My Lords, I rise to call attention to the Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War with regard to the reorganisation of the Army, and, if necessary, to move for further Papers on the subject. No one in this House is more conscious than I am that in the remarks which I shall venture to address to you with regard to this Memorandum I shall require the fullest indulgence which your Lordships can give me; but, at the same time, I am equally certain that the subject of this Memorandum, the new Army scheme as put forward by the Secretary of State, is a matter which requires no apology whatever for bringing forward in your Lordships' House. It is a subject of vital interest to the nation at large, and as there seems no indication that His Majesty's Government proposes themselves to make a statement on the subject in this House, or to draw our attention to it, it is only natural that at this waning period of the session we should take the first opportunity that presents itself in order to bring the subject under your Lordships' attention, and to obtain some further elucidation from His Majesty's Government.

In this Memorandum we are invited by the Secretary of State to approach this question outside the arena of Party discussion, and the Secretary of State shows in his Memorandum that if we do not do so there is not much chance of his scheme being a success. I suppose that the Secretary of State means by "outside the arena of Party discussion," that we should put it, as it is called, above Party. That is an ideal to which for my part I am very sympathetic in regard to matters of such high national import as the Navy and Army—I put them in their historical precedence—but, at the same time, political strife and political Party feeling is the very breath of our Parliamentary nostrils, and it is difficult for us when a subject is brought forward by the Government of the day to entirely eliminate from our discussion of it that feeling which is so common to both of the great Parties of the State. But if His Majesty's Government really wish to take us into their confidence and to ask us to assist them, as it were, in the discussion of this scheme of national import, I think it follows as a matter of course that His Majesty's Government should extend to us also their fullest confidence in the matter, that they should lay before us a definite scheme on which they have come to a final opinion, and not ask us to go into council and discuss with them matters on which they themselves, as far as I can see, have not finally arrived at a determination.

Before I venture to criticise in any detail the Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War, I would ask to be allowed, in the first place, to point to several matters in it which are on this side of the House believed to be in the right direction, and for which we have a considerable sympathy. In the first place, I should like to congratulate the Secretary of State on having once and for all exploded the notion that a vast Army on the Continental model is necessary for the defence of this country. I venture to congratulate His Majesty's Government that they have at last arrived at the conclusion that it is not necessary to have a great number of Army Corps, millions of men, and all the paraphernalia of a vast Continental Army in order to defend frontiers which do not exist, or to repulse vast bodies of invaders who cannot possibly land on our shores. I am delighted to find that His Majesty's Government have at last come the conclusion that a huge Army on this Continental method is a proposition which our insular position does not demand from us as a necessity, and which our financial position forbids us as a luxury.

In the second place, I wish to congratulate His Majesty's Government and the Secretary of State on their desire in the direction of economy, on their recognition that economy is necessary in our national expenditure, and that, if we are to economise, the War Office is one of the great spending Departments in which economies can rightly and properly be made. I am sure your Lordships will agree that vast as are the resources of this great country, and great as is our financial position, yet with this enormous burden of expenditure which, year after year, is increasing upon our shoulders, the time must arrive when there will be a limit to that expenditure. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that economy should be effected in some direction or another, and I am glad to put upon record that His Majesty's Government have to-day considered the Army and the War Office as departments in which economy may be justly exercised. That is a proposition which we accept on this side of the House, and I am sure that successive Governments will not forget it when they come into office.

I am one of those who fully recognise that the Army and the Navy are our national insurances against national disaster, and that great as may be the burden of taxation that may fall upon our shoulders in order to keep these insurances in proper state, yet at the same time the burden of disaster which might fall upon us in the event of defeat would be even greater than the burden of taxation we now have to bear if that taxation is put upon the proper shoulders. I recognise that in the War Office, as in every great Department, inefficiency has in the past spelt waste and extravagance, and that efficiency, which is what, I suppose, the Secretary of State aims at by this scheme, may in the future spell economy without any danger to the State. I have not finished my list of congratulations yet. I wish also to congratulate the Secretary of State on having definitely, and, as I believe, for all time, laid the bogey of compulsory service in our Army in this country. That is a spectre of which we have seen a good deal in the country of late, and I think occasionally it has flitted somewhat fitfully through your Lordships' Chamber; but I think we may now take it for granted, after this statement of the Government, that once and for all the system of compulsory service, and, possibly, the system of the Ballot Act, has been done away with as regards this country for all time.

I am sure we all have great sympathy with the doctrine that every able-bodied citizen of a certain age should be called upon to defend his country against those who invade it; but, at the same time, I think that the history of this country shows that, while our people are prepared to carry out that doctrine, they wish that the service should be a voluntary one and not a compulsory one. I remember only the other day hearing my noble friend Lord Wemyss, in a debate which took place in this House, tell us, wishing to show that the Ballot Act was much easier for the people than conscription, that conscription is like shooting people down wholesale whilst the Ballot Act is only decimating them. If that is the best case that can be made out for compulsory service by those who support it, then I do not think it will commend itself to the country.

But there is one overwhelming reason why compulsory service is not fitting to this country, and that is the limited size of our Army. On the Continent conscription means that every citizen has to pass through the army, but in this country, if I understand the well-meaning efforts of my friends who are in favour of conscription, they say that our recruiting system has broken down—they may be right—that we therefore want to supplement the present recruiting system by a body of people who will reinforce our regiments, and that as they do not come voluntarily we must get them compulsorily. But that is not conscription. You cannot pick out a certain number of men and say they shall join. That is the press gang, not conscription. Conscription means that every man in the country must serve, and then it follows that the expense that would be entailed would raise the cost of the Army to about three times its present cost. We have gratefully to acknowledge that His Majesty's Government have once and for all put an end to that bogey, and we need not fear for the future that recourse will be had to it.

Lord Burghclere.

I now come to the Memorandum of the Secretary of State, which, in my humble opinion, is founded upon one doctrine—a doctrine with which we, on this side, I believe, have the completest sympathy. I refer to what it called the theory of the "blue water school." I need not explain to your Lordships what the theory of the blue water school really is. What it comes to is this, that the supremacy of our Fleet renders it only necessary for us to maintain an Army here to protect us against accidental raids. It is not necessary to maintain a huge Army, because invasion in force is impossible under modern conditions. I think there is a good deal to be said for that. Personally I should be very sorry to be on board an enemy's flotilla, anchored off the coast of England. With our present system of destroyers in the channel, our present torpedo system, and our submarine boats, I do not think that there can be any doubt what would happen to such a flotilla.

The adoption of the theory of the blue water school is the absolute bed-rock foundation of the whole system of the Secretary of State for War. For my part I welcome it, but I am bound to say that it is a momentous decision. It is the first time, I believe, that any Government has given its official sanction to the doctrine of the blue water school. It is a momentous decision, and it must have in the future very far-reaching effects. Incidentally, the adoption of that theory will bring about a co-ordination between the two great Departments—the War Office on the one hand, and the Admiralty on the other. The man in the street has for a long time past thought, rightly or wrongly, and, I believe, rightly, that with regard to the defence of these islands, the schemes of the War Office and the Admiralty have practically been in water-tight compartments, one of them, the Admiralty, saying we can rest for the defence of these shores on the Navy, and the other, the War Office, saying that we cannot rest on the Navy but must have a huge Army. I think that incidentally the adoption of the theory of the blue water school has brought about a very great benefit both in the matter of the efficiency of the public service and the economy of our national expenditure.

The theory of the blue water school is the bed-rock principle, in my humble opinion, upon which this scheme is founded. What does the Secretary of State propose? He is able, by adopting this theory, to propose a reduction of what he calls an enormous Army. He is able to propose that we should have two smaller efficient armies, and he is able to propose for the first time a great economy of expenditure owing to the reduction in the number of men. He is going, as I understand it, to create two systems—one for general service abroad and one which he calls a territorial Army at home. There are many, I know, who wish to address your Lordships on this subject to-night who will speak with greater authority than myself, and I will, therefore, confine the few remarks that I still have to make to the territorial Army which the Secretary of State proposes to create, and to the infantry of that Army, to which he himself principally refers.

I gather from the speech of the Secretary of State, and the Memorandum, that in the creation of this Army he proposes to have thirty-eight Regular battalions of the Line only—battalions 500 strong, instead of 800. They are to have their full complement of officers so that in case of a general war these battalions can be raised to their full war strength without having to import other officers. And to that—and this is the principal point I wish to raise—the Secretary of State proposes to add a certain number of battalions from the Militia. If I understand his scheme correctly, the men in those battalions from the Militia are to become Regular soldiers under all the conditions of the Line at the present moment. In other words, they are to belong to the territorial Army and will be bound to go abroad in the event of serious war, and serve in exactly the same manner as the Regular Army. I venture to think I shall be able to show to your Lordships that as the theory of the blue water school is the bed-rock foundation of the scheme of the Secretary of State, so the absorption and consequent partial abolition of the Militia is the only means by which he can carry out that reduction of the Army and that economy which he undoubtedly has at heart.

The territorial Army is to be smaller, of course, and is to be more efficient. The whole scheme of the Secretary of State is to have a smaller Army, an efficient Army, and to bring about economy, and it follows as a matter of course that if he really wishes to be economical, and, at the same time, to have an efficient Army, he must cut his territorial Army down to what I will venture to call an effective minimum. That is to say, everybody who belongs to that Army must be an effective soldier, and must be prepared to serve abroad when called upon. That I consider to be the pivot of the right hon. Gentlemen's scheme—the absorption and abolition of certain battalions of Militia. By that the scheme rises or falls. I do not think it is possible to carry out this scheme. Of course, you may bring in another scheme containing, perhaps, many of the advantages which the right hon. Gentleman has in his Memorandum, but this particular scheme on which we are invited by His Majesty's Government to give our countrymen advice, hangs entirely on the absorption and the abolition of the Militia as we understand the Militia.

I do not wonder that His Majesty's Government hesitated to give their assent to so sweeping a change as this. The history of the Militia is one which I am sure the people of this country look upon with honour and respect. The traditions of that ancient citizen Army are revered by every one who knows the history of this country. The Government naturally hesitated, as I say, to abolish the Militia; but if they thought it vital to the scheme that the Militia should be absorbed or abolished, then I think His Majesty's Government should have put the safety of the country even before the sentiment of the people, brought in a whole-hearted scheme embodying the wishes and the intentions of the Secretary of State, and assented to the absorption of certain Militia battalions and to the abolition of those that were unnecessary. But, if they thought that was wrong, as it may be, they should not have put this scheme before the country; they should have waited some time. If they were not prepared to go the length of the Secretary of State and give every chance to his scheme to be carried in its entirety and with every possibility of success, then for the sake of the country they ought to have put forward another scheme and one founded on a different principle altogether.

I suppose this Memorandum is an official document. It is rather unusual that a speech made in another place by a Minister should be issued as an official document; but that is a matter of no concern. I find in this summary, with regard to the territorial Army, to which, as I have said, I shall mainly confine my remarks, that the Secretary of State informs us on his own authority, and with the assent, I suppose, of his colleagues, that the making of a true territorial Army is dependent upon the amalgamation of the Militia with the Line. That is to say, the abolition of the Militia, as we know it, is the only way in which to bring about a true territorial Army, and that can only be done "if public opinion will allow." But how is His Majesty's Government going to find out whether public opinion will allow or not? Are they going to send a *referendum* to the constituencies during the recess? Are they going to start a league for getting the citizens of this country to allow them to abolish the Militia; or are they going to take their opinions from some of the popular journals of the day? I venture to think that the only way in which a responsible Government can arrive at what public opinion will allow or not is to lay before both Houses of Parliament a definite, final, and reasoned scheme by which the Government are prepared to stand or fall, and not by circulating a Paper of this indefinite nature.

The fact of the matter is, the abolition of the Militia, whether it be right or wrong, is the foundation of the Secretary of State's scheme, and the insertion of "if public opinion will allow," was a concession, I suppose, to those who did not agree with him when the matter was discussed. If it is to be left in that nebulous and unsatisfactory state you are going to raise a huge superstructure of vital and great importance to the country upon a foundation which the Government themselves consider absolutely unsettled. Let us consider what will happen. If public opinion will allow, we are to have a true territorial Army, but how are we to get the reduction of forces and the economy of expenditure? I suppose the Secretary of State will go on creating his territorial Army, which must be an efficient Army, and, above all, it must be an Army which is bound to serve abroad whenever wanted. I do not think that either the Duke of Norfolk's Commission or the Secretary of State left us in any doubt that the position of the Militia at the present time is not an effective one, and the Secretary of State draws our attention to the fact that the Militia is not bound to serve abroad. We know that, much to their honour and glory, they have volunteered in great numbers in the past, but if you are going to create an effective minimum of a territorial Army, every person in it must be efficient and prepared to go abroad and serve abroad if necessary. The Militia are not bound to serve abroad, and I deduce from that that the Secretary of State will leave the Militia and say we are to have a territorial Army from which we are to get economy of expenditure, plus the Militia, which will be maintained at a certain strength in order to supply the Army with recruits every year. I contend that that is a very expensive way for the nation to get its recruits.

There is one other condition which I fancy is in the mind of His Majesty's Government, and probably of the Secretary of State. If public opinion will not allow this at the present moment, says the Secretary of State, he thinks public opinion might allow it nine months or a year hence. How will that affect the reduction of expenditure? You will have your territorial Army formed; the Secretary of State will have spent public money on improving the Militia force; and if a year hence public opinion will allow this proposal, then all this money which has been spent upon the Militia in order to bring it to an effective state, plus the territorial Army, will be thrown away. Whatever our opinion may be as to the retention or abolition of the Militia, there can be no question that the scheme of the Government rests entirely on the abolition of the Militia and the amalgamation of certain Militia battalions with the Regular Line forces.

I really placed this Notice on the Paper, not for the purpose of giving any final criticism on the scheme as a whole, but for the purpose of obtaining from His Majesty's Government some further elucidation of what I venture to think is a difficult document to understand, and also of evoking in your Lordships' House the opinions and counsels of many noble Lords who are so well qualified to speak on questions affecting the Army. No doubt we shall have a speech from the noble Earl the Under-Secretary. He will, I am sure, agree with me that on this side of the House at any rate, his efforts and his ability during the short time he has been at the War Office have not been unappreciated; but there is another in this House who can speak with even greater authority on the subject. I allude to the noble Marquess the Leader of the House. The noble Marquess speaks with an authority in the Government second only to the Prime Minister. He speaks with authority in this House, being its Leader, but he speaks with special authority on this particular subject because he himself has administered the great Department of the War Office during a time of special stress and special difficulty. How great that stress and difficulty were the Government themselves have confessed by the appointment of the Esher Committee and Lord Elgin's Commission, and by this second scheme which they have put forward in four years. Therefore, I venture to hope we shall not be deprived in this debate of the counsel and advice of the noble Marquess the Leader of the House.

As I have said, we have been called upon by the Secretary of State to throw aside all Party feeling on this subject. If the Government will give us their real opinion, if they will give us a scheme which represents their final opinion on this subject, then I do say, with regard to such questions as the Army and Navy and national defence, they are subjects on which we should try to rise above Party feeling; and if we receive from the Government a scheme of the description I have mentioned, though we are bound on this side to criticise minutely such a scheme, still our criticism in those circumstances would take the form rather of assistance and amendment than an endeavour to attack and destroy. It was in that spirit that I put down this Notice, and it is in that spirit that I have ventured to commend it to your Lordships.

LORD DENMAN: My Lords, as it is not often that I avail myself of the privilege of addressing your Lordships' House, I trust I may claim your attention for a few moments in this debate. First of all, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the somewhat peculiar attitude in which it stands in regard to the matter of Army reform. Your Lordships will recollect that it is some eighteen months ago since we discussed Mr. Brodrick's scheme of Army reform in this House. Your Lordships expressed your approval of that scheme by a majority of, roughly, I think, four to one. In the light of recent events it is a little difficult to understand how this scheme was passed by such a large majority. Whether it was due to something peculiarly seductive in the term Army Corps, or whether it was due to the persuasiveness of my noble friends Lord Waldegrave and Lord Churchill, I do not know; but, at any rate, I know that that scheme was passed by this very large majority. And now what do we find from the statement of the Secretary of State himself? We find that as a result of this scheme the Army is imperfectly prepared for war, is wasteful in its methods, is unsatisfactory in its results, and is one of the most machines ever devised. That is the statement of the Secretary of State for War in another place. I do not wish to dwell further on this aspect of the question except to express a hope that in your next attempt to deal with this question of Army reform your Lordships will meet with better success.

The next event in the military world after that discussion in your Lordships' House was the issue of the Report of the Esher Committee. That Report has already been called attention to in this House by the Duke of Bedford, and has been fully discussed, so I will not say more than that it is a matter of doubt to many people besides myself how a Committee consisting, as this one did, of an energetic sailor, a retired soldier, and a distinguished courtier and retired man of business, was able to effect a complete reformation of the whole of the War Office organisation in so short a time as three months. If you wished to reform any other Department, say, the Inland Revenue or the Admiralty, I do not believe you would expect a detailed reform in that short time. Although, no doubt, many of the reforms instituted by that Committee are such as will commend themselves to your Lordships' House; still, I cannot help thinking that some of the minor reforms will be found difficult to work.

Since the publication of the Report of the Esher Committee the War Office has been in a state of chaos, for after that came the War Office deluge. Officers of European reputation were dismissed from their appointments wholesale. Some of these were forthwith put upon the shelf; others were subjected to a treatment not wholly dissimilar from that accorded to another distinguished soldier of a bygone age. I allude to that gallant and harshly treated officer Uriah the Hittite. Some of these officers have been sent to the scene of war in the Far East, and I hope that in their capacity as military attachés they will escape the inconveniences occasionally incidental to being placed in the forefront of battle. These officers, as I say, were summarily dismissed. Your Lordships in dismissing a servant or retainer, in dismissing, say, a groom of the chambers or a footman, give at least one month's notice. It is a matter for regret that similar courtesy could not have been extended to officers who had spent the greater part of their lives in His Majesty's service.

Lord Denman.

These, as Lord Rosebery once said, are questions of taste and temperament. I will not deal further with them except to touch on one case, that of General Nicholson. It is, I believe, a matter of common knowledge that General Nicholson is the ablest intelligence officer in our Army to-day. As an intelligence officer it has been his duty to draw up schemes and memorandums for War Office reforms and for Army reorganisation. It is also, I believe, no secret that General Nicholson provided many of the memorandums for the Esher Committee upon which they acted, and I put it to your Lordships whether it is not rather hard that the authorities should take a man's memorandums, his schemes, and use the outlines laid down, and then, instead of giving this officer a chance of tendering his advice on the details of his schemes, send him thousands of miles away where his advice cannot be obtained. I am not speaking on behalf of General Nicholson personally. No doubt he prefers being in Japan or anywhere else to being in the War Office at the present time. But it does seem to me, in the interests of this country, false economy to send the greatest expert we have on Army reorganisation out of the country at the very time when his services are most required.

Some months after the Report of the Esher Committee was issued, there came the Report of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission. I do not propose to discuss the vexed question of conscription or compulsory service. In my humble judgment the question of compulsory service is altogether outside the domain of practical politics to-day, but I cannot quite agree with my noble friend Lord Burghclere in his acquiescence in the statement of Mr. Arnold-Forster that the introduction of conscription would add some £25,000,000 to the Army Estimates. I do not think that was a correct or a fair statement to make. I had hoped that the Duke of Norfolk would have been in his place to-day to have given us his views on this question, because it is a totally incorrect statement to have made. Mr. Arnold-Forster, in alluding to this subject, also seemed to go out of his way to cast a doubt upon the industry of your Lordships' House; but that is not the matter to which I wish to allude. I do not think it was a fair argument to use to say that the introduction of compulsory service would add this large sum to the Army Estimates. It would probably cost very little more than our present system. I do not state this in defence of the Duke of Norfolk or his colleagues, who I am well aware are perfectly able to defend themselves; but I would like to cite it as an instance of the treatment which is generally accorded now-a-days to anybody connected with the Auxiliary Forces. Whether you serve in the Yeomanry, the Volunteers, or the Militia—and it applies especially to the Militia—you cannot escape being snubbed by the powers that be.

I should like to go into detail in the case of the Militia. That force sent 43,000 men to the war in South Africa. Since their return from that country they have been ignored or neglected, except when some highly placed officer has gone out of his way to snub them. How can you, therefore, wonder that the Militia is 30,000 below strength to-day? In South Africa I was on trek with a Militia battalion. I have seen the work of several Militia battalions in the war, and though I do not pretend, nor would any Militia officer lay claim, that the Militia battalions can be rated so high as the Line battalions, yet the particular Militia battalion with whom I went on trek would well stand comparison with some of our Regular battalions in the service. Therefore, I trust that His Majesty's Government will go most carefully into this question before they do anything to merge this force into the Line, or to abolish it altogether. Under this new scheme the immediate future of the Militia connot be described as very bright, for what naturally will happen is this: that a great many of those men who would formerly have enlisted in the Militia will now enlist in the short-service home Army. Therefore, I am afraid that unless some active steps are taken the Militia is bound to be still further reduced in numbers, and then I think it is possible that the threats of the Secretary of State for War against this force may be carried out.

. I will only add one word with regard to the rest of the scheme. The Army, General Lyttelton told us the other day, is in the melting pot. It has remained for so long in the melting pot that it has shown unmistakable signs of melting away altogether. Now, at last, it is tenderly, carefully, possibly I may say tentatively, withdrawn from the melting pot, a poor bedraggled creature, I fear, in comparison with the gaudy, pretentious article that went into the melting pot some months ago. I have read with interest the criticisms which have appeared of Mr. Arnold-Forster's scheme. I cannot share the pessimism of my noble friend Lord Wemyss, who said, or is reported to have said, that the whole scheme was only another castle in the air. I do not think that that is quite a fair view to take.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: I said that it had no foundation.

LORD DENMAN: I have also read the comments in the Berlin and Paris Press. I find it stated that Germany has ceased to take British Army schemes seriously, and the Paris journals also fail to take any editorial notice of the new scheme. Yet in my humble judgment there is very much in this scheme that is good. For instance, there is the abolition of drafts from home battalions to foreign-service battalions, there is the enlargement and improvement of our depots, and there are many other points in this scheme which I believe will work wholly for the good of the service. But there is one grave defect, a defect so grave that I cannot overlook it. According to the new system you will want some 20,000 men annually for your drafts for the foreign-service Army. You pay the men in your foreign-service Army, I believe, 1s. 6d. a day. I am not quite sure whether I am right.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Earl of DONOUGHMORE): Yes, after six months service.

LORD DENMAN: You have already seen the three-years system break down at that rate of pay, and it is a well-known fact that the longer the period the more men dislike it. Therefore, it will be impossible for you to get the number of recruits you want for your foreign-service Army unless you greatly increase the rate of pay. This question of recruiting is a very serious one. In fact, it is the most serious with which we have to deal. In or about the year B.C. 1670, as far as my biblical knowledge goes, a nation not wanting in astuteness discovered to their cost that it was impossible to make bricks without straw. Here, in the year of our Lord, 1904, the Government of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen appears to ignore the fact that it is impossible to have an Army without men. Unless you raise the pay of these men to somewhere about 2s. or 2s. 6d. a day, I venture to think you will certainly not get them; and if you do raise their pay to this figure, what, then, is to become of your Army Estimates? There are other smaller defects in this scheme with which I will not weary your Lordships by discussing to-day. In conclusion, I will venture to make a personal appeal to the Under-Secretary. I fear that from my somewhat outspoken criticisms he is not likely to be well disposed towards myself, but I make this appeal to him, not as a Member of this House, but as a member of the Army Council. It seems to me that as a member of that Council he has more power and more influence than any of his predecessors in his office. He has shown us in this House this session, as my noble friend Lord Burghclere has said, that he possesses considerable ability and considerable persuasive powers. I ask him to look into this question of recruiting for himself. I ask him to go into it and give it his fullest attention, and to urge upon his colleagues the necessity of taking it up at once. If he and his colleagues can solve this question, then I say that no praise will be too high for them. But if they fail, then it is quite certain that this scheme will be merely another of those kaleidoscopic changes which have been such failures in recent years and which will prove equally futile in the future.

Earl ROBERTS: My Lords, the question under debate to-day is of such supreme importance to the Army and to the nation at large that I most earnestly hope it will not be decided upon without

the most careful consideration and investigation. I have always been in favour of progress and reform in the Army, and I will continue to advocate any change which, in my opinion, will tend to make the profession to which I have the honour to belong as efficient as it is possible to be. But, my Lords, I would remind you that change does not always spell efficiency or improvement. I believe that the Army is now suffering from an endeavour hastily to respond to the uninformed and irresponsible clamour for change that came after the war in South Africa. Any change now made in the same hasty manner may make things worse than they are at present. Reform, I admit, is undoubtedly needed, but it must be most carefully thought out. It is not advisable to take up this large scheme of reform at the fag end of the session, when there is no time for full examination. There are many points in the Secretary of State's scheme which commend themselves to me; but there are others which do not commend themselves to me, and which I believe would be detrimental to the interests of the Army. At any rate, I think it is most desirable that we should know exactly what the effects of these changes will be in the Army before they are carried out. The Royal Commission presided over by the Earl of Elgin clearly showed our shortcomings—shortcomings which it is our bounden duty to endeavour to remedy. But whatever those shortcomings may be, I would remind your Lordships that the Army of the present day is vastly superior to the Army in the time of the Crimean War. I venture to say that it would not have been possible for the Army of 1855 to have carried to a satisfactory conclusion the war of 1899–1902. It behoves us, therefore, to be very cautious in accepting changes—changes which, to a very great extent, are contrary to the reforms which enabled us to be successful in South Africa.

*Viscount HARDINGE: My Lords, I think the problem we have to solve at the present moment as regards the Army is how to procure the men we require, not only in the matter of numbers but also in the matter of intelligence and physique; that is to say, how we can induce the pick of the manhood of the nation, not the dregs of it which we have hitherto had in our Army, to join the ranks of His Majesty's forces. As my noble friend Lord Denman truly said, it is but a short time ago that Mr. Brodrick, the then Secretary of State for War, told us that he could very easily fill up the Army by having a short service of three years, with the promise of a further increase if willing to extend for a longer period, and thereby being available for service abroad. He further stated that he would grant the soldier all sorts of indulgences. He promised that he would do away as much as he possibly could with garrison guards and regimental guards, thereby reducing very considerably that hateful thing to the soldier, sentry-go; that he would allow well-behaved men to sleep out of barracks; that in all new barracks cubicles should be provided for the men, and also that soldiers when they pass the recruits' course should have free messing, for which in former years they were charged 3d. per day. In spite of all these inducements we find that the men are not forthcoming.

In order to keep our forces abroad up to their proper establishment, the Government are paying large sums of money in bounties to induce men to extend their service. This is an expensive procedure. It gives us, no doubt, splendid men of fine physique, but it must not be forgotten that this procedure is greatly reducing the Reserve of the Army. When the Secretary of State for War is devising some scheme for getting the men he requires for the Army, I cannot understand why he does not ask himself why there is no difficulty in getting good men for the cavalry, notwithstanding the fact that the duties of the cavalry are double those of their brothers in arms, the infantrymen. In my opinion, the answer is perfectly plain. The smart uniform of the mounted forces is what induces smart men to join. That being the case, why is it not possible to invent some smart uniform for the infantry of the Line? Up to now, to use an expression one often hears used in the Army, the uniform can only be called shoddy, and it has prevented smart men from joining the Army.

Another important inducement and encouragement to good men to come into the Army would be a declaration by the Government that in future appointments in the Civil administration would be open to men who had served their country well in the Army and Navy. Perhaps this is a problem with which the Secretary of State is thinking of dealing, for he alluded in his speech the other day to the employment of Reservists. He, however, told us in that speech that he hoped to get men for the Army by allowing them to enlist for two years and to serve longer in the Reserve. No doubt he will get those men and be able to form a very large Reserve; but, as Lord Denham said just now, I do not believe he will get the 20,000 long-service recruits that he will require very nearly every year in order to fill up the ranks of the long-service Army. For that reason I adhere to what I said last week, that the true solution of the recruiting difficulty is some form of compulsory service for home defence. I say this in spite of Mr. Arnold-Foster's figures as to the cost, which I venture to say are absolutely inaccurate. I think that the saving would be immense, whilst the indirect economic gain to the nation is such that no people without it can hope in these and days to come to hold a high position amongst the nations of the world.

I now pass to the Militia, to which I have the honour to belong, and I must candidly confess that I do not understand the proposals of the Secretary of State with regard to this force. I am glad to think, however, that he has been induced to reconsider the case of the Militia, which I confidently believe he had a very strong idea of abolishing. I do not think that the War Minister is to be congratulated on the tone of his references to the defects and deficiencies of the Militia—defects and deficiences for which the War Office has itself long been responsible. Apparently he thinks otherwise, and I suppose it is for this reason that these rumours have been floating about with regard to the abolition of the Militia. I am glad to think that the noble Marquess the Leader of this House, who has himself been a distinguished War Minister, does not think the Militia responsible for its defects, for speaking in your Lordships' House the other day he said—

> "I am bound to confess that it seems to me that the Auxiliary Forces have not sufficiently received the consideration for many years past which we have certainly of late desired to give them."

I entirely agree with the noble Marquess in that statement, and I venture to hope that he, in conjunction with other noble Lords in His Majesty's Government who command Militia Regiments, will see that this old constitutional force is not unfairly dealt with. I trust that the Under-Secretary of State will explain what is proposed to be done with this force, as the uncertainty which at present hangs over it is most unfair to officers, non-commissioned officers, and men.

Lord HENEAGE: My Lords, I hope I may be allowed for a few moments to deal with one or two of the points in the Memorandum which require explanation. I was exceedingly glad to hear my noble friend Lord Burghclere say that he considered that money spent on the Army and Navy was a national insurance, and that he does not grudge money well spent on those forces. I cannot, however, entirely agree with him when he says that Mr. Arnold-Forster's scheme is based solely upon the theory of the blue water school, because I find it distinctly stated in the Memorandum that if we have the command of the sea we can prevent any invading army landing, and that if we have not the command of the sea it will not be necessary for an army to land as the enemy could starve us into submission. That is the practical view of the question. If we lose the command of the sea, it will not take three months, with the amount of bread and flour there is in this country, to compel us into submission. Therefore, the one great thing is to prevent the Navy from losing that power, to keep it up to its full strength. I do not think we want a very large Army for home defence.

The foundation of Mr. Arnold-Forster's scheme is to be found in the abolition of the linked battalion system, with all its evil effects on the Line and on the Militia, and the division of the Army into a general-service and a home-service Army. There can be no doubt that Mr. Arnold-Forster's condemnation of the linked battalion system was unequivocal and complete, and I believe it was absolutely justified. This system has ruined the Army and destroyed the traditions of many regiments in the Army, and now we are told by the Secretary of State for War that it only causes confusion and inconvenience and does not work. It is not the Army alone that has been affected by this linked battalion system. By it the Militia has been turned into merely a nursery for the Line. I should like to know whether it was not the Militia that did practically the whole of the good work during the late war. They were called upon from start to finish. All their best men were taken away from them, and as soon as they had recruited and got up to strength again, men were again taken away from them. I know regiments which volunteered for service in South Africa two or three times over. They had recruited up to their strength each time, and thought themselves perfectly qualified to go, but time after time, just after they had volunteered, recruiting sergeants came down and took away the men for the Line, and they were left without their full complement to enable them to go.

Then you have the depot system, which has been the greatest injury to the Militia. Militia recruits and Army recruits were drilled side by side by the same sergeant and under the same adjutant, who were both under the district colonel. All their inclinations led them to do everything they could to get the men to go into the Line, and not to think very much about the Militia. In addition to that, it was to their interest to do so, because every sergeant who obtained a recruit for the Militia got 2s. 6d., and after drilling him and making him an effective Militiaman he got an extra 1s. 6d. if he induced him to go into the Line. Therefore, I say it is high time that the linked battalion system was got rid of.

After this unmitigated condemnation by the Secretary of State for War of the linked battalion system, which I maintain is perfectly true, why is there a reservation for the preservation of the "valuable features" of that system? I do not know what those valuable features are. It is said that this is done for the purpose of enabling exchange of officers and men, but that is unnecessary. If the officers and men wish to exchange they can do so, and, unless you are proposing to put the home battalions in the same position that the Militia have been in under the linked battalion system, I do not see why you want to keep this system for that purpose. But there is another reason why you should not perpetuate this unpopular system. According to the scheme of Mr. Arnold-Forster, you are to have large depots and a home-service army. That renders the keeping up of the linked battalion system, even in the smallest degree, altogether unnecessary. It appears to me that one of the essential proposals in Mr. Arnold-Forster's scheme is that there must be a barracks in every county, otherwise you will have nowhere for the territorial regiment to be placed. There are several of the largest counties in England without barracks from one end to the other, and, therefore, there is the question of building new barracks; and in several counties where there are barracks the buildings have been long condemned. With regard to cavalry barracks, there is hardly a single one in England which will hold a whole regiment. There are about four, I believe, in the United Kingdom—one in Ireland, one at Aldershot, one at York, and the other at Edinburgh, but at Edinburgh there is not sufficient ground for the troops to be trained on. Therefore, this barrack question looms very largely in this scheme, although very little has been said about it up to the present time. As we all know, bricks and mortar are very costly, and I should like to know where the money is to come from. If you do not have barracks in every county the whole of the home Army scheme falls to the ground. Therefore, I press for some information with regard to the barrack system.

I have the greatest confidence in my old friend the Secretary of State for War. I believe he has given for many years the closest attention to Army questions, and I am sure he will never allow individual opinions or fads to outweigh what he believes to be for the benefit of the service. But I hope he will not minimise the difficulties of bringing forward this new scheme. I do not approach this scheme myself in any unfriendly spirit, but I agree entirely with the noble and gallant Field-Marshal that this is a question which cannot be considered in a hurry.

There is one other question to which I wish to allude, and it is perhaps the most difficult question for all, namely, that of the Militia. The home-service Army must be formed on one of two principles—either strictly on Army lines or strictly on a Militia basis. You must level the Militia up, or, if you do not, the old constitutional force will disappear. It is quite impossible to have a home-service Regular Army and a Militia Army as an auxiliary force, both of them together in the county. They would destroy one another for all recruiting purposes. According to the Secretary of State's scheme, there will be about thirty-two, thirty-five, or thirty-eight battalions, or, as I would prefer to call them, regiments, more than will be required for the general-service Army abroad. The question, therefore, appears to me to be this, whether these regiments are to be abolished or to be made into the home-service Army. If they are retained, then the Militia must be reduced in numbers. I the Militia are to remain exactly on the same footing, then it is quite clear that these regiments will have to be abolished.

I have looked very carefully into this scheme of the Secretary of State for War, and while I do not at all like the idea of doing away with the old constitutional force, the Militia, I admit that there is a great deal to be said for what he has proposed. It must be perfectly clear to everyone that a large number of the present Militia regiments will have to be done away with. Some of them have hardly any men at all; others have hardly any officers. They must be absolutely reorganised; and after doing away with those that can hardly be said to really exist, and amalgamating others, there will be very few regiments indeed which might not be brought up to the standard of a home-service Army. I do not believe for a moment that Militia regiments would refuse to be enlisted for service abroad in case of war. I believe they would volunteer in any circumstances, and I do not think they need be put on a different footing from that of the other regiments I have mentioned.

With regard to the men I do not think there will be any great difficulty, but there will be a great difficulty when you come to the officers. You are to have about twenty officers of the Army in each of these territorial regiments, as they are called in the Memorandum, and you are to have, besides them, ten officers of Militia. I cannot help thinking that these ten Militia officers will be looked upon in the regiments of the future as the Militia recruits are now looked upon by the Army recruits—as half soldiers; and I think so all the more for the reason that it appears to be one of the conditions to be laid down that the Militia officers who join these regiments can never look forward to either becoming second in command or commanding the regiments. I hope this question will be considered. I cannot see why Militia officers should not be allowed to be second in command, or to command regiments, provided they have made themselves efficient, have passed examinations, and are recommended by those in authority over them. I am certain that if you want to make the regiments popular and to get recruits in the different counties, you must have those regiments commanded by local men. I do not think the professional soldier is looked upon with very great favour by the men who join the Militia.

I believe it will be quite possible to make the staff of the Militia regiments more efficient than it is. It is the staff of the Militia regiments which has let them down so much in the past. Why should not one of the majors of every Militia regiment be a staff major and assist the colonel in command during that portion of the year when the whole regiment is not out? According to Mr. Arnold-Forster's scheme the recruits in these territorial regiments are for the first two years to be at the barracks all the year round. I am quite certain that none of the officers who give their services in the Militia can afford to give their time all the year round, but if you had a staff officer who could drill the recruits and be responsible for their efficiency, this difficulty would be got over.

I have made these suggestions in no unfriendly spirit, but with a view to contributing something to the threshing out of this matter. When the Under-Secretary comes to reply I will ask him the Questions standing in my name on the Paper—namely, whether the linked battalion system is to be entirely abolished, and whether under the present proposals of the Government those regiments which were deprived of their regimental numbers and traditions under the linked battalion system will now have their numbers restored to them, together with their regimental *status* and traditions; secondly, whether the Government will consider in any proposals for the construction of new barracks the desirability and advantage of erecting them in those counties where there is now no barrack accommodation for either cavalry, artillery, or infantry; and, thirdly, whether the Secretary for War will further consider the strong feeling in favour of the Militia retaining their traditional character and name, whilst giving them a distinct and improved staff, who shall be responsible for the drilling of both officers and recruits as well as for recruiting purposes, together with other practical suggestions for restoring the former prestige of the Militia as recommended by the Royal Commission.

Lord LOVAT: My Lords, the noble Lord who initiated this discussion stated that the question of the Militia was the pivot on which this system would stand or fall. I beg entirely to agree with what he said, and I ask your Lordships' permission to say a few words on the question whether the Militia should be ended or mended. I think I am justified in asking your Lordships' attention to this subject because on page 12 of Mr. Arnold-Forster's Memorandum he makes this statement—

> "A change upon this magnitude can only come about after much fuller public discussion than has yet been given to it."

The greatest argument against the Militia as at present constituted is that no scheme could be made by the Intelligence Department or any other department, because of the uncertainty of whether the Militiamen would or would not consent to serve abroad. By forming the Militia into territorial regiments you at all events know how many men you have got to deal with and to go abroad in a national emergency.

The second point against the Militia as it is at present constituted is the question of officers. I would like to show how the company officers stand in the ordinary Militia regiments at the present moment. You should have in your battalions eight companies and twenty officers. The Militia are deficient of a quarter of their officers, which reduces the number in the ordinary regiment to fifteen. On the day that war is declared a further three will certainly go off to join the Regular Army, which reduces the number of officers to twelve. If you act in brigades and divisions, you will have to supply at least one for your divisional staff and one for your brigade staff, which brings the number of officers down to ten. Further than that, if the Militia regiment forms part of a brigade, it would have to have an advance base officer, and officer in charge of the machine guns, or a signalling officer, which reduces the number of officers of the battalion to eight. It practically comes to this, that the ordinary Militia regiment would go into service with only one officer to each company, and if that officer was wounded you would immediately have a company commanded by a sergeant. This is a state of things which alone makes the Militia not a fighting force.

I need not go into the question as regards the men of the Militia. We have had a statement in the other House that there are 98,000 of them who are practically unfit for the Line. With regard to musketry, I would only refer you to the Report of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission in proof of the statement that the musketry of the Militia is rushed through, and bad shooting exists in many battalions. Then, again, with regard to the transport of the Militia and Volunteers, I would quote the answer given to Lord Elgin's Commission by the Assistant Quartermaster-General, in reply to Lord Derby, as showing that in the case of invasion the transport would have to be officered by Militia officers, and not by the Army Service Corps. Having regard to all these facts I cannot help coming to the conclusion that as the Militia stands at present it does not fulfil its object as a safeguard to these shores.

On the other hand, no doubt it can be argued that the Militia have done very great service in the past. We know what they did in the time of Wellington and the opinion that Wellington had of them. We know the excellent work they did in the South African War, mainly, of course, on the lines of communication. They were held on the lines of communication, presumably because they had not a sufficient number of officers, and because the men were not of sufficient physique to stand the hard work of trekking. They were not able to find the officers necessary for the various staffs, nor were the men physically fit to stand long marches; but, notwithstanding that, they did good work where employed. It is certain, therefore, that both points of view, whether the Militia is a possible defence for the country or not, will be hotly contested.

I venture to think that, instead of merely discussing the matter in this House and in another place, there is one means by which we could really find out if the Militia is or is not a practical force—namely, by the mobilisation of two Army Corps of Militia. I do not see why this should not be done. It is essential that the country should come to a definite conclusion as to the capabilities of the Militia, and the only means of arriving at that, if we fail to get at it by discusssion, is by practical demonstration. If we mobilised our Militia and marched them for a certain distance in order to see whether they were able actually to take the field, we could come to a conclusion on this point. They could be mobilised for a week and be required to shift camp a distance of ten or twelve miles every day. You would then see if the regimental organisation and the transport were sufficient. I am quite aware that the objection will be raised that it would involve great expense, but there is very little valuable information of this kind which can be procured without expense.

It may be said that it would be difficult, owing to the time of the year at which these experiments would have to be made, to manœuvre in the country owing to the crops in the ground; but as a great portion of this trial would be whether the troops were actually able to march, and whether the organisation for transport was sufficient, it would not be necessary to have the same extent of manœuvring area as is required for manœuvres now. It may also be argued that this has already been tried, but I would point out that it has really never been given a chance. Picked Militia regiments have been used on manœuvres, but they have been under the organisation of Regular officers and not under Militia organisation. I hold that if a definite trial were given to the scheme of mobilising two Army Corps of Militia, containing 70,000 men, many advantages would result. In the first place, we could see for certain what the actual value of these troops was. Secondly, we could see whether the staff produced from the Militia was sufficient to run the regiments in the field. Thirdly, we could get at all the facts as to the distances that Auxiliary Forces can march and the time occupied between various points. At present no living man is aware of the distances which Irregular troops can cover. It would also be a magnificent individual training to every man who took part in it.

To make this an effective demonstration it would be necessary for the troops to move a distance of, say, twelve miles every day. It would be necessary that no staff of officers should be allowed outside the staff which the Militia could be expected to draw when the first Army Corps was out of the country; it would be necessary not to allow any officers outside the Militia to take part in the work, and the transport would have to be run on the lines laid down by the Assistant Quartermaster-General. That is to say, it would have to be run entirely by Militia officers themselves. I ask the noble Lord the Under-Secretary of State to consider this suggestion, which I think would be more effective than any oratory in either House on the subject. This practical experiment, costly though it may be, would show whether our Militia is worth what the supporters of it believe it to be worth, or whether the organisation throughout is so faulty that it would be impossible to work it as a defensive force.

Lord Lovat.

*LORD HARRIS: My Lords, I do not intend to address your Lordships at any length upon this scheme, for I feel that we want some more explanation from the War Office upon it before we can thoroughly understand it. I entirely agree with what the noble and gallant Field-Marshal said just now, that it requires most careful consideration. In those circumstances, I do not feel that I am in a position to attempt any real criticism. I should be very much helped towards that position if the noble Earl the Under-Secretary could give us information on one or two points. The noble Lord who initiated this debate said he thought the important hinge upon which the whole scheme hung was the absorption or the abolition of the Militia. That may be a very important hinge. But this seems to me still more important—Is the Secretary of State going to get men to enlist for nine years with the colours? It is quite true that there are men serving now for that length of general service, but I fancy a good many of them are in the cavalry. I do not imagine that the noble Lord expects to have any difficulty in getting recruits for the cavalry, but I cannot help thinking that a good number of the men who are serving in the infantry for eight years with the colours and four years in the Reserve, or seven years and five years respectively, were recruited when they had no chance of joining for three years, much less for two years. What the War Office has to look forward to is the attractiveness of the two-years service competing against the proposed nine.

The noble Lord, I have no doubt, will be able to, and I hope he will, give some statistics of the experience of the War Office in recruiting for these longer terms. If my recollection is right, when the longer term was the normal term, recruiting almost entirely depended on the demand for labour in civil employment. It went up and down according to that demand. I do not suppose the noble Lord is excluding that from his calculation, and I hope he will be able to show us upon what ground the Secretary of State confidently anticipates that he will be able to get the number of recruits he is looking forward to for the longer service.

On page 10 of the Memorandum reference is made to the striking force. I believe it is to be a force of some 16,000 men. Can the noble Lord tell us how many years it is anticipated that the units will remain in that force? I presume that the regiments that come home from foreign service are not to be put in it. I suppose the regiments for that force will be drawn from the general service battalions at home. [The Earl of DONOUGHMORE nodded assent.] How long does the noble Earl anticipate that units will remain in that striking force? Obviously they are not going to remain there for ever. They are part, I presume, of the general-service Army at home, and will have to take their turn for service abroad. Attached to that is the further question, What does the War Office anticipate will in future be the length of the foreign service of a unit? I believe the foreign service at present is something like eighteen years. I would like to know what they anticipate in the future will be the foreign service of a regiment of the infantry of the Line. That is also a question which will affect recruiting. It is quite true that the men only enlist for eight years. Perhaps the noble Lord will be able to tell us how long he anticipates that men will have to serve abroad. If regiments are away from the country for a long time, even longer than they are now, without a linked battalion to help them in recruiting at home, there is a chance of men going to battalions they do not know anything about, making enlisting for long service unpopular. That is another thing he has to calculate upon.

Again, are these general-service battalions when they are at home included in the idea of territorialisation? Take the case of my own county regiment, the East Kent. Are they never to be quartered in East Kent again? The Secretary of State has shown an interest in the traditions of the Army and has spoken in high terms of the historic regiments. Well, there are many noble Lords in this House who are extremely interested in their county regiments. I take the liberty of being so in mine. I ask whether the county regiment which I am interested in is going to be included in the territorialisation scheme? The noble Lord shakes his head. Does that mean that when the East Kent Regiment comes back the men are not going back to East Kent? If that regiment is to serve for a number of years abroad, and when it comes home is not going back to East Kent, I am not quite sure that you are going to get as many East Kent men to recruit for it. I believe that at the present moment eight-tenths of the men who are in that regiment belong to East Kent. Is the local interest in these regiments to be lost? I hope the noble Lord will give us some information upon this point.

On page 12 of the Memorandum there is a reference to large depots for the home-service Army. I should be very much obliged if the noble Earl would explain this. Why cannot the home-service Army train their own recruits? Why is it necessary to have large depots for the home-service territorialised regiments? If the recruit who only joins for two years is going for six months to the depot and only to be eighteen months in the home-service regiment, his interest in that regiment will be very slight I should think, and it does seem to me rather unnecessary that in a short service of that time he should be in two different units, one the depot and the other the regiment. That is one of the points which I have no doubt the noble Earl will be able to explain. It seems to me to be rather redundant and to involve a great deal of unnecessary expense.

I may say, by the way, looking back some twenty years, that large depots were not so popular with the War Office then as they seem to be now. Of course, of late years there have had to be larger depots, and I cannot help thinking that it is the force of necessity that has made them popular rather than that it has been suddenly discovered that they were more economical or efficient than the smaller ones. There is an important point on page 14 as regards non-commissioned officers for the depots, for the home-service regiments, and for the staffs of the Auxiliary Forces. It is held in this Memorandum as rather an encouragement to recruiting that there are going to be a great number of places for non-commissioned officers in these various units and establishments, and it is said that the arrangements contemplated

> "will go far towards supplying a reasonable certainty of employment for the soldier who has served his time."

I cannot quite understand that. The larger proportion of the men who will come back will not be non-commissioned officers. Surely the number of non-commissioned officers fit to go to these places will not be in excess of the present number. I do not see how that encourages the ordinary soldier who never becomes a non-commissioned officer to look forward to employment when he leaves the service.

That is the last question I have to ask, and I may say I do not ask these questions in any spirit of adverse criticism. I quite see that it is absolutely necessary to do something if we are not to have conscription. Owing to our having so many more battalions abroad than at home the linked battalion system has broken down, and something else has to be done, and owing to the increase of the Army since the war, the demand for recruits has, of course, largely increased. It is with a desire to support this scheme that I ask the noble Earl to give us all the information he possibly can about it. I confess I do not think on some important points the Memorandum gives sufficient information.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: My Lords, the noble Lord who is responsible for this discussion has fully recognised, I think, the appeal that was made by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for War in another place, that this question should not be treated as a Party question. It is quite true that the noble Lord entered a caveat and mentioned that it was very difficult to avoid Party politics in such a matter as this. At the same time, I hope I may be allowed to say that I think he himself avoided the difficulties he thought of in a most complete way, and in my opinion the prospect of evolving a successful scheme for the re-organisation of the Army has been greatly improved thereby. After all, my Lords, this is not a reform that is to be carried out by a stroke of the pen; it is a question which will need consideration, probably for some considerable time. It is a question which will require the attention of Governments for years to come, and I can only express the hope that, if it starts under such favourable auspices as the good-will of both sides, the ultimate end obtained may be that which we all undoubtedly wish for.

Lord Harris.

The noble Lord mentioned that, after all, the military problem with which this country has to deal is a unique one in the history of the world. Our main purpose is to have an Army for service beyond the seas. As the noble Lord stated, for that purpose we do not need a huge Army on the Continental model. It is, above all, an Army that must be voluntarily raised. Our main difficulty is to get an Army to go abroad in time of peace. There is not so much difficulty in getting the forces that we require to go abroad in time of war. But in the difficulty of getting an Army to go abroad in time of peace the broad principle of military problems, as foreign nations know them, are of no use to us whatever, and it is that which makes this problem such a unique and difficult one. There is a reference in these notes of the speech of my right hon. friend to reforms which have been recently carried out in the War Office, and they have been touched upon this evening by my noble friend opposite (Lord Denman). These reforms have already been discussed in your Lordships' House, quite lately, and I do not therefore intend to go into their details to-day. I do not think my noble friend would want me to follow him in certain personal questions which he raised; but I would like to say, as he mentioned Sir William Nicholson, that I am confident there is no sphere in which that officer could be of more service to his country than in the position which he is now filling.

In considering this matter I would like to make an appeal to your Lordships—an appeal which is necessary even after the extremely moderate speech of the noble Lord who initiated this discussion—I would appeal to your Lordships to consider this scheme, not piecemeal, but as a whole.

Briefly, what is the outline of the scheme as it comes into our minds? First of all, there is the general-service Army, intended primarily for service beyond the sea, and for service beyond the sea in time of peace, enlisted for nine years with the colours and three with the Reserve, spending about one-fourth of its time at home, and fed from depots direct to any part of the world in which it may be at the moment stationed. Then, secondly, there is the home-service or territorial army, enlisted for two years with the colours, thoroughly territorialised, fed from large depots, going abroad only in time of war, and, if I may coin a phrase, to describe it, it will be our Reserve-making machine. Thirdly, there are the Auxiliary Forces, mounted and unmounted, the Yeomanry and the Volunteers, the latter divided into two parts according to a principle the correctness of which your Lordships will admit. There are in the Volunteers men who are anxious and able to give a great deal of time to their volunteering; there are also men who are anxious to give all the time they can. At the present moment, you have both these classes mixed up in the same units. We intend to divide them. That briefly is the scheme as it presents itself to my mind, and I hope that this discussion, and in the discussions which possibly may follow this scheme, the relative bearings of the various parts of the scheme upon each other may always be kept in the forefront of your Lordships' minds.

My Lords, the noble Lord opposite recognised the need for economy. I do not know whether it was in his mind to include further particulars upon that head in the Motion which he makes for additional Papers, but I understand that a Return has been asked for in another place, giving further particulars upon this point, and I will see that that Return is presented to your Lordships at the same time as it is presented elsewhere. I do not intend, therefore, to go in detail into the economical side of the question, but as regards the other side, the efficiency side, I will do my best to deal with the various criticisms which have been made.

I would ask your Lordships to think of some of what we consider the defects of the present system, and the manner in which our proposals attempt to remedy them. First of all, there is the question of the linked-battalion system. The linked-battalion system presupposes that you have an equal number of battalions at home as abroad and that the home battalions feed the foreign battalions with drafts. At the time that system was originally adopted the theory was held that you needed a large Army for home defence; the theory of what is called the blue water school, as far as I am aware, had not been evolved. But my Lords, we have now—and I gather from the speech of the noble Lord opposite that the view is accepted on both sides—recognised that the main purpose of our Army is to go abroad, and that we do not need a large Regular Army at home; therefore the necessity for a large number of battalions at home disappears. Obviously, such being recognised, the feeding of the foreign battalion from the home battalion must disappear also. At present you have a depot, you have the home battalion and you have the foreign battalion, and, as was undoubtedly proved before Lord Elgin's Commission, as the result of that, you have only one efficient unit, viz., the foreign battalion. We hope, by initiating a process of feeding battalions from a large general-service depot direct, to simplify the system, and at the same time to economise by getting much better value for money by not having the battalion at home which requires such complicated treatment in order to make it sufficiently efficient to go out into the line of battle. The depot system is not a new system. It exists with the Guards with admirable results; it exists with the Royal Marines with equally admirable results; it is the system which exists at Winchester with the Rifle Brigade, also with admirable results; and we have every hope that the extension of the system to the whole Army will be equally satisfactory in every way.

My noble friend Lord Heneage seemed a little apprehensive lest, in consequence of the phrase in the Secretary of State's Memorandum that the battalions will be linked for the purpose of exchanging, but not for the purpose of drafting, some evil connected with the linked-battalion system might remain to vitiate the reform which we hope to carry out I can conceive two or three ways in which that might work, and I think my noble friend will admit that no harm could come from the process. As the noble Lord knows, there are some twenty long-service officers in the territorial battalions. We intend that they should exchange freely with the thirty officers in the long-service battalions. I do not think that any evil connected with the linked-battalion system lies in that fact. In fact, I should think it was rather the other way. Naturally one does not expect an officer who spends his whole life in the regiment, as opposed to the man who spends only nine years, to spend his whole time abroad. We wish to give him the opportunity of coming home, and, on the other hand, we wish to give the officer in the home battalions the opportunity of going abroad if he wants to. The power to extend I conceive might also be exercised in this way. I fancy that a certain number of two-years men, if they wish to, will be allowed to exchange and join a general-service battalion. We do not count on anything like the number that have to exchange from the present three years service—the 75 per cent.—but possibly one-fifth or one-sixth of those who join originally for two years may wish to extend. I do not wish to lay down any definite limit to the number who will be allowed to extend, but I fancy that some will be allowed to, and, if they wish, to join a battalion abroad corresponding to that in which they have served at home. I imagine that that would come under the process to which I have referred, and against that I think the noble Lord will not have any objection.

Lord HENEAGE: Will there be the same number of battalions at home as abroad?

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: No, but I think that suitable arrangements can be made. I have spoken of the question of drafts. At the present moment, we need 75 per cent. of those who enlist for three years to extend their service to enable us adequately to send drafts to India and the Colonies. Nothing like that number has extended, especially in the infantry. My right hon. friend the Secretary of State has mentioned that something like 12 per cent. have extended. I need scarcely point out that that average is of no use to us. Even if the average were 75 per cent, the situation might not be entirely satisfactory, because you need 75 per cent. in every unit to extend, and there are three units in which only 4 per cent., and one in which only 2 per cent. have extended. Obviously, by the adoption of the principle of enlisting men for the purpose of going abroad and feeding battalions direct from depots, the situation becomes much easier to work and much more certain.

Then, my Lords, I come to the question raised by the noble Lord behind me of the striking force. Your Lordships no doubt remember perfectly well a sentence in the Report of Lord Elgin's Commission referring to the need for more troops in Natal at the beginning of the recent war, and the effect that those troops might have had. The reason of this striking force is perfectly obvious. At the present moment you cannot send a single battalion out of this country without either the complicated arrangement of mobilisation or some arrangement for taking men from one regiment and putting them into another — an arrangement which is also complicated and unsatisfactory. By having these general-service battalions at Aldershot we look forward to being able to send a small force of 15,000 or 16,000 men abroad at the very shortest notice, and such a force might have a very important bearing on the ultimate result of every campaign in which we were engaged. The noble Lord behind me asked how long the battalions would be in the striking force. I have not the figure actually in my memory, and I do not like to hazard a guess, but I think it is for about one-third of their service at home. I understand that the sort of proportion—not the exact proportion, but the sort of proportion—that we hope to work to would leave about twenty-six general-service battalions at home, and the noble Lord may say that for about one-third of their service at home they find themselves in the striking force, perhaps a little less. But I will ascertain the exact figure if the noble Lord wishes, and let him have it.

I am also asked, my Lords, how long units will be abroad. Again, I do not care to trust my memory exactly, but it will not be for anything like the present eighteen years. The present eighteen years, however, does not mean much more than the fact that the regimental plate is abroad for eighteen years. because the men are continually going backwards and forwards in drafts out and home. It will make very little difference—certainly no difference to the transport—if you make the tour shorter, and send the regiment itself back more often than at present, and I fancy you will have to do it in order to keep up the circulation as we certainly wish to keep it up.

As regards the question whether the general-service battalions will be quartered in th ir own counties, I hope that we shall be able to manage that, but they will not be part of the territorial army, which is to consist only of men enlisted for two years and, as such, be spread about eventually all over the country, thoroughly territorialised. But I certainly hope that it may be possible to make an arrangement by which these general-service battalions will be quartered in their own counties as far as possible while they are at home.

Now, my Lords, I come to a question which has been raised by several Members of your Lordships' House—first of all, I think, by Lord Denman. I mean the recruiting question. After all, the important question in the whole scheme is whether or not we shall get the recruits. No man can say for certain that you will get recruits as long as you have a voluntary Army. So long as you have a voluntary Army there will always be a certain amount of uncertainty with regard to recruiting, and it must always be a source of anxiety to the statesman responsible for the Army, whether he be in your Lordships' House or in another place. If you adopted conscription it would simplify your problem, but very few of even the extreme advocates of conscription have got up and said we ought to have conscription for the Army that is to be sent abroad to serve in foreign and sometimes unhealthy climates. I would venture to offer your Lordships a few figures to explain the manner in which we regard this recruiting problem. I take the infantry, because the infantry is always the great anxiety. At present we have 156 battalions of infantry. We are proposing to reduce fourteen battalions, bringing the number down to 142. I will assume—this is not a final figure; I am assuming these numbers simply as a hypothetical case; they depend upon certain considerations of great importance now before the Committee of Imperial Defence—but I will assume that of those 142 battalions you take 104 for general service. That leaves you thirty-eight home-service battalions and, assuming the scheme receives the assent of Parliament in its entirety, thirty-three home service battalions drawn from the Militia. As I have said, these are not final figures; they are simply for the purposes of illustration. The number is there or thereabout. Under such a division you would require for the infantry alone—which is the main problem—not 20,000 recruits for the general-service battalions, but 11,600, and 22,000 for the home-service battalions; that is, 33,600 recruits for the infantry.

LORD MONKSWELL: What about wastage by desertion and other causes?

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: This is the number you would want to fill up the battalions.

A NOBLE LORD: Does that include the South African garrison?

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: It is the number of recruits you would require each year for the hypothetical case which I have put forward. I see the noble Lord's point about wastage. We hope with big depots to decrease wastage very largely; it is a point that has not been lost sight of. But I am only stating a hypothetical case for the purpose of illustration. That is a total of 33,600 for the infantry, or for all arms, not for infantry alone, 42,800 recruits. In answer to a Question put in another place, I think, this afternoon, my noble friend the Secretary of State stated that the number of recruits we obtained during the past year amounted to 83,000—that is for the Militia and for the Line. But you must deduct 19,000 who go on from the Militia into the Line, and therefore had been counted twice over. That leaves a total of 64,000 recruits, or an excess of 22,000 over our requirements under this scheme.

A NOBLE LORD: With a three years enlistment.

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Yes, that is so. For a two years enlistment the probabilities are that more will come, for nine years, possibly not.

Now I come to the general-service battalions. I would ask your Lordships to compare the position of these general-service battalions with the present position. The position now is that you enlist men for three years, and you require 75 per cent. to re-engage, otherwise you have to resort to some sort of outside arrangement in order to carry out your drafts to India. The first point that may be argued—and I admit it, because I want to argue the whole case fairly—is that you do not enlist these general-service men until they are nineteen years of age. We do get 19,000 men of the age of nineteen years, but there are two attractions that we should be able to offer these general-service men that we are not able to offer them now. The first is that after six months service at the depot they will get their service pay; they will get their 4d. a day on joining the battalion, and they will get 6d. a day on qualifying in musketry.

Lord MONKSWELL: 1s. 10d. altogether.

*The Earl of DONOUGHMORE: 1s. 11d. I think. What does that mean? At present you offer a man an extra 6d. after he has served two years; this offers him an extra 6d. after he has served six months. That extra sixpence means half-a-guinea a week in the man's pocket and all found. There are not many labourers in this country who can feed and clothe themselves and have half-a-guinea to spend at the end of the week. Then the second thing is the point raised by my noble friend Lord Harris. We hope to make the prospects of re-employment for these men after they have served their nine years considerably better than they are now. The prospects are not so very bad now. In the Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting for 1902, it is stated that in practically all districts the same conclusion is arrived at—that when Reservists leave the colours with good characters they can obtain work if they choose to accept it. I do not wish to go into details as to how this is done—the re-employment registers, and so forth, with which your Lordships are familiar,—but I may say that between January and October, 1903, 35,000 men left the Army with satisfactory characters, and 25,000 of those 35,000 are known to have obtained employment.

But what can we do in the future? As the noble Lord has said, you have to find non-commissioned officers for the home-service battalions, for all depots, and for the Volunteers, and we believe that it is to these nine-years men after they have left the colours that we should have to look for non-commissioned officers for those purposes. We do not close the door to a certain number of the two-years men being promoted to lance-corporals or even lance-sergeants, but your Lordships' will understand that two years service will not be long enough to qualify many of these short-service men for the posts of non-commissioned officers. Therefore we believe that for a great many of the nine-years men with good characters after they leave the general-service army we should be able to find employment in these units that I have mentioned. That is an additional point which, when realised by the recruit will, we believe, have a considerable effect in persuading men to join the long-service battalions, opening to them as it does a life-long employment.

I am afraid I am detaining your Lordships at considerable length, but I have come now only to the second branch of the subject, viz., the question of the territorial Army, which, as your Lordships know, is intended to go abroad only in time of war. We intend to feed it from large depots, The idea is, I believe, to have large depots feeding about eight battalions. With the experience we have of the Guards depots and of the Winchester depot, it is intended that the short-service men should spend three months at the depot, and twenty-one months with their regiment. We believe that this will facilitate their training, as it will concentrate attention on the recruit drill, the first licking of the recruit into shape, at the depot, leaving the higher training to be done when the men go to their battalions. The noble Lord, Lord Heneage, asked a Question about new barracks. I am able to assure him that our ideal is to have eventually, perhaps not a barrack in every county, because there are some counties which could not support a regiment, but to have the territorial Army spread about all over the country in so far as the present barrack accommodation and any future accommodation will allow. But, of course, the noble Lord will understand that it will be some time before we lose the use of all the barracks that we have at present, and therefore it is a reform that can be carried out only gradually, but it is certainly the ideal to which we hope to work.

I now come to the position of the Militia, which has been touched upon by several of your Lordships. I wish it to be most distinctly understood that I do not for an instant deprecate what the Militia did during the war in South Africa. They came forward at a time of great stress, and they rendered most valuable service. But since the war we have had the Report of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission, and we cannot but regard that document as disclosing a most serious state of things. My noble friend Lord Denman represents that his Militia regiment was every bit as good as most Line regiments when it went to South Africa. I congratulate him upon the excellence of his regiment, but the Report of the Royal Commission does not lead us to think that that is a definition of excellence that could be applied to the whole of the Militia. I may perhaps be allowed to remind your Lordships of one or two paragraphs in that Report. For instance, it states—

> "At the earliest age at which a man is physically fit for the hardships of a campaign, and deducting the men returned as below that age, we find that in round figures an average strength of 104,000 Militiamen yields only 82,000 fit as regards age to take the field. In many cases, moreover, the age given by a Militia recruit on enlistment is above his real age, so that the figures exaggerate to some extent the proportion of men that we obtain of the ages specified."

Again the Commission says—

> "As regards the infantry, there is a consensus of opinion both amongst Militia officers and those Regular officers who have had special opportunities of observation, that the average Militia battalions would not be fit to take the field except after several months continuous embodiment. The less training in the rank and file, the higher is the training required in the officer, and the training of the Militia officer is inadequate to enable him properly to lead troops, and especially incompletely trained troops."

Again they point out that the strength of the battalions was such that their proper grouping into the larger tactical formations required for the field would be a matter of great difficulty, and—

> "We are forced to the conclusion that in its existing condition the Militia is unfit to take the field for the defence of the country."

That is a very serious state of affairs. The plan for the Militia to which the Army Council hope to obtain the assent of Parliament is briefly as follows. Your Lordships will understand that for many reasons some reduction in the Militia is necessary. There are, first of all, those units which are mentioned by the Royal Commission—nine units of under 300 men. It would be impossible—and I am sure your Lordships would admit it—to retain those units in their present condition. It would also, I think, be unreasonable when you are making reductions in the Regular Army not to call for some reduction in other branches of the military forces. We are actually reducing the Regular Army by 28,600 men, and I do not think it would be defensible to suggest that while we are making that reduction in the Regular Army we should leave the Auxiliary Forces entirely out of account. There are two or three points that must be borne in mind in connection with the Militia. First of all, the Militia does undoubtedly compete with the Line. The Militia obtains about 40,000 recruits every year, of whom about 19,000 go on into the Line, and it is the opinion of many people who know more about the subject than I do that if their physical condition allowed it many more than that 19,000 would go. This may be good or it may be bad for the Line; it is certainly very bad for the Militia. Another thing from which the Militia suffers is the want of trained commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The Militia is now 7,000 officers short, and not even all the officers that it has are highly trained. The plan that the Army Council hope to see approved by public opinion and by Parliament is that of welding the Militia into the territorial Army. We believe that by so doing the services of not a single useful officer or man who is now in the Militia will be lost to the country. The position in the future will be such that the Militia will no longer compete for recruits with the Line; they will be thoroughly territorialised as the county battalions; they will have the advantage of being trained by twenty Regular officers, men who are making a life-study of their profession, and by a considerable number of professional non-commissioned officers, the want of which they feel so much at present, and they will be available for service abroad in time of war.

LORD BURGHCLERE: In time of war?

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: For service abroad.

LORD BURGHCLERE: The Militia?

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Yes, the whole of the territorialised Army will be available for service abroad in time of war. My noble friend Lord Heneage raised the question of the position of the Militia officer under this scheme. I do not think that his position will be so bad as the noble Lord thinks. I doubt very much if the Regular officer will look down upon the Militia officer who is associated in the battalion with him. I have had a very short experience; I was in the Militia only some five years, but I knew the officers of the Regular battalion to which I was attached pretty well, and I am not conscious of having been much looked down upon by them; on the contrary, I received nothing but civility at their hands. After all, what would be his position? We hope he will be a county gentleman; he will be a member of the mess; he will come into his county town where we hope his regiment will be quartered; he will find when he gets there officers with whom he is associated during the month he is out for training. I really do not think that his position will be a very bad one from his point of view; I think it will be very much better than at present. He will have the opportunity of training alongside officers and men very much more highly trained than at present, and of having in his company many non-commissioned officers of a much better class than he now has. Your Lordships will see that it would not be easy to allow him to be the commanding officer of his regiment, because under the new conditions it will be necessary for the commanding officer of the regiment to be busy all the year round, and the general run of Militia officers cannot give sufficient time for that or they would probably be already in the Line, but we hope that by giving them an honorary step in rank on retirement, by keeping the post of deputy-lieutenant open for them, and by letting them understand that in time of war when their regiments have gone abroad it is to them we look to organise the Reservists and the men coming on from the depots into their regiments which in turn will be looked to go to the war—we hope that that will present a state of affairs which will not be uncongenial to their frame of mind.

I have asked your Lordships to consider this scheme homogeneously at all times, and I would like your Lordships to remember this point in connection with the welding of the Militia into the Line. It is a point from the Army point of view rather than from the Militia point of view, but it is an important point. The basis on which we have worked has been this. We have to maintain the existing Indian garrison and adequate garrisons in the Colonies. We have to despatch fifty-two battalions of infantry and drafts to India as early as we can in any war that breaks out. Look at the position. Assume that you do not weld the Militia into the Line, and that you retain only thirty-eight home battalions or about thirty-eight. If war breaks out you have to send fifty-two battalions abroad. You would then have in the country thirty-eight of these home battalions and about twenty-six general-service battalions, a total of sixty-four. Of those you have to send immediately fifty-two to India. In that sixty-four is included your striking force, so that if you had already utilised your striking force for some purpose you would have practically no Regular troops left in the country within a very few minutes after war had been declared.

EARL SPENCER: Is the striking force included in the fifty-two battalions?

*THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: No, but it is included in the sixty-four. There is no reason why it should not be used in the fifty-two, but it does not necessarily follow that you would want to use it in the fifty-two. The position I have suggested would, I venture to think, represent a very serious state of affairs. But if you have thirty-three Militia battalions welded into the service Army you will have a very much bigger margin with which to work as the war goes on.

Then there is another point—a financial point—which I would ask your Lordships to bear in mind. The present cost of the Militia is about £17 or £18 per man. If we were to carry out the recommendations of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission—that is to say, train the men for six months on enlistment and have six weeks in training afterwards—you would increase the cost to £22 per man. The cost of the home-service soldier on mobilisation—and I hope to make it perfectly clear how the estimate is arrived at—is £29 2s. 7d. The way in which we arrive at that estimate is as follows. We take the cost of the two year battalions and depots, the cost of the men during the six years service in the Reserve, and we divide that total cost by the total number of men available—all the two years men serving with the colours and the Reservists who are available on mobilisation—and by that division we obtain the total of £29 2s. 7d. That is only £7 more than the cost of the Militiaman when you have carried out the recommendations of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission. In other words, for the same money as it costs you to produce 69,000 Militiamen, men who have been six months in training as recruits and have had six weeks training every year, you can obtain 53,000 men who have had two years training on enlistment and one month's training twice over during their Reserve service. If a General were asked whether he would rather have 69,000 of the Militiamen or 53,000 of the short-service men, I have very little doubt as to what his answer would be.

The question of the Volunteers has not been raised this evening, and therefore I do not intend to say anything about it, though it naturally must be kept in mind as a homogeneous part of the scheme. The Report of the Royal Commission is serious also as regards the Volunteers, and we hope by the proposals that we are making to effect a vast improvement in the efficiency of that force.

There is another point which has not been mentioned this evening, but which is of considerable importance, namely, the encouragement that we are going to give to rifle clubs. We believe that this will be a considerable advantage in giving men who cannot afford the time for Volunteering some opportunity of getting at any rate a small knowledge of the rifle and a knowledge which must admittedly be useful upon mobilisation.

I do not know that there is any other point to which I onght to refer before I sit down. I am afraid I have given a very inadequate account of the scheme of the Government, but what I wish to enforce is that it should be regarded as a homogeneous scheme—a scheme laying down lines of policy which all Parties can adopt, and which meets many of our present defects and eases difficulties which have been apparent in the past. I trust, my Lords, that the scheme may be so regarded by all Parties, because I am certain that, unless such a view be taken, the task of organising the Army in accordance with our Imperial needs will be one almost impossible of solution.

Lord MONKSWELL: My Lords, I very cheerfully accede to the request of the noble Earl that we should not speak upon this question in any captious Party spirit. For my part I am very glad to think that there are a great many important provisions in this scheme which are probably very wise. Like the noble Lord behind me, I am a humble disciple of the blue water school, and I cannot say that I am in the least alarmed at the prospect of the decrease of the Army by about 28,000 men, which I am told is the upshot of this scheme. My opinion in this respect is not in the least shaken by the circumstances which only last year the Prime Minister denounced in the strongest terms—a proposed diminution of the Army by 27,000 men. I suppose as he blesses this scheme he must, as it were, have recanted his impassioned utterances of last year in regard to the "lunacy" of decreasing the Army. As to the striking force, I am not going to rush in where Lord Roberts feared to tread. I do not propose to give my opinion, nor if I gave it would it be worth anything, in regard to the details of the scheme. If the striking force is in the nature of a luxury, as some people think, it is at all events a much less expensive luxury than the Army Corps of Mr. Brodrick. With regard to large depots, I think it is very probable that the Government is right. I do not quite understand, however, the position which is taken up by the Government with regard to the linked battalions. Do I understand that the men at one of these large depots will be enlisted for particular regiments, or that they will go to a depot and have to stand their chance of being placed in any regiment that may be in need of men? I am not clear upon that point. It is very likely that the provision of the Government with regard to the linked battalions may work well, and although I think it doubtful whether the reduction of the Volunteers and the division into classes is a wise step, I am quite ready to admit that the Government may be right on these points. I am particularly thankful to the noble Lord and the Secretary of State for War for having put their foot down absolutely upon the possibility of conscription, although I am sorry to find that there is still a noble Lord in this House who advocates compulsory service. However, we have had it on the authority of the Secretary of State for War himself and of the Under-Secretary that in their opinion conscription is absolutely dead.

My Lords, the Under-Secretary of State has told us that this scheme needed further consideration. We were constantly asking that the scheme should be produced to the House, but we were always told that it would be very unfair to press the Government to introduce a piecemeal scheme, and that if we waited we would get a complete and perfect scheme. We readily agreed that that was the right and proper thing to do, and therefore we did not press the Government prematurely to produce their scheme; we waited very patiently, but I doubt very much whether even now we have got a complete scheme. Whether or not it is a complete scheme hinges to a great extent upon what the Government propose to do with regard to the Militia. For the life of me I cannot make out from the statement of the Under-Secretary of State whether or not it is part of the Government programme that the Militia should be absorbed into the Line. That, after all, is the absolute pivot of the whole system. The Secretary of State for War has over and over again assured the House of Commons that the public would be very wrong indeed—I do not know whom he means by the public; I suppose he means his colleagues in the Cabinet or on the Army Council as part of the public—that they would be very wrong indeed if they did not agree with him and allow the Militia to be absorbed into the Regular home-defence Army. He has stated that the Militia as now constituted was useless for purposes either of defence or of offence, and that this force cost the country nearly £2,000,000 of money per annum, but he added that although the force was useless and although it cost the public nearly £2,000,000 of money, he was not going to absorb it because public opinion would not allow it. But here, and I am glad to see it, the Under-Secretary of State has taken a totally different line, and has suggested that it is absolutely essential—and I believe it is—to the success of the scheme, at all events from a financial point of view, that the Militia should be absorbed into the Regular Army. The noble Earl called it "welding." I do not know that there is much difference between "welding" and "absorbing," but at all events the Under-Secretary was very strong on the proposition that you must absorb the Militia into the Regular Army. I entirely agree with the Under-Secretary of State that, if the scheme is to stand, that must be done. I do not understand this go-as-you-please method of proceeding, of leaving it to the man in the street to settle most difficult questions of policy. I do not understand the practice of leaving everything an open question. That appears to me to be a system not of government, but of abdication of government.

The chief objection, my Lords, that I take to this scheme, is not a technical objection in the very least, nor is it one that requires a military mind to understand it. My chief objection is one which has been urged very forcibly in the course of this debate, namely, that the scheme will not work because you will not get the necessary recruits. I agree with Sir Neville Lyttelton, or with what I gather from his speech to be his opinion, that it is extremely doubtful whether you can carry this scheme through without general conscription for foreign service. That appears to me to be the necessary outcome of this scheme if you carry it out as at present constituted, and I need scarcely say that it will be quite impossible to get from the country a mandate to do anything of the kind. I have read a great many criticisms of the Government scheme, some of them favourable and others unfavourable, but I have not come across a single critic, however favourable to the scheme, who did not express doubts as to whether the Government could get anything like the number of recruits they require. In this matter I confess that I have some difficulty in following the figures given by the noble Earl. The Under-Secretary told us that the number of long-service recruits that would be required was something like 11,200 a year.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: For the infantry?

LORD MONKSWELL: I am taking the infantry of the Line only, because I entirely agree that it is with this force that recruiting is the main difficulty. The noble Earl told us that he wants only 11,200 nine-years men to fill 104 battalions of 1,000 men each. How are you going to do it?

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: The number is 11,600.

LORD MONKSWELL: Very well; 11,600. Even if we multiply that number by nine, it is only 104,000; therefore it appears to me to be perfectly clear that if there is any wastage at all, it is impossible to suppose that you will not want more than 11,600 recruits. There is bound to be wastage from illness and desertion and other causes.

Then there is another matter to which I should like to call the attention of the noble Earl. He said, greatly to my astonishment, that he proposed to have only 104 foreign-service battalions in all.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: About 104.

LORD MONKSWELL: The curious thing about that is that, according to the latest Army Abstract, we have, within 250, no less than 93,000 infantry of the Line serving either abroad or on the high seas on their way to and from England. That would leave you only 11,000 men for home defence, for which you are said to require 26,000 men. Therefore, on the noble Earl's own showing, he is 15,000 to the bad, assuming that our present garrisons are kept up at the existing level. Not only that, but the noble Earl has entirely left out of account the 6,000 men who will have to be in training at the depot to feed the battalions. Therefore, it appears perfectly clear, on the noble Earl's own showing, that if he wants about twenty-six battalions at home, and if he must have, as I suppose he must, ninety battalions either serving abroad or on the high seas, he will want about twenty battalions more than the 104 which he has suggested, having regard to the number of men who would necessarily be at the depot.

I confess that on reading the scheme I did not understand that anything like twenty-six battalions of nine-years-service men were to be employed at home. It appears to me, that, without having any of those 26,000 men employed in strengthening the home Army, you would have abundant employment for more than your 104 battalions. These nine-years men will, as I understand it, have three functions to perform; in the first place, some of them are to be sent to stiffen the home Army, and I thought that the extent to which they would be called upon for that purpose would be to send 100 men to each of the home battalions of 500 each. That would mean a very small force comparatively of nine years men; 4,000 would amply fulfil all requirements in that respect. Then there is the striking force. I imagine that in the striking force you will want something like 8,000 infantry of the Line, because the striking force has to be composed of all arms, and I have no doubt that you will have a considerable contingent of the Guards employed upon it. Therefore, we may take it at the outside that for the purpose of stiffening the home battalions and for the striking force you will want 12,000 men. Then apparently you are to have about 14,000 men who are to serve at home. In that way the noble Earl makes it out that these men are to serve for only three-quarters of their time abroad. But in totalling up this time the noble Earl must recollect that for six, perhaps twelve, months they will have to be in training at the depot before they are sent abroad, and I should think that they will be extremely lucky if, after serving their time in the depot, the men have more than a year or eighteen months service, out of the whole of the remaining eight or eight and a half years of service, in England.

The noble Earl has gone into detail, and it was necessary that he should, with regard to recruiting and the advantages which he says this scheme offers to the nine-years recruits. Now the Secretary of State for War said that the nine-years service was the exact equivalent, or at any rate an equivalent, of the present service of seven years and five years with the Reserves. It is nothing of the kind. It is quite true that the seven-years men at the end of their service, if they found themselves abroad, could be made to serve for one year longer, but no more; therefore the utmost limit of their service was eight years, and they might reasonably expect in many cases to get off at the end of seven years. That is a very different thing from nine years. It must also be remembered that these men are to be at least nineteen years of age; that is to say, they will not, even under the most favourable circumstances, have a chance of re-entering civil life until they are twenty-eight years of age. Therefore, as regards length of service there is a considerable difference between the short service as we have known it under Lord Cardwell's scheme and the nine years service as now proposed. In two respects the recruit is at a great disadvantage. He will be abroad nearly the whole of his time, and under the most favourable circumstances he will not return to civil life until he is twenty-eight years of age.

Then, my Lords, [there is another matter to which I desire to call the serious attention of the Under-Secretary of State on the question of recruiting, and that is the extreme unpopularity of the service in South Africa. I do not think that General Sir William Butler put it at all too strongly when he said that South Africa was the grave of recruiting. The men serve in South Africa under a most intense sense of grievance. They are made to do constabulary work for which, even under the new conditions, they will receive only about one-third of the pay given to the constabulary. That gives the men a constant sense of grievance, and, in order to intensify that grievance ten-fold, what have the Government done? The troops in South Africa are told that the climate there is so good that their service is to count, not as foreign service, but as home service, and consequently some of the men, who otherwise might have been sent back to England, are sent at the end of their term of service in South Africa to India. When eventually they return to England they are in a most exasperated state of mind; they form most enthusiastic missionaries against recruiting, and will not, if they can help it, permit any of their friends or relations to serve in the Army. That is a most serious state of things, about which nothing has hitherto been said. As if that were not enough to increase the difficulties of recruiting, His Majesty's Government have recently passed a Reserve Forces Bill, doing away with the privilege by which Reservists set great store, namely, the privilege when recalled to the colours of serving in the arm of the service in which they originally enlisted. That, again, will be a severe blow to recruiting. All these drawbacks are to be compensated for by a payment of 1s. 6d. a day, and I think for proficiency in rifle shooting they are to get another 4d. Is that so?

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Twopence on qualifying in musketry.

LORD MONKSWELL: At any rate, the ordinary private will get 1s. 6d., I believe—or might he get more?

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: 1s. 3d. clear cash.

LORD MONKSWELL: Those who have looked into the matter have assured me that nothing under 2s. 6d. a day will have the slightest chance of attracting recruits in sufficient numbers, and if you have to pay anything like 2s. 6d. a day I should like to know where your saving is to come in. Then there is another grievance the recruit will put forward. We have been told by the Secretary of State for War that the recruits who join at the age of nineteen and for nine years service are not to be entitled to serve for a pension. It is perfectly impossible that that part of the scheme can stand. It would be utterly inhuman that these men who want to be soldiers and who are of good character should after serving nine years abroad, perhaps in unhealthy climates, be turned adrift and not be permitted to make the Army their profession. That part of the scheme will have to go, and the Government will have to add to the non-effective Vote, because it is perfectly certain that if recruits are taken at nineteen instead of eighteen years of age, and have to serve for nine years instead of for seven years, a great many more will desire to remain on in the service.

I should like to call attention, in conclusion, to a rather remarkable and grandiloquent sentence in the Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War. He uses these words—

> "The War Office will no longer be dependent for its general-service soldiers upon the caprice of boys who may or may not decide to extend."

All I would say on the subject is that these "boys," as the Secretary of State terms them, must have arrived at least at the age of twenty before they have the option to extend, and the Secretary of State forgets that the very existence of the general-service Army will depend not upon the caprice of youths of twenty, but upon the caprice of youths who may be not more than nineteen years of age, and who may prefer a civil career to the eight and a half years expatriation at 1s. 6d. a day. While I quite agree that this scheme has in many of its particulars been carefully thought out and is in some respects a good scheme, yet it appears to me to rest on no solid foundation inasmuch as you will certainly not get the necessary recruits.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): The noble Lord opposite who commenced this discussion made such a pointed appeal to me that I find it impossible, without departing from the respect which I owe him, to remain in my place; but I confess I rise without much hope of illuminating your Lordships upon the matters of detail which arise in connection with this scheme. With regard to its main principles, I listened with great satisfaction to what fell from the noble Lord who spoke first, for in the opening passages of his speech he paid an unstinted compliment to what I conceive to be the general principles which are embodied in these proposals. He expressed his satisfaction at finding that His Majesty's Government desired to keep the strength of the Army within moderate limits. He rejoiced that we did not consider it necessary to retain at home a force larger than would be necessary for the purpose of resisting attacks from hostile raids, and he complimented us, with perhaps rather less than his usual felicity of language, on having adopted the blue water theory as what he called the "bed-rock" of our system.

LORD BURGHCLERE: The theory, not the blue water.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: He also expressed himself in terms of satisfaction with regard to the desire shown throughout the scheme to keep within limits the large and growing expenditure upon the Army; and I must say that I shuddered when I heard the noble Lord who spoke last, who is, as we know, an advocate of economy in all its forms, suggest that nothing short of an offer of half-a-crown a day would be sufficient to obtain suitable recruits for the military forces of the Crown.

But, my Lords, the principal criticism which fell both from the noble Lord who spoke first and the noble Lord who spoke last was directed to show that His Majesty's Government were to blame for not laying before your Lordships a scheme representing what I think the noble Lord called the final conclusions of His Majesty's Government upon these important subjects. Well, my Lords, let me say frankly to your Lordships that the Paper which your Lordships have before you does not represent what can be described as the final conclusions of His Majesty's Government upon all the subjects to which it has reference. The noble Earl will remember how much he pressed me to lay upon the Table some document which would serve as a useful basis for our discussion. The Paper, as appears on the face of it, represents a number of notes which were put together by the Secretary of State for the important statement which he lately made in the other House of Parliament. If your Lordships will read it with the attention to which it is entitled you will see that there are throughout it passages which show that the proposals indicated are proposals which are to receive further consideration at a subsequent time. I do not think that either the Secretary of State or his colleagues need be the least ashamed for coming here and admitting that they had not said their last word upon these matters. We have had, comparatively speaking, only a short time in which to turn to account the lessons learned during the South African War; and I do not think that any one can accuse us of having sat with folded hands during that time. We have introduced into the War Office changes of the most drastic and important kind; and we are ready to give your Lordships a general idea of the direction in which our minds are moving as to Army organisation, although we are not prepared to present full details of the whole of the proposols we think should ultimately be adopted. When I say that, of course I do not mean that, with regard to what I would call the main principles of the scheme, we do not see our way; when I speak of main principles I mean, for example, the proposal that the main object of our Regular Army is service out of this country and that it is, therefore, necessary that the greater part of it should be specially organised with regard to such service.

That is one point, and it has led us to announce that we propose that henceforth there shall be two Armies—a general-service Army, with battalions maintained at high strength, taking its recruits at an older age, and for longer service, and holding out to them the inducement of a higher rate of pay; and, on the other hand, a home-service Army, smaller in dimensions, with battalions of lower strength, and taking recruits somewhat younger, for a much shorter period of service, and at a somewhat lower rate of pay, and intended in a great measure for the purpose of producing that most essential element in all sound military systems—a numerous Reserve.

Then, my Lords, complaint was made that our proposals with regard to the Militia were not of a more definite kind. I must say that the difficulty which confronts us in regard to the Militia is very typical of the class of difficulty that Army reformers in this country have to contend with. There can be no doubt, as my noble friend has pointed out, that if this question had to be dealt with upon purely financial grounds, it would be very much cheaper to absorb the Militia into the home-service Army, to greatly increase its efficiency, and to get rid of any Militia battalions not required for that purpose. But then we have to take into consideration arguments of a very different kind—arguments of which we are bound to recognise the force, and described in the Memorandum of the Secretary of State in which he says with very great frankness that he recognises that popular sentiment against such a change is at present too strong to justify him in recommending it. The noble Lord who spoke first, in the only passage of his speech to the tone of which I could take any exception, taunted us because, as he said, we were in this important matter timidly waiting on public opinion; and the noble Lord who spoke last asked what public opinion we were waiting for; were we, he said, waiting for an opinion from the man in the street? If the noble Lord had read the Secretary of State's Memorandum, he would have seen that in one direction at any rate the Secretary of State desires to be fortified by an expression of public opinion of a kind of which I am sure the noble Lord will not speak slightingly—he proposes to take into consultation representative officers of Militia and to discuss with them proposals for any further changes that it might be desirable to introduce. Could any proposal be more reasonable or show a greater desire to deal considerately and respectfully with the Militia? I think that noble Lords opposite, far from having any reason to complain of us because our proposals are not in a more final and complete state, owe us some little gratitude for having gone out of our way to place them before the House while Parliament is still sitting and while debate upon them is possible.

With regard to the disappearance of the linked battalions, I may say a few words. It has often been my lot to defend in this House the system of linked battalions. I remain of opinion that, given the circumstances of the time, we had in these linked battalions a very valuable system for supplying the wants of the Army, but it was a system which, as your Lordships will remember, depended upon an approximation between the number of battalions required for service at home and the number required for service abroad. I shall continue to believe that the arrangement under which the home battalions acted as what I may call feeders to the foreign battalions, and in their turn, when fortified by the additions of Reservists, became fighting units, was a very good system, and certainly at the outbreak of the South African War it enabled us to put into the field a larger and more efficient force than ever left these shores before.

But from the moment when other principles were admitted with regard to the distribution of the Army, from the moment that it was recognised that the bulk of our Regular troops are required for service out of the country, and that consequently the number of Regular battalions at home must represent a very insignificant number indeed compared with the battalions abroad—from that moment the linked-battalion system was doomed, and we were bound to discover some alternative. The only alternative possible was the substitution of depots for linked battalions. When I had the honour of being connected with the Army I remember very well that military opinion leaned strongly to the view that the young soldier was better trained with the battalion than at the depot; but I gather that military opinion, which is not always constant in these matters, is different at the present time.

I will not detain your Lordships on matters of detail. Once again I ask your Lordships' favourable consideration of proposals produced under somewhat difficult circumstances. We have had to take into account the experience of a great war, we have had to consider the question of expense, and we have had also to take into account the changes consequent upon a very considerable alteration in what I may describe as the bases of our system of Imperial defence. All these considerations necessitated a courageous revision of our existing arrangements. We have advanced as far as was possible within the time at our disposal. We are laying these new proposals before your Lordships on the clear understanding that the Paper you have in your hands contains, not a final recapitulation of military proposals accepted by the Government of the day, but a broad sketch of the general principles which, with a full knowledge of the views of his colleagues, and with the full approval of his military advisers, the Secretary of State has laid down for adoption.

*EARL SPENCER: I am exceedingly sorry, both on my own account and on the account of the House, to have to say anything at this late hour of the evening, but the speech of the noble Marquess makes it necessary for me to offer a few remarks. When we came down to the House we were grateful to the noble Marquess for having provided us with a Paper recapitulating the proposals made by the Secretary of State in another place in order that we might have a good basis for our discussion; but I am surprised to find from the remarks the noble Marquess has just made that we are not to consider any of these proposals as settled proposals for a scheme for Army reform. That is what I understand from the noble Marquess—in fact, that what has taken place here and elsewhere at the initiation of the Government is academic discussion on various texts which they have provided. I will come presently to one point on which I knew there was to be reservation of opinion. Allusion has already been made to the point by different speakers, but before dealing with it there are two or three other matters to which I should like to refer. I was very much struck with what was said by the distinguished Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, the late Commander-in-Chief. He made some small criticisms on this scheme, declaring that he approved of some proposals and disapproved of others, but he urged the high importance of not hurrying in this matter, and of not rushing another new Army scheme before the country. I feel the force of that advice very strongly.

Many critics have forgotten what was so remarkable and good in the sending of troops to South Africa. Great mistakes were made in that war, but I do not wish to dwell on them to-day. But there were some remarkable facts which from time to time have been powerfully referred to by the Prime Minister as facts upon which we might congratulate ourselves in relation to what had been done in South Africa under the old system. First there was the question of the Reserves. It was certainly remarkable that this system, originated by Lord Cardwell, which had never really been practically tried before, produced within six days nearly 98 per cent. of those who were serving in the Reserve. Not only that, but we were able with great rapidity to send our forces with all apparatus necessary for the campaign 7,000 miles over sea, and that is a performance which very few countries in the world could have carried through. This system also gave to many regiments in South Africa the best *personnel*—I do not much like the word though my noble friend the First Lord of the Admiralty often uses it—I will say the finest body of soldiers that probably had ever been seen in any regiment either in this country or abroad. Why was that? It was on account of the splendid men who went out as Reservists. I know it may be said that that is not the proper use of Reservists—that they should be formed into separate regiments and form the second line of attack or defence. Abroad the peace establishment of a regiment is often 600 and their war establishment 1000, and as far as I know this large increase is made up by what we call Reservists. Having this success in view, were the Government justified in rushing at once into a new scheme? The scheme given us is for discussion apparently and has not been settled. Why was this necessary? It is mainly on account of the change which the Government themselves rushed through a few years ago. That system has broken down because three years service was introduced universally. The system was copied from the Guards, and the moment men found they could enlist for the short service in their own localities recruiting for the Guards fell off, and that arm is now largely deficient in men. Serious difficulties, I understand, have been found in sending out reinforcements and changes of men to India. Men have not re-engaged, and the expense of transport in sending short-service men backwards and forwards will be enormous. All that trouble has been caused by rushing through a new plan without full consideration by the Government, and now they are obliged to take some steps to remedy this serious state of things. I protest, therefore, against an endeavour to impose a cut-and-dried scheme on the country—perhaps the statement of the noble Marquess to-night will dissipate that impression—when we know that under the former state of things such excellent results were secured by which a large Army was sent to South Africa. I do not say that there are not things which ought to be changed; but I do say that to try to change the whole system—which I thought this was an endeavour to do—seems to me very unwise and imprudent; and I sympathise very much with the gallant Field-Marshal in what he said on this matter.

Now, my Lords, I agree with all that has been said by my noble friend who introduced the subject as to the Militia being the pivot of this scheme. That is a very important point, and we certainly seem to have heard two voices from the Government in reference to it to-night. The noble Earl the Under-Secretary of State for War clearly, as I understand, said that what they wanted was the welding of the Militia into the home-service Army.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: That is the wish of the Army Council. Perhaps I do not make it clear.

*EARL SPENCER: I understood the noble Earl to say the Government.

The EARL OF DONOUGHMORE: Then I was wrong; I meant the Army Council.

*EARL SPENCER: I certainly understood him to represent that the Government desired it, and it very much corresponded with the shrewd guesses previously made by many people outside as to the difficulty in producing this scheme, and we came to the conclusion that there had been serious opposition on the part of the Secretary of State's colleagues to what he wanted. I certainly think that the Under-Secretary's statement corroborates those rumours; but the noble Marquess leaves the subject—as it is left in the Memorandum—an open question. It is clear that in this, as in other questions, the Government are not quite distinct in their views on important matters, and though they lay down principles on certain points, they leave others open. If they are going to weld the Militia into these regiments, a great constitutional force is practically destroyed. I am not saying that this great force is in a perfect state. I believe it has been neglected to a great extent, and had it been dealt with on different lines this great territorial force might be much more efficient than it is now. Every one would wish to see great efforts made to preserve a force so popular in this country, and a force which during the late war furnished something like 2,000 officers and 40,000 or 70,000 men to the Army in South Africa. The country would be much staggered if it thought this force would be shortly destroyed. The Militia has doubtless fallen off a great deal in the matter of recruits. One of the reasons has been the passion—which is very good in some respects but which when given way to to too large an extent is ruinous to recruiting—for bringing the men into brigades for camping. I went to see my own county Militia this year. It was the first time for five years the Militia had been trained at Northampton. Though I warmly support the occasional brigading of the Militia and the bringing of them into camp, to do so every year is destructive to their local influence and ruinous to recruiting in the different localities.

Then, my Lords, I must say a few words with regard to the Volunteers; as I do not think we are likely to have another discussion of this matter before the end of the session. I have always been a very warm supporter of the Volunteers. I was one of the first to join the force. I did more than probably anybody else to raise a battalion in my own county, and I had the honour of commanding that battalion at the first Volunteer review in London before Her late Majesty. I have also had a great experience in regard to rifle shooting, and had much to do with the formation of the National Rifle Association, which has had so enormous an effect on rifle-shooting throughout the country. In my belief nothing has happened in this country which has done more good in many ways not only to the military, but to the people at large, socially and physically, than the establishment of Volunteers. We have got a most admirable class of men in the Volunteers; there has always been a keenness among them not only to learn their drill, but also to become skilful and good riflemen. I should very greatly regret it if anything were done to discourage the force—I will not say to diminish its numbers, because I frankly admit that in certain respects some diminution might be advisable. A medical examination might be required, but I do not imagine that that would cut out a very large number. But what is the proposal here? The proposal of the Secretary of State is to divide the Volunteers into two classes, one class composed of men who can give more time to drill and to camp, and the other class composed of men who are so occupied that they cannot give so much time away from their homes. I imagine that this proposal carries with it larger grants to one class than to the other. I am afraid you run a very great danger in this. From my experience I know that probably the most intelligent and the best kind of Volunteers are those who are the most occupied; and if you put a premium on those who are the least occupied I am afraid you will not secure the very best men for the service. I am happy to think that the strong prejudice which existed years ago against Volunteers amongst military men has largely disappeared. Officers in the Army were wedded to the system of men being drilled in barrack squares, and they preferred men so drilled to men who, although more intelligent, did not possess that qualification. But opinion in that respect has now changed. I agree in the desirability of camps for Volunteers, but I think the Government have been overstraining that point. I have commanded camps of Volunteers time after time, and it is surprising the progress they make with even a week's drill in camp. I think the Government have made a mistake both as to the length of the camp and the distance from home. We have not had a camp in Northamptonshire for some time. The men are taken off to Suffolk, and the local people never see them in camp. That is a great mistake. There ought to be brigade camp once or twice in three years, but if you wish to keep up the Volunteers you should do more to encourage local camps. I think there is considerable danger that if you have these two classes of Volunteers it will result in the ruin of a great many corps. The idea appears to be that the most intelligent, and therefore the better, men are to be found in the towns; but though I greatly appreciate many splendid town corps my experience is that rural corps contain the finest men. You must look to the rural districts for the strongest and most vigorous men. I know that in a tug of war the rural corps will always pull over the town corps. I have said these few words, not wishing to criticise in a Party spirit the proposals of the Government; but this is a subject of great national importance, and I thought it was necessary that we should offer certain criticisms, and I thank your Lordships for the attention you have given me.

House adjourned at twenty minutes past eight o'clock, till to-morrow Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 21*st July*, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Bournemouth Corporation (Tramways) Bill [Lords]; Ebbw Vale Urban District Water Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Harrogate Waterworks Tramroad Bill [Lords]. Verbal Amendments made; Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Earl Spencer.

Holywood Tramways Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Metropolitan District Railway Bill [Lords] (King's Consent signified) Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Lothians Electric Power Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; a Clause added, and an Amendment made; Bill to be read the third time.

Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill. Third Reading deferred till Monday next.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 5). Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the harbour of Courtown, in the county of Wexford, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 5) Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the harbour of Courtown, in the county of Wexford," presented accordingly.

Ordered, "That Standing Order 193A be suspended, and that the Bill be read the first time."—(*Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland.*)

Bill accordingly read the first time; referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 279.]

Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP M).

Sir JAMES WOODHOUSE reported from the Committee on Group M of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned till Wednesday next, at Eleven of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table.

Manchester Corporation (General Powers) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee [Section A]; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered Tomorrow.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4) Bill, without Amendment.

Lytham Improvement Bill, with Amendments.

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Annan; Birkenhead; Buckley; Bush Hill Park; Connah's Quay; Dalkeith; Deganwy (three); Dumfries; Durham; Eskdale; Ffynongroew (four); Finsbury Park; Glastonbury; Hilperton; Linlithgow (two); Llandudno; Manchester; New Southgate; Oxford; Parkgate; Pendleton (two); Stafford; Thornton Dale; and Worthing; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (TAXATION AND PURCHASE OF LAND) BILL.

Petition from Middlesbrough, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

TUBERCULOSIS (ANIMALS) COMPENSATION BILL.

Petition of the Royal, Parliamentary, and Police Burghs of Scotland, against; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ARMY.

Copy presented, of Statement showing the extensions of service, since 1st April, 1904, of men enlisted for three years with the colours (rank and file only) to seven and eight years respectively [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (SPECIAL PENSIONS).

Copy presented, of Return for the year ended 31st March, 1904, of Pensions specially granted under Articles 730, 1173a, and 1207 of the Army Pay Warrant [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CENSUS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1901.

Copy presented, of General Report, with Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PHYSICAL DETERIORATION.

Copy presented, of Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Vol. I. Report and Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

POST OFFICE (FOREIGN AND COLONIAL PARCEL POST).

Copy presented, of the Foreign and Colonial Parcel Post Amendment (No. 10) Warrant, 1904, dated 22nd June, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK.

Copy presented, of Report of the President for the Session 1903–4, with Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3225 to 3227 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, Nos. 615 and 616 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BAHAMAS.

Copy presented, of amended Prison Rule relating to the Personal Correction of Prisoners [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

Address for "Return of all sentences of Corporal Punishment inflicted under 26 and 27 Vic., c. 44, upon persons convicted of offences against Section 43 of The Larceny Act, 1861, and Section 21 of The Offences Against the Person Act, 1861, in England and Wales, from the 31st day of December, 1902, to the 31st day of December, 1903 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 185, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Lloyd Morgan.*)

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 3) BILL [LORDS].

Copy ordered, "of Memorandum stating the nature of the Proposals contained in the Provisional Orders included in the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords]." — (*Mr. Bonar Law.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Locomotives and Trucks in Public Streets in London.

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware of the inconvenience that is caused by locomotives, with heavy trains of wagons attached to them, being driven in the streets of the Metropolis; and whether he will take steps, by legislation or otherwise, to protect the public from the dangers arising from this class of traffic.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I understand that my right hon. friend has received complaints on this subject, but as the matter is one which may be dealt with by by-laws under Section 6 (1) of The Locomotives Act, 1898, and such by-laws have to be confirmed by the Local Government Board, he has asked me to reply to the Question. A series of by-laws under the enactment referred to has been made by the Corporation of the City of London, and is in force in the City. By-laws for the rest of London would be made by the London County Council. A series has been prepared, and I some time since informed the County Council that, subject to any objections which might be raised when the by-laws had been advertised, I was prepared to confirm them. The by-laws are, I believe, still under the consideration of the County Council.

Prisoners Flogged under the Vagrancy Act during 1903.

MR. LLOYD MORGAN (Carmarthen, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will state the number of prisoners sentenced to be flogged who were sent to the sessions to be dealt with under the Vagrancy Act during the year 1903, and the offences they had committed, together with the name of the sessions where such sentences were passed.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) There were four sentences of whipping passed under the Vagrancy Act during the year 1903, one at county quarter sessions and three at borough sessions. The offender in each of these cases was guilty of grossly indecent exposure of his person, and had been repeatedly convicted before of the same offence.

Clubs Failing to Register under The Licensing Act, 1902.

MR. COLSTON (Gloucestershire, Thornbury): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he can state whether any, and, if so, what number of clubs failed to register under Section 25 of The Licensing Act, 1902; and how many clubs have been struck off the register under Section 28.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I have no means of answering the first part of the Question. As regards the second part it appears from police returns that sixty-seven clubs were struck off the register in the year 1903.

Experiments in Connection with Drowning of Dogs.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he has yet received any report from Professor Schäfer with regard to the experiments performed by him in connection with the drowning of dogs; and, if so, will he state the result as it affects the advancement by new discovery of physiological knowledge, or of knowledge which will be useful for saving or prolonging of life or alleviating suffering.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) The only report which I have as yet received is a copy of a paper by Professor Schäfer, entitled "Description of a simple and efficient method of performing artificial respiration in the human subject, especially in cases of drowning." This is the outcome of the investigation made by Professor Schäfer on behalf of the Committee on Suspended Animation appointed by the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, and I would refer the hon. Member to that paper for information in the matter.

Dog Licences for Dogs kept for Vivisection Purposes.

DR SHIPMAN (Northampton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the Law concerning the payment of dog licences is enforced in the case of dogs kept for vivisection in places registered for that purpose.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I am informed by the Board of Inland Revenue that the Answer is in the affirmative.

Alleged Birching by the Sparkhill Police to Extort Confession.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has received any communication respecting the case of two boys named Taylor and Hall who, it is alleged, were birched, with a view of extorting confessions, by members of the Sparkhill police force; and whether he will cause inquiry to be made into the case.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas*). I presume the name Hall in this Question is a mistake for Heekes; if so, the case is one about which I have already made inquiry, and I have received a report of the facts from the Chief Constable of Worcestershire. Taylor, it appears, was not birched, but was prevented by force from assaulting his fellow prisoner. Heekes was birched, not for the purpose of extorting a confession, but at his own request, instead of charging him with a theft to which he had already confessed. The action of the police superintendent in birching the boy was clearly most improper, and I am glad to find that the chief constable takes a very serious view of his misconduct. I am still in communication with the police authorities with regard to the incident.

Adoption of Suggestions of Local Government Board Circular of 11th March, 1899.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state how many and what local authorities have adopted the recommendations and suggestions contained in the Local Government Board Order of 11th March, 1899.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I am not in a position to state how many and what local authorities have adopted the recommendations and suggestions contained in the circular letter issued by my Department on the 11th March, 1899, except so far as regards regulations under Article 13 of the Dairies, Cowsheds, and Milkshops Order of 1885. I dealt with this latter point in my reply to the Question of the hon. Member of the 12th instant.†

Accommodation for Sick Poor in Eastville Workhouse.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether the Board regard as adequate the accommodation provided for the sick in the Eastville workhouse, belonging to the Bristol Board of Guardians; if he will state how many members of that board of guardians on a recent occasion voted for and how many against the provision of better accommodation; and whether he proposes to take any further action in this matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The accommodation for the sick poor of the parish of Bristol is admitted by the guardians to be inadequate and unsatisfactory, and they have for a long time past been considering various schemes for providing better accommodation. That now proposed seems to have been adopted by them at a meeting held on 15th June. From a newspaper account of the proceedings I observe that an amendment which appears to have been supported by those who were not in favour of the particular scheme in question was rejected by twenty-six votes to twenty-three. The scheme has now been submitted to me, and I shall shortly address a communication to the guardians with regard to it.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvii., 1358.

Post Office Savings Bank—Acknowledgment of Deposits under one Pound.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will state what sum the abolition of the practice of sending out from the Post Office Savings Bank acknowledgments of deposits under one pound is expected to save annually in postage and clerical labour respectively; and, seeing that these deposits represent 60 per cent. of the whole of the deposits received by the Postmaster-General at 14,000 Post Office Savings Banks, will he state what precaution it is proposed to take to protect the Department against fraud, especially having regard to the fact that many of these savings banks are at shops where the clerks are not in the pay of the Postmaster-General.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) It is estimated that the annual saving in postage and clerical labour through the abolition of acknowledgments for deposit under £1 will be £18,500 and £7,500 respectively. The acknowledgment is only one of the checks upon irregularities in bringing deposits to account. The other precautions are, in my opinion, fully sufficient to guard against the risk of irregularities in the case of the deposits in question, which average only 6s. each.

Middlesbrough Post Office.

MR GODDARD (Ipswich): To ask the Postmaster-General whether the regulation is still in force restricting the appointment of the relatives of superior officials in the same office; and whether he will make inquiries at the Middlesbrough Post Office with a view to making the necessary alterations in conformity with the rules of the service.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley*). There has been no alteration in the practice of the Department in this respect, which, at offices like Middlesbrough, is that a "near male relative of a postmaster, chief clerk, or other supervising officer is admitted to appointment only on condition that he agrees to seek transfer to some other office on attaining the age of nineteen if the circumstances remain unchanged; and a female relative of a supervising officer (unless more than one is employed) or a more distant male relative is appointed only on condition that if at any time the relationship is considered to be detrimental to the efficiency of the service the candidate will be transferred to some other office." As regards Middlesbrough, I presume that the hon. Member refers to the appointment of Mr. Balcombe, son of an assistant superintendent, in August, 1902, and of Miss James, daughter of the postmaster, in June, 1903; but both of these appointments were made on the conditions which I have specified. Mr. Balcombe is not yet nineteen years of age.

Vacancies in the Post Office Service filled by Persons other than Postal Servants.

MR. JOHN WILSON (Durham, Mid.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether he can state the number of postmasterships vacant during the past three years which were filled by persons not previously in the Civil Service and by pensioned Civil servants other than Post Office servants, respectively; and whether he will state the reasons for filling superior posts in the Post Office Department in this manner, in view of the dearth of promotion and the want of prospects existing throughout this Department.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I cannot find that any head postmastership vacant during the past three years has been filled by the appointment of a person not previously in the Civil Service or by a pensioned Civil servant other than a Post Office servant. Small sub-offices which do not occupy the whole time of the sub-postmaster are frequently given to local shopkeepers and others unconnected with the Civil Service. But the emoluments of these posts are small, and I do not understand the hon. Member to refer to them when he speaks of "superior posts" in the Post Office.

Avoch Harbour.

MR. WEIR: To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will say whether the petition of the Avoch Harbour Trustees, praying for a grant in aid of works in connection with the Harbour at Avoch, Ross-shire, has yet received consideration; and, if so, will he state the nature of the decision arrived at.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The petition of the Avoch Harbour Trustees was referred to the Harbour Grants Committee, who have made a Report which is under the consideration of the Government. I have no doubt that the decision will be communicated to the applicants at an early date.

School Accommodation at Hayward's Heath.

MR. EVELYN CECIL (Aston Manor) To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether, fresh school accommodation being necessary at Hayward's Heath, the Board of Education recently refused to sanction the building of a second Church school, although the urban district council three times passed a unanimous resolution in its favour, and a poll of the ratepayers of the district resulted in 565 voting for and eight against it; whether, as a matter of policy in single school areas containing only one denominational or one council school, the Board generally refuse to sanction the building of another of the same kind; and whether he can state, for the guidance of all areas, on what general principle such decisions of the Board proceed.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) The hon. Member is incorrectly informed as to the unanimity of the urban district council; while, owing to the form in which the voting papers were drawn up for the purpose of the poll referred to, a considerable number were not returned or returned in blank. It is no doubt the case that there is a considerable majority of ratepayers in favour of a voluntary school, but there is also a substantial minority in favour of a council school. On a review of all the circumstances of the case, the Board decided that the deficiency of accommodation would best be met by the provision of a council school. The Board understand that the necessary steps are now being taken by the local education authority. It is impossible to lay down any general rule as to single-school areas, for besides the interests of secular instruction, the economy of the rates, and the wishes of the parents, it is often necessary to take into consideration the neighbourhood and the character of other schools, and the facilities, or otherwise, of communication. Each case must be dealt with separately on its merits.

Detention of British Ships by Russian Cruisers.

SIR THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will ascertain under what circumstances two British steamers, the "Menelaus" and "Crew Hall," were, on Monday, the 11th instant, stopped in the Red Sea by an armed Russian cruiser, the detention in the case of the "Menelaus" being as much as four hours.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) His Majesty's Government are aware that several British steamers have been stopped by armed Russian vessels in the Red Sea. They recognise that the matter is one of grave importance, and full investigation is being made.

Alleged Concession to Germany in Madeira.

SIR WALTER FOSTER: To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has received any fresh information as to the German Sanatorium Syndicate from Lisbon or Madeira; and whether, if the concession is still unsigned, he will instruct the British Minister at Lisbon to ask for equality of treatment for British residents in Madeira as regards the exemptions and privileges which the Germans are acquiring to the detriment of British commercial interests.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) His Majesty's Government are in communication with the Portuguese Government, and I am unable to make a further statement at present. No concession has yet been given for the supply of water.

Duty on Alcohol used for Industrial Purposes.

Colonel DENNY (Kilmarnock Burghs): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether any facilities are given for the manufacture of alcohol for industrial purposes under special Excise regulations, so as to make the duty as small as possible; what is the minimum duty charged upon alcohol after denaturalisation; and how does this duty compare with that exacted in Germany, France, Austria, Belgium, Holland, and Italy upon spirit used for industrial purposes, including alcohol engines.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) There are no special facilities given for the manufacture of alcohol used for industrial purposes. There is no duty charged upon spirit of British manufacture used for methylation or for purposes sanctioned under Section 8 of the Finance Act, 1902, but upon foreign spirits so used a differential duty of 5d. per proof gallon is charged. About three years ago the Board of Inland Revenue obtained through the Foreign Office information as regards the terms upon which alcohol may be used for industrial purposes in the principal countries of the Continent and in the United States of America; and, so far as they can judge from the returns then made, no duty is charged upon alcohol so used in any of the countries named. It is, however, difficult to say whether this would be true in all cases, as in some countries the tax on alcohol is not a single tax, but a combination of several duties chargeable at different stages of manufacture or of sale, and it is not certain that all of these are remitted in all cases of use of alcohol for industrial purposes.

Death from Flogging of Ramji Hariba.

Mr. J. A. PEASE (Essex, Saffron Walden): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether the attention of his Office has been called to the death on 4th January of Ramji Hariba, as the result of flogging received on 24th December by order of Mr. Cursondas Chhabildas, when he was convicted of theft; and whether any steps have been taken to prevent such an incident happening again.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I have no information as to the occurrence referred to in the Question; I will make an inquiry on the subject, but the local government have, no doubt, taken the necessary steps.

Encouragement of Fishing Industry on South-East Coast of Ireland.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is in a position to state what steps he proposes to take for the encouragement of the fishing industry on the south-east coast of Ireland.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) I am not yet in a position to make an announcement in respect to this matter.

Irish Bankruptcy Court—Amount of Unclaimed Dividend Fund.

Mr. FIELD: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a fund known as the Unclaimed Dividend Fund exists in connection with the Court of Bankruptcy, Ireland; whether he can state its amount at present, and whether this money is invested in public funds; and whether he will consider the advisability of utilising this money to provide a building fund for the erection of suitable technical schools in Ireland, to be repaid by annual instalments.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The application of the Unclaimed Dividends in Bankruptcy (Ireland) is regulated by Section 85 of the Act 40 and 41 Vic., c. 57. The money is from time to time applied in purchase of Government securities which are thereupon cancelled. The sum of £5,188 8s. 9½d. is now standing to the credit of the account, and will in due course be disposed of as the Act directs. There is no power to utilise it for any other purpose.

Destruction of Flag on Orange Hall, Trillick.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Union Jack which was flying from the Orange Hall in Trillick on the 12th instant, was hauled down and destroyed; and whether, in view of the fact that the police were in the vicinity, he can state if any arrests were made.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) There was a small dance in the Orange Hall on the date mentioned, the music at which was supplied by two Roman Catholics. The flag was subsequently found at the door of the hall torn, but on the 14th instant it was replaced on the hall. The police have been unable to ascertain by whom the flag was taken down.

Inspection of Mr. O'Donovan's Property at Skibbereen.

MR. GILHOOLY (Cork County, W.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the inspector promised by the Congested Districts Board to visit the property of Mr. O'Donovan, of Skibbereen, which is situated in the Durrus district, has done so, and, if not, when the inspection will be made.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Board's inspector hopes to be able to inspect this property within the next fortnight.

Losses of Debenture Holders of Irish Loan Fund Banks.

DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if, in view of the fact that the losses sustained by the debenture holders and borrowers in the Irish Loan Fund banks is due to the incapacity of the Loan Fund Board and its inspectors, he will consider the advisability of introducing legislation to give relief to those people who have lost their savings by the laxity of a Government Board and its officers.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Any losses sustained by the debenture holders of insolvent loan fund societies are attributable to local mismanagement. In answer to the second part of the Question, I refer to my reply to the hon. Member's previous Question of the 11th instant.†

Inspection of Irish Workhouses and Workhouse Hospitals.

DR. THOMPSON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if, in view of the fact that Irish workhouses and workhouse hospitals are inspected by lay inspectors without any technical experience, and in view of the condition of the Irish workhouses as proved by the evidence given before the Viceregal Commission now sitting, he will direct the Local Government Board to so re-arrange the duties of its inspectors that these institutions shall be in the future inspected only by expert medical inspectors.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) As already stated in reply to the hon. Member's previous Question of 12th instant,‡ the hospitals attached to workhouses are inspected by medical inspectors who have been specially appointed for the purposes. The workhouses are inspected by experienced lay inspectors who, in the Board's opinion, possess the necessary qualifications for the duty. Until the Report and evidence of the Viceregal Commission have been received no definite conclusions can be arrived at concerning the matters investigated by the Commission.

Age Retirement of Irish Poor Law Medical Officers.

DR. THOMPSON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that several Poor Law medical officers in Ireland are over seventy-five years of age and still retain their appointments; and, if so, if he will authorise the Local Government Board to frame rules which will allow those officers to tender their resignations, subject to their being satisfied with the retiring allowance granted them by the local authorities.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) No doubt some of the Poor Law medical officers are advanced in years, but in the absence of a compulsory Superannuation Act it is not possible for the Local Government Board to compel them to resign, unless of course they fail to discharge their duties satisfactorily. The proposal that medical officers should be permitted to tender their resignations provisionally is not feasible. Under The Union Officers' Superannuation Act,

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvii., 1193.

‡ See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvii., 1352.

1865, a pension can only be awarded to an officer upon his resigning or otherwise ceasing to hold office.

Royal Army Medical Corps.

Dr. THOMPSON: To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that medical officers who were appointed probationers in the Royal Army Medical Corps, between the years 1880 and 1885, were not allowed to count their six months service at the Army Medical School at Netley as part of their Army service; and, seeing that this disqualification has been removed since the year 1885, will he direct that officers who served in the Army Medical School at Netley, between the years 1880 and 1885, will be placed, as regards these years, on a similar ratio to officers appointed since the later date.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The hon. Member has been somewhat misinformed in his data. In the first place the probationary period at the Army Medical School was four months, and not six. In the second place the change in the procedure took place in 1902, and not 1885, by which service while on probation and under instruction at the Royal Army Medical College and Depot Royal Army Medical Corps (for a period of five months) is reckoned. Under these circumstances I am not prepared to ante-date the commissions in the manner suggested.

Improved Sleeping Accommodation in Guard Rooms.

Mr. COLSTON: To ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state what guard rooms are now provided with the improved sleeping accommodation.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) No guard beds have as yet been provided anywhere, but tenders for them have recently come in, and are receiving consideration.

Army Estimates

Mr. GODDARD: To ask the Secretary of State for War what will be the estimated increase in Estimates in each of the ensuing two years under the re-armament scheme; what will be the increased charge for interest for money borrowed under the Military Works Acts for the same period; and what is the increase of charge for stores needed to keep up the standard recommended by the Mowatt Committee as compared with the average annual charge for the same purpose in the years preceding the appointment of that Committee.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) I hope I shall be able to propose the re-armament of the artillery upon the basis which I have already suggested to the House, viz., the completion in three years, which will involve an additional payment in the next two years of £1,250,000 in each case. I trust that the House will support me if I find it necessary to ask them to vote a large addition to Estimates which will be involved by the adoption of this course. I prefer, however, not to make a positive statement until the Estimates of next year are ready for submission. No increased charge will be required in connection with the Mowatt stores, but as a considerable stock of surplus stores and clothing existed from the war in South Africa, it was unnecessary to make the normal provision for upkeep in the Estimates 1904–1905. There will, therefore, probably be an increased provision as compared with 1904–1905 of—

1905–6 . .	£373,000.
1906–7 . .	£649,000.

The Reserves.

Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War on what occasions since 1880 the Reserves have been called out; how many Reservists responded on each occasion; and what was the total number of troops employed in each of the campaigns.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The Reserves have been called out on the following occasions since 1880:—

1882, partial mobilisation;
1885, partial mobilisation;
1899–1900, general mobilisation.

The numbers who joined on each occasion are as follows:—

1882, 10,583, or 90·8 per cent. of those called up;

1885, 2,205, or 87·0 per cent. of those called up;

1899–1900, 74,379, or 91·67 per cent. of those called up.

The total number of troops employed in each of the campaigns are:—

1882 - - - -	36,735
1885 - - - -	24,175
1899–1902 - - -	448,435

Rates of Wages of Chinese Labourers in the Transvaal.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state what are the rates of wages which are being paid to the Chinese labourers now working in the the Transvaal mines; and what proportion of the labourers are paid at each rate.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I am not in a position to state the rates, but I will inquire.

Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia and Chinese Labour.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia has passed this year any Resolution on the subject of the importation of Chinese labourers into that territory; if so, what are its terms; and whether he has yet arrived at a decision with regard to the sanction of such importation.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I have not yet learnt whether any Resolution has been passed, and I have not, therefore, yet arrived at any decision.

Receipts and Expenditure of the Transvaal, Orange River Colony, and Intercolonial Council.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what are the actual figures in receipts and expenditure for the year ended 30th June for the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, and the Intercolonial Council.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I have received the following figures from Lord Milner:—

Transvaal:

Actual Receipts . . .	£4,465,000
Actual Expenditure (including contribution of £750,000 to Intercolonial Council)	£4,358,000

Orange River Colony:

Receipts latest Estimate .	£861,000
Expenditure, latest Estimate (including contribution of £100,000 to Intercolonial Council . .	£745,000

Intercolonial Council:

Actual Receipts . . .	£2,661,195
Actual Expenditure . .	£2,600,926

The Transvaal Expenditure is exclusive of Crown Agents' payments during June, which are £8,563. The figures in connection with the Intercolonial Council Budget are exclusive of Crown Agents' transactions. Their expenditure on this account amounts to about £50,000.

QUESTIONS IN TH HOUSE.

Sale of Obsolete War Vessels.

COLONEL DENNY (Kilmarnock Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the firms who purchased the old war vessels at the recent sale were themselves shipbreakers or were they agents acting for foreigners; if the latter, was it known to the Admiralty that these people had previously acted in the same way, subsequently disposing of the ships to foreigners; at whose request was the restriction as to non-removal from the United Kingdom removed from the contract in the special cases in which it was thought necessary, and how had the necessity disappeared; is the destination of the "Belleisle" ultimately a foreign country; and what is the name of the London firm to which she was sold.

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ARTHUR LEE, Hampshire, Fareham): The Answer to the first part of the Question is that they were all shipbreakers with one exception, who was a purchaser well known to the Admiralty. He has previously bought ships which have ultimately been taken abroad. The restriction as to non-removal from the United Kingdom is dispensed with in certain cases, after due consideration by the Board, in order to increase the range of competition. The ultimate destination of the "Belleisle" is not known. She was sold to Mr. J. B. Garnham, of 132, Upper Thames Street, E.C., without any restrictions; but I may add that the vessel was in such a state that breaking up was the only course open to the purchaser.

Army Reorganisation Scheme.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can grant the Return on the Paper relating to the new Army Scheme.

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. Arnold-Forster, Belfast, W.): Yes, Sir. I will endeavour to furnish the Return asked for by the right hon. Gentleman in a form closely corresponding with the form suggested. I ought to add, however, the same proviso as I made in answer to the Question of the hon. Member for the Eastern Division of Perthshire yesterday, viz., that the figures must, to a large extent, be contingent upon the acceptance by Parliament of the proposals I made as a whole.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Will the Return be in the hands of Members in time for the debate?

Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No date has yet been fixed for the debate, but I will use every endeavour to that end. I am most anxious that the right hon. Gentleman should have the figures.

Appended is the Return above referred to—

Army Organisation Scheme.—Address for Return showing, as regards the proposals of His Majesty's Government, the following particulars, viz.:—

(*a*) Scheme of establishments of Infantry and Guards, similar to that on pages 18 and 19, of Army Estimates.

(*b*) Distribution at home and abroad, as on page 22 of Army Estimates.

(*c*) Constitution approximately estimated, of a unit of each establishment proposed, showing the number of men serving in each year of their service.

(*d*) Draft calculated to be required for each unit serving abroad, stating what is the basis assumed.

(*e*) Number of Reservists which it is calculated to be created by each cadre—Home service, general service, and foreign service.

(*f*) How the battalions will be made up on mobilisation, showing the number under twenty years of age in the battalion, the number over twenty years, and the number of Reservists required to complete War establishment, and the number in excess, the waste of Reservists being assumed according to experience before 1899.

(*g*) Total number of recruits of nineteen years of age and upwards, to keep up establishment of battalions abroad.

(*h*) Total number of recruits of eighteen years required for the home service battalions.

(*i*) Mode in which non-commissioned officers will be obtained and trained for the home service battalions.

(*j*) Names and numbers of the battalions which will form the several categories.

(*k*) Reliefs, how effected, and interchange of officers and non-commissioned officers between the battalions.

(*l*) Minimum service and age of men proceeding on foreign service.

(*m*) Location of men who have completed six months service at the depot.

(*n*) Rates of pay of the respective Armies.

(*o*) Conditions on which men are to extend their service for pension.

Army Recruiting for 1903-4.

Mr. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War what was the total number of recruits finally passed into the Army in the last completed twelve months from all sources.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The figures are as follows:—Regular Forces, 42,216, Militia, 40,808. I may add that a considerable proportion of the recruits enlisted in the Militia subsequently passed into the Line, but I am unable to give the exact figures.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: Then do I understand that a substantial number of the Militia recruits are included in the figures 42,216.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Oh, yes, undoubtedly. The last figures I have are about 19,000, and the total must be reduced by that amount, because those figures are duplicate.

Recruiting—Comparative Tables.

SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what number of recruits were enlisted into the Army in the first six months of 1903 and 1904 respectively; how many specials were enlisted in each period; whether all arms of the service were open to recruiting during both periods; how the recruits obtained in the present year compare in number with those obtained during a like period of 1898 and 1899, and how many specials were taken in those years.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The figures for the first six months are as follows:—

	Recruits.	Specials Under Standard.
1898	... 18,569	5,615
1899	... 19,134	5,888
1903	... 20,445	1,307
1904	... 30,822	311

During the first six months of 1903 the Cavalry and Royal Horse Artillery were closed and the Royal Field Artillery for drivers: the Royal Engineers were closed in March, 1903, except for certain trades. In 1904 the Cavalry were closed for the first six months except for two regiments for a few weeks; the Royal Horse Artillery except for drivers in three districts and a levy of fifty gunners; the Royal Field Artillery were closed for drivers except for one depot and for gunners from the 28th March in four depots; and the Royal Engineers were closed for sappers except for certain trades.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: Is it not the case that in 1904 men were enlisted under much stricter limitations than before?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Yes, that is so.

Re-engagements in the Guards Brigade.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, how many men in the Brigade of Guards re-engaged for various terms of service in the first six months of 1903 and 1904, respectively, including all re-engagements, whether of men of three years, seven years, or longer service.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The figures are as follows:—1903, 140; 1904, 1,007.

Proposed Reduction of the Volunteer Force.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will say whether, if Parliament approves the reduction of the Volunteer Force to 180,000 men, it is proposed to retain the £1 15s. capitation grant with respect to the 120,000 of the second class, and to what extent the earning power of regiments will be increased in respect of the 60,000 in the first class; and whether it will be distributed in the shape of grants for special proficiency or in what manner.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I am not at present able to give a reply to my hon. friend. The principles I propose must be approved by Parliament before I can give practical effect to them.

Expenditure under the Military Works Act.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what was the sum expended under the Military Works Act for the year ending 31st March, 1904, what is the estimated expenditure in the current financial year; and whether an assurance can now be given similar to that given on the Naval Works Act, that no new military works will be provided for by loan.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT, Cheshire, Macclesfield): The approximate expenditure under the Military Works Act in 1903 to 1904 was £3,600,000. It is not possible at present to state the estimated expenditure during 1904 to 1905, as the question is still under discussion with the Treasury. I imagine that there is a general feeling against the extension of loan provision, but I am not in a position to give the assurance asked for.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: What balance remains unexpended of the amount authorised by the last Military Works Act?

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: I cannot say without notice.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Will the estimate be ready during this session?

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: I should think so.

Chinese Coolies in South Africa—Treatment of the "Tweeddale" Contingent

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he has yet received the despatch from Lord Milner asked for by cable on 23rd June, relative to the arrival and landing at Durban of coolies from the steamship "Tweeddale" and their transmission to Johannesburg; and, if so, whether he will state the terms of Lord Milner's report.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I have not yet received the despatch in question.

Ex-President Kruger's Funeral.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether Lord Milner and his advisers have consented to the interment of the late President Kruger at Pretoria; and, if so, whether it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to offer one of His Majesty's ships for the conveyance of the remains to South Africa.

MR. LYTTELTON: Perhaps I may be allowed to reply to this. Lord Milner and his advisers have consented to the interment of the late President Kruger in Pretoria. With regard to the recommendation in the Question of the hon. Member, the Government have considered the matter very carefully; and I think the House will agree that it is desirable to do nothing in any sense in connection with this matter inharmonious with the wishes of the family and the general sense of the countrymen of the late President Kruger. Having that consideration before them, in view of the many sensibilities concerned, the solution of the matter that has been possible to us is contained in the following telegram to Lord Milner—

"Please inform General Hildyard that any military honours he may consider proper to arrange for in connection with the funeral of the late President Kruger will have the fullest sanction of His Majesty's Government. Such a recognition of the conspicuous position so long held by the late President Kruger in South Africa may be acceptable to the family and the Boer community at large; but unless you are satisfied that it will be acceptable, you will, of course, take no action on this telegram."

Self-Government for the Transvaal Colony.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any correspondence has passed between Lord Milner and himself relative to the question of conferring self-government upon the Transvaal Colony; if so, whether he can say when he will be in a position to lay such correspondence; and whether any operative step will be taken before Parliament has an opportunity of discussing the matter.

MR. LYTTELTON: I hope to be able in the course of the discussion of the Colonial Vote to-day to make a statement with regard to this matter, so that the hon. Member will excuse me for not saying more at present.

Precedence in the Colonies.

MR. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware that in 1872 in South Australia an Act was passed depriving the Bishop of the precedence he then possessed and disallowed by the Home Government, the then Secretary for the Colonies laying down the rule that a precedence once granted to a person could not be taken away during the time he held office, unless he voluntarily relinquished it; and, if so, whether he will state on what grounds and at whose instance the Chief Justice of New Zealand was deprived of his precedence.

MR. LYTTELTON: The circumstances of the two cases are somewhat different, as in the South Australian case the Bill in question had special reference to the precedence of certain ministers of religion, whereas in the New Zealand case it was a question of a general revision of the precedence table of the colony. Some doubts were at first entertained as to the propriety of making any alteration in the position of the Chief Justice, but it was eventually decided, after the most careful consideration, that in view of the strong feeling of the New Zealand Ministry on the subject, and having regard to the fact that the matter was one of essentially local concern and that no Imperial interests were involved, there was no sufficient reason for advising His Majesty to refuse his assent to the proposal.

Zanzibar—Envoys Complaints against the Regent.

MR. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if the Government have now decided to grant an independent inquiry into the complaints of the envoys from Zanzibar against the Regent.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.) No, Sir; no such inquiry is contemplated.

Blended Spirits—Operations in Bond.

MR. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will state how many gallons of patent spirits distilled in England were blended with Scotch whiskey and bottled in bond under Government supervision for exportation to the Colonies and other countries during the last financial year; and whether the Select Committee of 1890 and 1891 found that such chemically pure spirits distilled in England might be blended with Scotch whiskey and sold as such.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): With reference to the first point, I have inquired and find that the Board of Inland Revenue have not the information required by the hon. Member. The Answer to his second Question is in the affirmative.

Patent-Still Distillery in Scotland.

MR. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will state how many gallons of patent spirits were distilled in the Highlands of Scotland during the last financial year; and if he will state whether any of the Highland whisky made up in bond under Government supervision contains a considerable percentage of patent spirits.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: There is only one patent-still distillery in the Highlands of Scotland; but the Board of Inland Revenue have no title to disclose the particulars of its trade. The Board have no official record which would enable them to supply the information asked for in the second clause of the Question.

Conveyance of Dutiable Goods between English and Irish Ports — Carrying Trades' Accounts.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, with reference to the Memorandum prefixed to the Return of Revenue and Expenditure (England, Scotland, and Ireland), of the 27th June, 1904, who were the owners of vessels in the carrying trade who kept the accounts there referred to; what is the nature of those accounts and by whom were they prescribed; what are the dutiable articles in respect of which they were kept; who were the dealers and manufacturers of whom inquiries were, as is alleged, made as to movements of beer and manufactured tobacco between England, Scotland, and Ireland, and what were those inquiries; what was the nature of the adjustments in respect of direct taxes to which the Return refers as having been made, and whether they involve any, and, if so, what change or changes in the methods of calculation heretofore adopted; and who ordered those accounts, inquiries, and adjustments.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The accounts were kept by the companies—about ninety in number—engaged in shipping between Great Britain and Ireland. Forms of account, prescribed by the Treasury, were furnished to these companies, who were requested to enter thereon the quantities of certain dutiable articles conveyed by them between British and Irish ports, and to furnish those statements weekly to the collectors of Customs at the Irish ports. The dutiable articles of which accounts were so obtained were tea, wine, and sugar. As regards the movements of beer and manufactured tobacco, application was made by the Excise officers to all traders in each collectorate for returns of the amounts sent to or received from a different division of the United Kingdom. The chief alteration made in respect of direct taxes was a revision of the percentage of taxation which, though collected in England, is presumed to be levied on property owned in Scotland or Ireland. This adjustment applies to the entire yield of income-tax under Schedule C and Part I. of Schedule D, also to a portion of the yield from stamps and from Part II. of Schedule D of the income-tax. In previous annual Returns the adjustment had been based on the Probate Duty Statistics of the year 1889–90, on which basis the percentage deducted from England was 1·6, of which 1·4 per cent. was attributed to Scotland, and 2 per cent. to Ireland. These percentages have now been revised in the light of the Estate Duty Statistics of recent years; the new percentage deducted from England being 2·4, of which 1·7 per cent. is attributed to Scotland, and ·7 per cent. to Ireland. A slight readjustment has also been found necessary of the proportions of certain direct taxes presumed to be derived from sources outside the United Kingdom. The inquiries were carried out under direction of the Treasury.

MR. CLANCY: The right hon. Gentleman must be aware that he has not given me the greater part of the information for which I asked. May I inquire, however, whether any of these unfortunate changes affecting grave constitutional questions have been conducted behind the back of Parliament and of the parties concerned?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN made no reply.

MR. CLANCY: Then may I inquire if, in case the right hon. Gentleman may contemplate any further changes, he will make public beforehand the principle on which he intends proceeding?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: These inquiries were instituted before I became Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is the duty of the Department which has to present Returns to get them in as accurate a form as possible. That is what has been aimed at in this case.

MR. CLANCY: Who directed the inquiries?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I cannot say, but it was one of my predecessors.

Desertions of British Merchant Seamen in Pacific Ports.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he has made inquiries in regard to the percentage of British merchant seamen stated in the Report of the United States Government Commissioner to have deserted in Pacific ports in the year 1903; and whether he has determined to take steps to prevent shipowners from profiting by such desertions.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. BONAR LAW, Glasgow, Blackfriars): The subject of my right hon. friend's Question is receiving careful consideration, but it involves points of legal difficulty upon which the Board of Trade are consulting the Law Officers of the Crown. I cannot make any further statement with regard to the matter at present.

Education in the Isle of Wight—County Council and the Church of England Schools.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he can state the main provisions of the agreement entered into between the County Council for the Isle of Wight and the trustees of certain Church of England schools in the Island for the leasing of their schools to the authority, subject to the right of entry on certain days of the week for volunteer teachers of specific denominational religious instruction.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): The Board of Education understand that negotiations have been going on between the Isle of Wight Local Education Authority and the managers of certain voluntary schools, as to the terms upon which the latter were prepared to transfer the schools, but no definite proposals have been submitted for the consideration of the Board, and from a recent communication on the subject it appears to be doubtful whether the arrangement will be proceeded with.

Denominational Schools—Transfers to Local Educational Authorities.

DR. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he can state the number of denominational schools, by denominations and departments, and the total accommodation of the same, transferred to the local education authorities, under Section 23 of the Act of 1870, since the coming into operation of the Education Act of 1902.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: The number of voluntary schools, the transfers of which to local education authorities have been finally sanctioned by the Board under Section 23 of the Act of 1870, is, five Church of England schools, having seven departments providing accommodation for 951; one Wesleyan school, having one department, providing accommodation for 161; eighteen British and Foreign Schools Society schools having twenty-eight departments, providing accommodation for 4,613; and six undenominational, having nine departments, providing accommodation for 1,633. The Board have also approved the transfer, under Section 19 of the Act of 1870, of seventy-one Church of England schools, providing accommodation for 16,030; eight Wesleyan schools, providing accommodation for 3,692; eighteen British and Foreign Schools Society schools, providing accommodation for 7,485; and twenty-two undenominational, providing accommodation for 5,758.

Rathmines Registration Lists.

MR. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland if the police have yet identified the person or persons who have tampered with the requisition forms in the Rathmines polling district of South County Dublin; and, if so, will he direct a prosecution to take place.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): This matter has received my careful attention. I am awaiting some further information from the police before issuing instructions.

MR. MOONEY was understood to ask if it were not a fact that last week the identity of these men was satisfactorily established to the inspector of police. Was nothing being done in the matter?

MR. ATKINSON: I am expecting a further report.

MR. MOONEY: I will raise the matter later on.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) inquired if the right of certain persons to exercise the franchise did not hang upon action being taken within the next two days.

MR. ATKINSON: I can assure the hon. Member that immediately I get the report I am expecting I shall take the necessary action.

Dredger for the West of Ireland.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can now state what steps have been taken to acquire a dredger which would be available for the West of Ireland.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): I explained the position of the Government in this matter in reply to a Question by the hon. Member on the 2nd June†. I have no further statement at present to make.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: But is it the intention of the Government to provide a dredger?

MR. WYNDHAM: I can add nothing to my statement. It will be done at the earliest possible moment.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: When will the Estimate be before the House? It is now the 21st July.

MR. WYNDHAM: The hon. Member has as good an opportunity of judging the progress of business here as I have.

Land Purchase in Galway.

MR. CHARLES DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any sales under the provisions of the Land Act of 1903 have taken place within the area of the Parliamentary borough of Galway; and whether, within the same area, any land has been acquired by the Congested Districts Board for the enlargement of uneconomic holdings.

MR. WYNDHAM: No sales are pending before the Estates Commissioners. The Congested Districts Board has purchased one property.

Mountpottinger Constabulary Barracks.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Head Constable Ryan, of the Royal Irish Constabulary at Belfast, at present occupies the married quarters in Mountpottinger, although he is not stationed in that district; and whether, in view of the fact that his father-in-law lives with him in these quarters, contrary to the police regulations, he will consider the advisability of having these quarters occupied by the men at present doing duty in the district.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am in communication with the Inspector-General on the subject of this Question and will ask my hon. friend to postpone it until Monday next.

Gault Estate, County Tyrone.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any, and if so, what, progress has been made with the sale of the Gault Estate, Trillick, county Tyrone; whether he is aware that an absolute order for sale was made in 1894, and that the tenants have been prevented from having fair rents fixed on the agricultural land by repeated offers of sale; whether the tenants, at the request of the receiver, recently made offers of purchase; if these offers have been brought before the Land Judge; and if, when the case was last before the Judge, the solicitor having carriage of the sale stated that the question of title had been settled.

MR. WYNDHAM: The order for sale was made in 1894, but for the reasons stated by me on the 7th March† the Land Judge was satisfied that the solicitors having carriage of the proceedings were not in default. The solicitors have no knowledge of the fact alleged that the tenants of agricultural lands have been prevented from having fair rents fixed. The tenants have made offers for purchase, but these were not submitted to the Land Judge because no rental had been settled. The case will again appear in the Judge's list in November, when the solicitors will be required to explain what further progress has been made The title has been passed, subject to some simple queries upon which information is awaited.

Weir Estate, County Sligo.

*MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can give the date on which the Weir Estate, situate near Riverstown, county Sligo, ceased to be administered in the Land

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 628.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxi., 317.

Judge's Court; whether it was during its administration by the Court that the Knockalassa grazing farm, forming part of the estate in question, was sold to a non-resident bailiff; whether he will give the date and circumstances of that sale, and say whether, in the event of the Estates Commissioners or Congested Districts Board now purchasing the Weir Estate, some steps will be taken to have this ranche utilised for the enlargement of the small holdings surrounding it.

MR. WYNDHAM: The farm referred to was sold by the Land Judge in July, 1903, at a large price and after some competition. The remainder of the estate remains under the administration of the Land Judge, who proposes to offer the unsold lands to the tenants under Section 40 of the Act of 1896.

*MR. O'DOWD: Will the tenants of the small holdings get any advantage from the breaking up of the large lands on this property?

MR. WYNDHAM: The farm was sold in July last year before the Land Act was passed.

Rathmines Commissioners' Appeal.

*MR. MOONEY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state what is the cause of the delay in announcing the decision of the Local Government Board in the appeal of the Rathmines Commissioners from the order of the Dublin County Council.

MR. WYNDHAM: There has been no avoidable delay. The Board is now considering the inspector's report and the voluminous minutes of evidence taken at the inquiry.

*MR. MOONEY: According to the right hon. Gentleman the evidence was printed as far back as the 10th of last month, and if the decision is not given before the end of the session the order cannot take effect for four years.

Dromore Orange Demonstration—Assault on James Gamble.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a man named James Gamble, while on his way home to Tormore, near Newry, from Dromore, where he had been attending an Orange demonstration on Tuesday last week, was knocked down, and that his wife was also assaulted; if so, can he say what was the cause of the assault on Gamble, and if any arrests have been made; and, if not, what steps, if any, does he propose taking to bring the assailants to justice.

MR. WYNDHAM: Mrs. Gamble was not assaulted. Her husband is alleged to have been attacked and beaten. He states he will prosecute his assailants.

MR. SLOAN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that parties who know the individuals accused have been trying to induce Mrs. Gamble to persuade her husband to withdraw from the prosecution?

MR. WYNDHAM: If Mr. Gamble does not prosecute the police will take up the case.

Section 7, Land Purchase (Ireland) Act.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the proceedings in the Land Judge's Court on the 14th instant, when, in the case of the estate of L. O. Weir, Mr. Justice Ross stated that he would not act upon a request by the Estates Commissioners, under Section 7 of the Land Purchase Act of 1903; and if it is the intention of the Government to authorise the Estates Commissioners to proceed in the Court of Appeal with a view to having the true construction of Section 7 settled and declared.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Commissioners have not issued a request under the 7th Section in respect of this estate. They are at present consulting counsel as to the construction of that section.

Queen's College, Belfast—Lectures.

MR. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that although, according to the Charter, the session of Queen's College, Belfast, should begin in October and end in June, the lectures do not begin until November and end in May, and that a month's vacation intervenes between those periods, thus reducing the actual period of tuition to five months in the year; and, if so, whether he can state if any representations have been made to the Government as to the necessity of providing assistance to the staff of professors.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The college session began last year on the 20th October and terminated on the 11th June, 1904. The lectures in Arts extended from November to May, but the hon. Member overlooks the fact that the examinations for scholarships and class examinations form also an essential part of the college work. These examinations took place in the intervals before and after the Arts course. There was a vacation of two weeks at Christmas and two weeks at Easter. In reply to the concluding inquiry I refer to the recent correspondence with the college council laid by me on the Table of the House in February last. [Parliamentary Paper No. 68.]

Irish Section, St. Louis Exhibition.

Captain DONELAN (Cork County, E.): On behalf of the hon. Member for Cork, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Irish Department of Agriculture is responsible for the Irish section of the St. Louis Exhibition; if so, will he explain why no advertisements of the Irish exhibits have been issued, while those of all other countries are widely advertised; why a charge of 25 cents is levied on visitors to the Irish section, while Austrian, English, French, German, and other manufactures, have their goods shown free; and whether Sir Horace Plunkett consulted him in the matter.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The position of the Department in connection with the Irish section of the Exhibition was explained by me in answer to the Question by the hon. Member for West Clare on the 4th May last.† The Irish Exhibit Company defray the cost of freight and insurance on exhibits to and from St. Louis. The Irish exhibits are constantly advertised by the authorities of the Exhibition, in the same way as all other exhibits. The charge for admission is made by the Irish Exhibit Company in order to recoup it a portion of the heavy expenditure incurred by the company in connection with the Exhibition.

Constable Anderson, Royal Irish Constabulary.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the placing of Constable Anderson, who was one of the three constables who received an indemnity for procuring, by perjury, as the accomplices of Sergeant Sheridan, the conviction of innocent men for crimes perpetrated by the sergeant himself, in his present office of the charge of men on the fatigue staff of the Royal Irish Constabulary Depot, Phœnix Park, is creating discontent on the part of the men who are required to obey the orders of this man; and that, notwithstanding the pledge given by the Chief Secretary in the House of Commons that Anderson would not be allowed in the room with recruits, a recruit named Rooney, who joined a fortnight ago, is quartered with him; and whether, having regard to the record of this man, steps will be taken to keep him out of contact with the other men of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Mr. WYNDHAM: This constable is not in charge of men on the fatigue staff at the depot, and he exercises no authority or disciplinary charge whatever. I gave no pledge such as alleged; I stated he would perform routine duties, such as guard, fatigues, and drill. Several men occupy the same room with him. The reply to the concluding query is in the negative.

Mr. LUNDON (Limerick, E.): Is this the man Anderson who was mixed up in the Sheridan case and got £25 in lieu of imprisonment?

[No Answer was returned.]

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Will the right hon. Gentleman take steps to keep this man from being in the same quarters as young members of the constabulary force, so that there shall be no fear of contamination?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is simply repeating the

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxiv., 388.

Question on the Paper which asks if steps "will be taken to keep him out of contact," etc.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: But he is with recruits newly joined, and I am, therefore, I think, justified in pressing the Question.

*MR. SPEAKER: No.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL. Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the propriety of removing this man elsewhere?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Irish Salt Firkin Butter Regulations.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can say what are the existing statutory regulations under which it is provided that Irish salt firkin butter, containing more than 16 per cent. of moisture, is not genuine until the contrary is proved.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have forwarded a copy of the regulations to the hon. Member. They are identical with the regulations made for Great Britain by the Board of Agriculture.

Irish Rent Statistics.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state, approximately, what was the annual rental paid by Irish tenants in the year 1881; what is the total amount, in pounds sterling, of reduction of rent on the Irish estates made since 1881, that is, the amount paid last year compared with 1881; and whether he can give approximately the number of tenants who have converted their holdings into freeholds since 1881, the area, and the amount paid or to be paid for purchase of same.

MR. WYNDHAM: There is no official information of the rental of agricultural lands in Ireland in 1881. An examination of the Land Commission records show that in the case of the holdings in respect of which fair-rent applications or agreements have been served or filed, a formal rental of £7,022,017 is now represented by a judicial rental of £5,198,488—a reduction on the non-judicial rental of 25·9 per cent. In many of these cases the tenants, since the rents were fixed, have purchased their holdings. The number of tenants to whom advances for the purchase of their holdings have been made between 1881 and the 30th June, 1904, is 75,292. The area of their holdings is 2,563,279 acres. The amount advanced is £25,089,163.

Trinity College, Dublin.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that the sole control and management of the funds and property of Trinity College, Dublin, are in the hands of the Board, which consists of eight gentlemen whose average age is close upon seventy, and who have ceased to take part in educational work, and that there is paid to these gentlemen, in addition to houses in college free of rent and taxes and free commons, sums amounting to about £14,000 per annum, being between one-third and one-fourth of the whole income of the college, the Government intend, by legislation or otherwise, to effect any, and, if so, what alteration in the government and administration of Trinity College, Dublin.

MR. WYNDHAM: Any information that may be available with respect to the emoluments and ages of the senior Fellows of Trinity College is as accessible to the hon. Member as it is to me. I am unable to say whether the emoluments amount to the sum stated; but even assuming that they do, it cannot fairly be urged that these gentlemen are overpaid having regard to their intellectual attainments; to the fact that they won their fellowships in open competition; and that they have lived for the greater part of their lives on very moderate incomes derived almost entirely from students' fees before their election as senior Fellows. The reply to the second part of the Question is in the negative.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Has the right hon. Gentleman received any communication from some of the Provosts of Trinity College urging that an investigation should take place?

MR. WYNDHAM: No, I have not.

Fenit Pier, County Kerry.

MR. FLAVIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state what is the amount of the loan borrowed in connection with the construction of the Fenit Pier, county Kerry; what is the rate of interest charged and sinking fund; for how many years has the loan been borrowed; and what is the total amount repaid and also the amount to be paid.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W): The loan for Tralee and Fenit Pier and Harbour amounted to £95,000, repayable by a half-yearly annuity of £2 10s. 6d. per cent. for forty years, equal to an interest charge of 4 per cent. per annum. The amount of principal repaid, to date, is £28,046 15s. 10d., leaving £66,953 4s. 2d. of principal outstanding.

Irish Land Stock.

MR. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can state the reasons which induced him to issue the Irish Land Stock at the figure at which it was issued; and what has been, approximately, the loss to the country on the amount already issued.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The price fixed was the highest price which I was advised I could ask at that time without endangering the success of the issue. Since then the conditions of the money market have undergone a change and the price of the stock, along with the price of all Government securities, has risen. But I cannot admit that the higher quotation of a stock in different conditions indicates that a loss has resulted from the issue. I may add that the issue could not have been longer postponed unless the working of the Land Act of last session was suspended.

MR JOHN REDMOND said the hon. Member referred in his Question to the loss to the country. Of course he meant the loss to Ireland. What was the amount of the loss?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I do not admit that there has been a loss. The stock was issued at the best price which it would command at the time. It was issued at eighty-seven.

Alleged Congestion of Business in the Law Courts.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been directed to the inconvenience to suitors owing to the undermanned condition of the English Judicial Bench and the consequent congestion of business and the loss of time and expense thereby entailed; and whether he proposes any and, if so, what remedy for this defect in the administration of justice.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): My attention has not been called to the circumstances mentioned by the hon. Gentleman. As I understand them, the observations made by the Chief Justice would seem to indicate that the hon. Member's view of the present judicial situation is based on a misapprehension.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Did not the Lord Chief Justice say exactly the opposite some time ago?

[No Answer was returned.]

Ministers as Company Directors.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is aware that two-thirds of the members of the present Administration act as paid directors of public companies; and, if so, whether he intends by regulation of official salaries or otherwise to take steps to prevent such action in future.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not aware of the facts mentioned by the hon. Member, and I do not propose to make inquiry. Nor do I propose to take action.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Well, I am aware of the fact. And will the right hon. Gentleman consider the propriety of supplementing the incomes of these Gentlemen so that they may not have to eke out a subsistence in this way?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

"Insular Free Trade."

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will, before the debate on the vote of censure, put Members of the House of Commons in possession of the document containing propositions embracing preferential tariffs or the taxation of food, which was brought by him before the Cabinet held on the last day of the session of 1903, when the document in question, "Insular Free Trade," which was published by the Prime Minister as a pamphlet, was also brought before the Cabinet.

MR A. J. BALFOUR: The Question seems to be based on a misapprehension, and I certainly do not propose to lay any further Papers on the subject.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL asked whether the statement of the noble Lord the Member for the Ealing Division of Middlesex on his retirement from the Cabinet was based on a misapprehension. His own Question exactly accorded with the noble Lord's speech.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: You had better ask the noble Lord the Question.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I would not be in order in asking the noble Lord a Question as to a speech he made outside this House, but I think I am in order in asking the right hon. Gentleman if he will lay the document on the Table of the House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman is perfectly in order in asking me the Question, but I should be certainly ill-advised in answering it—further than to say that what is stated in the Question is contrary to my recollection of the facts.

Supplementary Estimates.

MR. BUCHANAN: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when will the Supplementary Estimate for the Defence Committee's staff be introduced and the discussion taken, and what other Supplementary Estimates are to be introduced.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think it possible to take any financial business next week, but the week after I hope to put down the Supplementary Estimates.

MR. BUCHANAN: Can the right hon. Gentleman say what the other Supplementary Estimates are?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not sure I can answer that, but I believe there will be a Supplementary Estimate for Somaliland.

Imperial Officers and Colonial Governments.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will bring the question of the relations between Imperial officers and Colonial Governments before the Committee of Defence, with a view to preventing officers commanding Colonial forces, either naval or military, from making any public speeches or statements, while in His Majesty's service, relating to the defence of the Colonies.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Question which the hon. Gentleman asks me is, of course, one of importance. It is not a matter for the Defence Committee at all, but for the War Office.

The Seizure of the "Malacca."

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury a Question. I have four Questions down on the Paper with reference to the seizures of British merchantmen, which, but for the occurrence of yesterday, would have been put to-day. Will it suit the right hon. Gentleman if I put them on Monday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, but I do not promise to answer them.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: As this is a very urgent question, can the Prime Minister say whether the British steamship "Malacca" has been allowed to leave Port Said in charge of a Russian prize crew, and will the Government undertake to make, before the end of the session, a statement with regard to the forcible seizure by Russian armed vessels of British merchant ships on the high seas, and give an account of the steps they have taken in the matter?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe it is a fact that the "Malacca" has left Port Said.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: And in charge of a Russian prize crew?

Mr. A. J BALFOUR: Yes. I understand so. Undoubtedly on this most serious question I shall have to make a statement to the House before the end of the session, but I do not think it desirable that that statement should be premature.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can state the business for Friday and for next week.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: To-morrow I propose to take the Report of the Finance Bill, and when that is concluded to take the Report of the Licensing Bill. That means I shall take that stage of these two Bills continuously.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Report of the Licensing Bill will have, of course, a complete day, and not a half-day?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Certainly.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Can the right hon. Gentleman say when the Army Vote in Committee of Supply will be again taken.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid it will not be possible to take Supply at all next week. It is very important to finish the Licensing Bill, so that it may go to another place in time for proper discussion and to allow the House to consider whatever changes may be made in the measure in another place. The Finance Bill must also be passed within a certain date. Those two considerations preclude the possibility of Supply being taken in the ordinary course next Thursday. In saying that I am going on the hypothesis that the House will be unwilling to pass the Report stage of the Finance Bill in the course of to-morrow's sitting. I rather gather that will be the case; if not, I could, of course, devote Thursday next week to Supply.

RATHMINES REGISTRATION SCANDAL—MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT REFUSED.

Mr. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.): I wish to ask leave to move the adjournment of the House, in order to call attention to an urgent matter of public importance—namely, the failure of the Irish Executive promptly to prosecute certain persons in the employment of the South Dublin Unionist Registration Association for fraudently tampering with the registration forms prescribed by the Representation of the Peoples Act, 1884, whereby large numbers of persons have been unjustly deprived of their votes, or to take any steps by which the said persons might be prevented from flying from justice.

***Mr. SPEAKER**: I cannot put the Motion to the House, because it has been stated by the Attorney-General for Ireland, in reply to a Question to-day, that the question of instituting criminal proceedings is under the consideration of the Government.

Mr. MOONEY: My complaint is that the Government have taken no steps to prevent these persons flying from justice.

***Mr. SPEAKER**: But the question of taking criminal proceedings is being considered and the Government have promised to proceed with the utmost possible despatch. I cannot, therefore, treat this as a matter of urgency.

Mr. MOONEY: And while the Government are considering, no steps are being taken to prevent these people getting away.

***Mr. SPEAKER**: In connection with criminal proceedings the Government must have time for consideration.

SUPPLY [18TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904–5.

CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £27,750, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant in Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration"

*SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I desire to deal with the question of the importation of Chinese labour into the Transvaal, and I propose to confine my remarks solely to that subject, because for many weeks I have been the object of attack, both personal and official, with reference to my attitude on this question, in office and out of office. I think I am entitled to make an explanation to the House of Commons of the real facts of the case. I care very little about the personal attacks, but there is an official question raised with reference to my conduct as a Minister of the Crown. I have been charged with being responsible, as Secretary of State for India, for one of the worst forms of Colonial Ordinances, dealing with the importation of Asiatic labour; and, as always happens in a time of controversy, the least responsible and the most ignorant of the critics made the greatest mistakes. I see the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sleaford in his place. He has criticised the action which I am alleged to have taken, but which, in fact, I did not take. He charged me with being responsible for an Ordinance which he spoke of as more cruel and more severe than the Transvaal Ordinance.

MR. CHAPLIN (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): My words were "harsher and more unfavourable."

*SIR HENRY FOWLER: I accept the modification, but I think the local reporter rather strengthened the adjectives than diminished their force. Now the favourite argument of the Government, whenever they are criticised on any matter, administrative or legislative, is always the *tu quoque* one—"You did it." If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, there has been an abundance showered on the members of the last Liberal Administration. The facts of the case are very simple. Indian coolie immigration was started sixty or seventy years ago with the consent of the then Government. At the time there was a great deal of uneasiness about the success of the experiment, and complaint was so loud that eventually a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the actual facts of the case in the Mauritius. As time went on the Ordinances were modified and improved. In 1891, when Lord Salisbury was in office, and Lord Knutsford Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Attorney-General for British Guiana conceived the idea that it would be an improvement if the then existing Ordinances in British Guiana were consolidated into one Ordinance. That was the Ordinance, the authorship of which is attributed to, and the responsibility for which is thrown, on me. That Consolidation Ordinance, which passed in 1891, consolidated nine Ordinances which extended over eighteen years, and the only alterations in the existing Ordinances were a few minor ones, which apparently the Attorney-General of the day did not deem to be of importance. I would like to remind the Committee that the British Guiana Ordinance was passed by the local Legislature, the Court of Policy, in the year 1891, when Lord Salisbury was Prime Minister and Lord Knutsford was Colonial Secretary. But at that time the Indian Government had sent a Surgeon-Major Comins to investigate the general condition of Indian coolies in the West Indies. The Ordinance was suspended pending the result of that inquiry, and nothing was done apparently between 1891 and 1893, when the Colonial Office asked my predecessor for the result of Dr. Comins' inquiry. In 1892 Mr. Gladstone came into power, but I myself had nothing to do with the India Office until 1894. In 1893, as I have said, there was a correspondence between the Government of India and the India Office. In September, 1893, Lord Lansdowne sent home a despatch forwarding Dr. Comins' Report, and the Ordinance met with general approval. In 1894, when I was Secretary for India, I wrote my first despatch upon this question, and, as showing the extent of my responsibility, I may tell the Committee that all I then did was to forward to His Excellency a copy of a letter and its enclosures received from the Colonial Office stating that the Crown had approved of the Ordinance. Later on in December of the same year I wrote again to the Viceroy enclosing the additions which had been made to meet Lord Lansdowne's suggestions. My responsibility was purely formal and official and in no sense personal. But I do not wish to shirk official responsibility. Not only do I approve of the Ordinance but I think it was a very good Ordinance, and I am prepared to stand by it. I will go a step further and say that when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham was at the Colonial Office in 1901 and passed the Trinidad Ordinance I think it was an improvement on the British Guiana one. I have no hesitation in declaring that if the Transvaal Ordinance had been what it is alleged to be, essentially the same as the Trinidad and British Guiana Ordinances, I would have had no complaint at all against it. Both those Ordinances were elaborate and complete. Why did not the British Government, or rather the Transvaal Government, adopt them? Why did they start something fresh? It would have been a very simple matter. I think I can suggest the reason. On 16th January last the present Colonial Secretary sent a telegram to South Africa in which he said—

"As it stands the draft Ordinance would apply to Indian labour imported. Its provisions being applied to British Indians would probably be objected to by the Indian Government."

I have no doubt that when the right hon. Gentleman sent that telegram he

Sir Henry Fowler.

had good ground for expressing that judgment. Lord Milner lost no time in replying. On the 20th January he cabled—

"We do not look to Indian labour for the mines."

Why did not they look to Indian labour for the mines? The objection was not with reference to the character and competency of the Indian miner, for there are a large number of Indian miners in Natal already. There is an enormous and growing mining industry in India. The profits of the Mysore gold mines have been enormous, and that has been done with native Indian labour. I am not certain but—I think the P. & O. do so—I believe some of the largest steamship companies coal in India. Where does the coal come from? From Indian mines and got by Indian miners. Therefore it is not a question of the quality of the men or the labour. There is something else involved. The real question is as to the treatment which the Indian Government insists upon for its Indian subjects, treatment which is satisfactory in the British Guiana and Trinidad Ordinances. But those are not Ordinances which Lord Milner and his colleagues in South Africa were prepared to accept.

Taking the draft Ordinance as originally drawn it is fair to the right hon. Gentleman as well as to the Opposition to say that that draft Ordinance underwent a considerable amount of alteration in its progress through Parliament, and in my opinion it was very considerably improved by the alterations made. Therefore I am not prepared to judge the Ordinance as now passed by what it was when originally introduced in and discussed in the House of Commons. There are certain points of importance inserted, but the essential differences between the two Ordinances remain. The Ordinance for British Guiana contained 246 sections, and 200 of these sections were practically for the protection of the interests of the labourer. The Ordinance for Trinidad contained 276 sections—a complete code. The Ordinance for the Transvaal contains 35 sections; therefore there must be a great many questions left out which were inserted in the other Ordinances or there must be a power of condensation and administrative discretion in the one which is not apparent in the others. The right hon. Gentleman has given the House the regulations which he had called for in order to redeem his pledges to the House. There is a considerable difference between a regulation made by the executive act of the Lieutenant-Governor in his own chamber, possibly without Ministerial advice, and legislation which brings before the notice of Parliament the responsible action of the authorities. The British Guiana and Trinidad Ordinances were in effect Acts of Parliament. They could not be altered except by legislation, which involved public attention and public discussion, whereas the regulations are simply administrative acts. The whole gist and tendency of some of the most important considerations with reference to what is called "the proper control of the labourer" are left to the regulations. This was not the case in the other Ordinances.

One of the differences of which I complain had reference to the question of wages. The two preceding Ordinances required that there should be a minimum wage, and it was imposed by legislation. One of the complaints against the Transvaal Ordinance is that there is no minimum wage, and therefore the labourers will practically be at the mercy of the importer. The Colonial Secretary gave a pledge to the House with reference to the wages. The right hon. Gentleman on the 21st March said—

> "I stand here and give the House my assurance that the Chinese will receive at least the amount I have specified, namely, 60s. for thirty days work."

That was a distinct pledge given to the House. Then telegraphic communications followed between him and Lord Milner. Lord Milner fought very hard against the minimum wage and against the figure which the right hon. Gentleman had pledged himself in favour of. The right hon. Gentleman, in strict loyalty to his pledge, told Lord Milner, "I think it very desirable that the wages to be paid to the Chinese labourers should not be lower than those at present paid to the Kaffirs," which were, I think, 45s. or 50s. Then the right hon. Gentleman said, "the rates must be specified in the contract." Lord Milner replied that "only the minimum wage will be specified in the contract," which was $15 for thirty working days, with $1 a day for piece work. It was also said that all persons familiar with Chinese coolies were agreed that piece work was the only system by which work could be got out of the coolies; there was no difficulty in getting coolies on these terms, but "it is impossible to say exactly how their wages on this system will compare with the Kaffirs, with whom piece work is not a success." The best calculation that Lord Milner could make was that the coolies would 'earn quite as much as the Kaffirs." At a later period the right hon. Gentleman replied very firmly, and in his despatch said that he could not "defend an arrangement by which the Chinese would be used to lower Kaffir wages current now and before the war." I think that this was a complete fulfilment of the right hon. Gentleman's pledge; but Lord Milner pressed for a minimum wage of 1s. a day, and at last it was screwed up to 1s. 6d. I make no charge against the Colonial Secretary. I think that the right hon. Gentleman acted in good faith, and when he found that he could not get the mine-owners to carry out what he had promised the right hon. Gentleman frankly told the House the circumstances. But I find fault with the right hon. Gentleman Ministerially. A Parliamentary contract is a serious document. The House of Commons attaches strong, and perhaps exaggerated, importance to Ministerial promises and Ministerial pledges. We have illustrations of that in connection with the proceedings of the Private Bill Committee. If promoters do not carry out pledges given by counsel on their behalf proposals coming from the same quarters subsequently are rejected. What the right hon. Gentleman ought to have done was to overrule Lord Milner. The right hon. Gentleman is the Secretary of State and represents the Crown; Lord Milner is not the Secretary of State and does not represent the Crown. Lord Milner has no direct responsibility to Parliament; the Secretary of State has. In India the constitutional position is that, where the Viceroy and the Secretary of State cannot agree, the will of the Secretary of State must prevail; and we could not preserve Parliamentary Government on any other principle. The House, when it accepted the right hon. Gentleman's statement about 2s. a day, accepted and affirmed it; and it ought not to have been altered without the sanction of the House. I blame the right hon. Gentleman—and I am sure he will understand that I am making no personal imputation against him—for an error of judgment.

There are some points to which I wish to call attention in which the Ordinance is not essentially the same as the British Guiana one and where there is considerable difference. There is the point with reference to the residence of the labourer and his leave of absence. In the case of British Guiana the labourer is bound to reside on the plantation, but a plantation is not a compound. It is a large estate with the cottages scattered all over it. He is bound not to absent himself during working hours, nor to absent himself for such a time as would constitute a breach of the obligation of residence, but he is entitled to 48 hours leave once a fortnight. In the Transvaal the labourer is compelled to reside on the premises, and, as far as I can make out, their area is the premises attached to specific mines. He is allowed to go away, not as a matter of right, but by the will of his master, but he must not go without a permit. There is, however, no obligation to give it to him, but if it is given to him the length of time for which it is available is 48 hours. In British Guiana the labourer is entitled as a matter of right to have a permit once a fortnight and the master cannot refuse. It simply depends on the amount of work done during the fortnight. The labourer in Trinidad and in British Guiana has free access to the magistrate; he has not such access in the Transvaal.

Perhaps the greatest difference of all is the prohibition of the right to hold property. I will not trouble the House with the details of that singular prohibition, although it would be well to contrast them with the state of things in British Guiana. A labourer in the Transvaal is not entitled to hold any property, or to buy any property. It is a criminal offence punishable by imprisonment to do so. Nobody is allowed to sell him property; the man is a pariah. I do not know if he can put money in a savings bank. If he is to save money out of his wages, and if he is to pay his passage of seven thousand miles to China, is he to put the few pounds he has saved into a hole? I hope my hon. friend the Member for Sheffield is in the House. He wrote in a jubilant letter the other day about the position of the immigrants in British Guiana, who were living under what he calls "the Rosebery Slavery Ordinance." He told us a few facts about the effect of that Ordinance, viz., that—

> "On 31st March, 1903, there were 15,027 indentured Asiatic immigrants on estates in the colony.
>
> "3. That in addition there were 58,111 East Indians not on estates—a total of 130,756.
>
> "4. That the proportion of females to males was forty-four and forty-five to 100.
>
> "5. That on 31st December, 1902, the East Indian immigrants had £93,879 invested in the Government Savings Banks.
>
> "6. That ninety Chinese immigrants had at Georgetown and Berbice alone £7,418 standing at the same date to their credit.
>
> "7. That on 31st March, 1903, 2,242 East Indians and twenty-six Chinese had £19,897 to their credit in the Post Office Savings Bank.
>
> "8. That 1,135 registered letters were sent during the year by immigrants to their friends in Asia, and that they contained Post Office Orders amounting to £2,107.
>
> "9. That East Indian immigrants own $384,000 worth of property, and Chinese immigrants $200,000 worth.
>
> "10. That transfers of property took place during the year in favour of 1,252 Indians and Chinese amounting to £22,700."

Now that man is a citizen and a freeman. He may buy property and he may take his labour where he likes. He does not drink and he does not spend his money. These immigrants form a most desirable class in the community. There is enough in the Ordinance as to the right of personal liberty, and the right to hold property, to at once dispose of the allegation that the two Ordinances are alike. What is the prevailing principle of the Ordinances? The prevailing principle of the one Ordinance is an atmosphere of freedom, and the prevailing principle of the other is an atmosphere of slavery. In the one case the immigrants are welcomed and encouraged and permitted to acquire property; in the other case they are treated as outside of the—I had almost said the pale of civilisation, and their condition is not consistent with freedom.

The right hon. Gentleman when he followed me in that debate asked whether I meant to say that what was going on under this Ordinance was the same as American slavery. Certainly I did not. I could not for a moment contend that he was introducing a state of affairs which could be likened to that which existed in America. But Ameican slavery was a system that had matured after a long series of years, and it should be remembered that the appetite for arbitrary power is one that grows and becomes stronger and stronger. We have seen that again and again in the history of our West Indian Colonies. What have we done ourselves in the Transvaal? There are many applications of the principle of forced labour, and many illustrations of interference with personal liberty, but they are very different from the unhappy state of affairs which existed in the Southern States of America prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. The history of South Africa shows that our statesmen used language in the early stage of the matter, and altered it as time progressed. In the Sand River Convention under which the Orange Free State was founded in 1852, there was a condition which I want the House to remember. This was the creation not of a subject State; there was no suzerainty at all; it was an absolutely free State, and one of the conditions on which the British Crown made that concession was this: "No slavery is, or shall be permitted or practised." That was a condition of the convention, and it would have been a *casus belli* if it had been broken. I am not going to say anything of a controversial character, but though slavery was legally forbidden there was something very like it in the Orange Free State, or rather in South Africa generally, as between the Boer farmer and the native labourer. I do not know who was Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1852—I should think it was the Duke of Newcastle; but in 1881, when the Convention for the Settlement of the Transvaal Territory was made between Lord Kimberley on behalf of the British Government, and Mr. Kruger on behalf of the Transvaal, it contained these words, "The provisions of the fourth article of the Sand River Convention are hereby re-affirmed," but it added "no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated in the Transvaal State." Slavery in an extravagant and outrageous form had not been practised, but slavery in its essentials of tyranny and cruelty was practised in the name of indentured labour, and those who followed the story of slavery in the West Indies know that there was a long controversy in this country on account of indentured apprenticeship which was allowed for a series of years, until the people of this country determined that indentured apprenticeship should be brought to an end. Then we come to the later stage in South African history, when the representatives of the Transvaal Republic came to London in 1884 when Lord Derby was Colonial Secretary. The new convention then agreed upon contained an article that no slavery, or apprenticeship partaking of slavery, would be tolerated in the South African Republic. The right hon. Gentleman would have been justified in going to war if that condition had been violated. It was an absolute condition, and we should have been bound to put an end to slavery.

The Chinese immigration is an apprenticeship partaking of slavery. It is not slavery in one sense of the word, but it is of the essence of slavery, and it has all its evil consequences connected with it. At this moment, if we had not taken the South African Republics and annexed them, this prohibition of indentured labour partaking of slavery would have been the law of the Transvaal, and now, having prohibited it, we are by means of Imperial power and under the sanction of this Parliament restoring it. One word more as to what is meant by "partaking of slavery." I have seen a great deal of controversy in the papers as to what is and what is not of the nature of slavery. There was a great lawyer in the 18th century, Mr. Hargrave, who was the leading authority on constitutional law. It was said of him by Lord Lyndhurst that no man ever lived who was more conversant with the law of England. He says "that the law of England will not permit any man to enslave himself by contract; it will not permit the servant to incorporate into his contract the ingredients of slavery; it will not permit him to renounce the capacity of acquiring and enjoying property."

Is there any necessity in the Transvaal for recurring to this indentured labour? I would put that to the right hon. Gentleman. Is it involving larger issues than we are dealing with today? Well, his own figures, supplied week by week and month by month, tell us. We know that in 1898 before the war, and I think that was the culminating stage of prosperity, there were 82,000 natives employed in the mines. In 1903 they had gone down to 50,000. I will not ask questions as to the why and wherefore of that, although I have a strong opinion that it was on account of the wages question. At the end of 1903 the number rose to 73,000 and in February this year, and I think that is the last date at which the right hon. Gentleman has given the figures—the number has gone up to 78,000. They are increasing week by week. What about the output of gold. In 1902, it was £7,000,000, in 1903 it was £12,500,000, and in 1904 it will be nearer £16,000,000. What is the necessity of these poor starving mine-owners? A friend of mine in this House told me a very pitiful story the other day. He is a shareholder in a South African mine and he told me that he had a letter from the secretary of the mine announcing a reduction of the dividend. On inquiring what the reduced dividend was he told me that it was 90 per cent. for the half year, and my friend added, "I have had 150 per cent." I said, "You are an object for the charity of the House, your appeal ought to be made to them, get up in the House and tell them what you are suffering." I asked what the price of his shares was, and he said that the £1 share was selling at £17. I cannot see that everything is going to the bad and that the South African mine-owner has reason to get alarmed. It appears to me that both in regard to native and white labour the mine-owners are rushing into a panic. That is no reason why this House should sanction Asiatic immigration under the conditions of this Ordinance.

The circumstances under which these labourers are being introduced into South Africa are not circumstances which will be palatable to the British working man. The whole of these arrangements for immigration are made by private licensees and not by the Government. In British Guiana and in Trinidad this work is done by the Government. It is done by the Government on behalf of the importer, and on behalf of those who are imported. In this immigration what is done is done by private speculators, licensed no doubt by the Government, but over whom the Government have very little control. In connection with that I would like to read to the House what was said by a leading Conservative newspaper, the *Standard*, which is generally a strong supporter of the policy of His Majesty's Government. It says—

> "But it is of no use to shut our eyes to patent facts. Whatever excuses may be alleged in its favour, the admission of the coolies has evoked deep resentment among the working classes of this country. The working-man voter does not like it, and his objection takes a tangible form at the polls. The question will have to be very carefully handled if it is not to cause further trouble. In its original form, the Ordinance was exposed to much legitimate criticism. As the result, various modifications were made, which, it was supposed, would remove many of the more disagreeable features. Unhappily, the impression has been permitted to prevail that these Amendments have not been carried into effect in the spirit in which they were sanctioned.
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> The mode in which the first batch of Chinese have been brought into the colony has revived a good deal of the opposition which the proposal promoted at its inception. There is something extremely repellent to English notions in this immigration of a draft of labourers, under precautions and restrictions which would seem better suited to convicts than to free working men. The smuggling-in of the coolies under guard, their virtual inprisonment *en route* and the obvious denial to them of their personal liberty, may be necessary, but all these things have an ugly look."

That is not an article in a Radical paper. That is not the utterance of a paper which may guide those on this side of the House who are unable to rise above Party considerations. That is the deliberate criticism of one of the leading papers in the country, and a paper which has been the staunch supporter of the Conservative Party during the whole course of its existence. I repeat the allegation for which I have been blamed, the allegation with which the Colonial

Secretary was so angry when he spoke last—that this proposal, even amended and improved as it is, is an apprenticeship partaking of slavery, which ought to have been prohibited by the Colonial Office, and which I believe will be rescinded by Parliament. I beg to move that the Vote be reduced by £50.

Whereupon Motion made, and Question proposed, " That a sum, not exceeding £27,700, be granted for the said Service." —(*Sir Henry Fowler.*)

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): I venture to ask the indulgence of the Committee, and especially of my opponents, if I intervene very early in this debate to say a few words on the important question which has just been raised by the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton. I do so because I think, in a certain sense, I stand between the two parties. [OPPOSITION cries of " Oh, oh!"] I will explain what I mean. I have had, of course, a very considerable experience of colonial affairs, and I have, perhaps, more personal knowledge of the state of things in South Africa than most Members of this House. At the same time, this particular question of Chinese labour did not arise in any practical form during my tenure of office, and I am not committed to it otherwise than in the most general terms. I do not want to go closely into detail in connection with this matter, which I leave to the much more competent hands of my right hon. friend and successor. But I do want to be allowed, with all the earnestness of which I am capable, to put before the Committee a few general considerations on the subject. This is really a very delicate matter. We are dealing undoubtedly with the domestic policy of a great and powerful colony or colonies—in fact, with the whole of South Africa; and although we have, technically, a control over their legislation, I do not believe there is anybody in this House who would pretend that we should be wise to exercise that control in its fullest sense, or that we should be wise to interfere in any decision which these colonies might arrive at, unless we could clearly show that some definite Imperial interest was concerned. In the debate which is now going to take place I plead, in the first instance, for moderation on both sides; and I beg the Committee to remember that every word that is said here, even by persons who do not hold responsible situations, is very likely to be reported, perhaps imperfectly reported, there, and may do a harm which they themselves would be the first so deprecate. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh, oh!"] Let us in everything we say recognise their right to consideration, and, above all, let us avoid saying anything which can hurt that independent feeling which makes its appearance from the very first beginning of a British colony, whether it is a Crown colony or a self-governing colony, and which we on both sides of the House are bound to respect. Do not let us pretend to superior virtue, superior knowledge, which we cannot possess, but do let us give every kind of generous and reasonable consideration to what we may find to be the views of our kinsfolk and our fellow-subjects. [OPPOSITION interruptions.] I am not making an aggressive speech, and I venture to think that aggressive interruptions are out of place.

My right hon. friend the Member for Wolverhampton appeared, at all events at the beginning of his speech, to be chiefly concerned in defending himself against a charge of being personally responsible for the British Guiana Ordinance. I am not going to enter into that; it appears to me to be absolutely irrelevant to the present matter; it does not matter, in the controversy we are now entering upon, who was responsible for the British Guiana Ordinance or the Trinidad Ordinance. I am satisfied to note a most important admission, both generously and justly made by my right hon. friend, that those ordinances are good ordinances in the main, and that they have been valuable and beneficial, as he believes and as I believe, both to the colonies in which they have been passed and also to the people for whom our sympathy is now asked—that is to say, for the natives from other countries who have been imported to do labour in those colonies. It is true my right hon. friend has made one observation—I only notice it in passing—which I regret. He talked of what I think he said was a fact that wherever the dominant race came into contact with an inferior race in matters of this kind there had always been on the part of the dominant race cruelty and tyranny. I think that is too wide. Take the British race, for instance; they are much the same whether you meet them in the Colonies, or whether you meet them at home, and I do not think cruelty and tyranny are really characteristics of the British race.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER: I said there was a tendency.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Well I regret even that expression, because I think it is calculated to be misunderstood in the colony. That is part of my point; I wish nothing to be said here which can possibly even be misunderstood in the colony. I was saying that the British race is much the same. I do not care what department of our domestic life you take you will find individuals of whose conduct you must disapprove, you will find in trade men who are tyrannical and even cruel, you will find in all classes in life exceptions of that kind. But you are not to condemn the race on that account; and you are not to suppose that the race, or the legislation of the race, will ever give any assent whatever to conduct of that kind. It is our unanimous object here, as the representatives of the people of this country, whenever proof is brought to us of any exceptional instance of this kind, so far as our power extends, to make it impossible, to put it down and to punish the offender. I do not think there has been in our history abroad any general cruelty or tyranny; and where there have been exceptions every effort has been made to correct them. No doubt such exceptions have occurred in connection with the introduction of foreign labour into our Colonies: and the result has been these ordinances, of which the right hon. Gentleman approves, and which have been distinctly designed to prevent the occurrence of such conduct. But let us bear in mind also that this system of the transfer of labour is of enormous importance to the Empire and is of the greatest importance to the inferior races of whom the right hon. Gentleman speaks. Take the case of India. India is a country with a vast population, the great majority of whom at present are obliged to live in very straitened circumstances, and to open to them a new field of labour under proper conditions is an enormous advantage to India. In the case of British Guiana, Trinidad, Mauritius, Singapore, the Malay Straits, and many other places that I could quote, foreign labour, either Indian or Chinese, has been introduced with the greatest possible advantage to both parties. The business, the commerce, and the prosperity of these States has been assured by the introduction of this labour, without which no enterprise was possible; and, on the other hand, the labourers themselves have achieved conditions of life which would have been absolutely impossible to them in their own country.

The right hon. Gentleman commenced his criticism of what has been done in South Africa by asking why we did not take Indian miners. There is a great deal to be said on that subject; and I myself would favour the introduction of our fellow-subjects as labourers, if it were possible, rather than the introduction of labourers from any other country whatsoever. But there is a practical difficulty. The House must bear in mind the situation of every one of our forty colonies is different. To attempt to apply a stereotyped rule, to do more than apply principles, would be fatal to the existence of such a multifarious Empire as ours. If we attempt to cut down our colonies to a Procrustean bed on which every one is to be of the same length, I am afraid we shall come to utter disaster. The case of South Africa is to some extent exceptional. South Africa is within easy reach of India; South Africa is inhabited at the present time by a million of white inhabitants. Nothing would be easier, nothing would be less surprising, if there was absolutely open intercourse between India and South Africa, than that South Africa should be overwhelmed by the introduction of Indian immigrants, against whom I say nothing in themselves, but who would simply sweep out of political existence the whole of the white inhabitants. A few years might very well see such an immigration of the underfed, overnumerous population of India as would altogether alter the character of South Africa, and once and for ever would preclude any idea of its being a white man's country. Now, although we do not feel that perhaps, every white man in South Africa is intensely conscious of that danger, and you must take that into account in considering this question. What has been the result? A considerable number of immigrants have come in from India. Their character and their action is criticised very severely by the white inhabitants of South Africa, as I myself was frank enough to tell them I thought, without reason. I thought these immigrants were as a rule sufficiently moral not to fear comparison even with the white inhabitants. They are extremely industrious, extremely sober, and extremely thrifty; they work for much lower wages than the white inhabitants, and, somehow or other, they have contrived to take a great deal of the retail trade which was hitherto enjoyed by white men. Therefore, I refuse to lend myself in any way to any denunciation of our Indian fellow-subjects, as men and as citizens. But I did sympathise, and I do sympathise, with the natural desire of the white inhabitants—which would be equally strong if they had to fear the immigration of Italians or of Frenchmen as of Indians—I do sympathise with their desire to keep this country for Britains and Boers, that is to say, for the two races which at present enjoy it. I recognise that they are entitled to take strong steps to prevent such an overflow of immigration as I have spoken of. These steps involve certain hardships upon existing immigrants in South Africa, and the Indian Government has always protested against it.

Now, I think the Indian Government is unreasonable. The Indian Government takes, as it ought to do, the interests of India solely into account. I think the Government of every nation should also occasionally take into account the corresponding interests of those with whom it is dealing, whether they be foreigners or from other portions of the Empire. The Indian Government ought to appreciate this fact—that the people of South Africa will not have an overwhelming settled immigration of any other race upon that continent. But when we proposed to the Indian Government a large immigration of Indian coolies they took the same objection, and proposed to make conditions as to the treatment both of existing Indian immigrants in South Africa and with regard to future immigration. In my opinion, in these objections the Indian Government ought to have been overruled. Let me be clearly understood. They had a right to demand that fair consideration should be given to those Indians who are at present settled in South Africa, and who are our fellow-subjects there. But they had no right to do anything which would make it easy to produce this tremendous influx of further Indian immigration against which the South Africans protest. If the Indian Government had been overruled, then what I think might have been easy would have been the introduction of a large number of coolies on very similar conditions to those on which they are introduced in the West Indies, who would have done what I may call the surface work in South Africa. I do not agree with the right hon. Gentleman that we should ever have found from India any sufficient number of labourers who could safely work in the mines. I do not think they would have willingly worked in the mines, and I do not think their constitutions would have stood miners' work. But we might have employed a large number of coolies on the railways and the farms, and so on, and that would have set free, no doubt, a considerable number of Kaffir labourers who might have been employed in the mines. But, even then, I hold it would probably have been found that the labour would still be insufficient to promote the real and complete prosperity of the country, and we might have had to look for labour from other sources. We must go to China in that case. There is there the largest amount in the world of underpaid and ill-fed labour, ready to come for slightly better terms, and at the same time so attached to their own country that to them, at any rate, it is no hardship at all to make it a condition that they should only come to their new country temporarily, and that they should go back again when they have done their work. That complied with the opinion which I have explained of the South African population that labour of this sort should not be introduced permanently to remain. There is no reason why it should not be introduced in a form in which it is perfectly certain that the labourers will not constitute a permanent portion of the population.

Objection is taken to the Chinese, as I understand, partly because they are imported labour, and it is said it would be better to depend upon the native labour of the Transvaal. Does the House know that by far the larger proportion of the so-called native labour is already imported labour? I am told 90 per cent. of it; but at any rate the great majority of the native labour in the South African mines at the present time is imported labour, imported from Portuguese and other possessions;—and it is certainly inconsistent and unreasonable, having depended so largely on imported labour, that we should take any objection on the ground that the new labour is imported. I do not understand that the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton does object on so shallow a ground as that; but he seems to think that everything would have been satisfactory if the conditions of the importation had been exactly the same as in those two precious ordinances for British Guiana and Trinidad. Permit me to tell him that there he is taking a view which may seem reasonable to a man who has never been outside his own country, but which appears absolutely unreasonable to those of us who have seen the extraordinary difference in the conditions which prevail in Mauritius and in Trinidad, Jamaica, and other West Indian colonies. The coolie is welcomed there by the population, both as a labourer and as a settler. In Mauritius the whole character of the population has been changed by the immigration of coolie labour, and I believe at the present time coolie labour forms the bulk of the population. There is no objection to it from the Imperial point of view, and so far as I know there has been no agitation against it in these colonies. As to the introduction of coolie labourers, so numerous have they become that, while I was Secretary of State for the Colonies, I insisted that some representative of this population should be placed upon the Legislative Council, and a Chinese member sits, in consequence, upon the Legislative Council of Mauritius for the first time. There you have not got any of the difficulties which arise in South Africa, where the idea of a permanent settlement of the yellow race, or even of the Indian race, in the country, is odious to the whole of the white population, whether they be Dutch or whether they be English. I say, therefore, you are bound to take that into account. You should not apply to every country a stereotyped Ordinance which has worked exceedingly well, although you should apply the principle. The principle of these ordinances is that the governing authority should see that any contract that is made is made voluntarily, and in the second place that the contract, after it has been made, is strictly carried out by both parties, because Government interference is necessary, both in the West Indies and elsewhere, on both sides of the contract. Both parties may, at some time or another, wish to get rid of a profitable contract after they have enjoyed it for a certain period, but it is the business of the Government to see that the contract is carried out to the end.

What are the points of difference of which the right hon. Gentleman takes notice? As I understand him, he does not complain that there is no minimum wage in the contract which is signed by the Chinese. As I understand, there is. But he does complain that the minimum wage is not high enough, and he refers to a pledge which, he says, was given by my hon. friend. As to that I say nothing. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh!"] It would be an impertinence on my part to interfere as to a pledge which I did not hear, and about which I know nothing. As I understand, there is no difference in principle between the British Guiana and Trinidad Ordinances and the present Ordinance under which Chinese labour is to be introduced into the Transvaal. Both have a minimum wage.

*SIR HENRY FOWLER: The minimum wage in Trinidad and British Guiana has to be the average native wage paid for similar labour.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Very good. Then it is not the principle whether there should be a minimum wage, but it is the detail what that minimum wage should be. You have no right whatever, in this country at any rate, to interfere in that business or to make wages for the Chinese, provided you have satisfied yourself that the contract on their part is an absolutely voluntary contract. If you can prove in any way that there has been deception practised on the Chinaman, or insufficient care taken to see that he understands the terms of the contract signed by him, by all means have that contract altered; but if he willingly agrees to leave a country where his wages are 1d. a day to accept 1s. 6d. a day, it is no business of yours to secure for him 2s. 6d. The second point is that in the case of British Guiana there is not so stringent a condition as to residence. That is quite true; and the reason is clear. In the first place, British Guiana welcomes the coolie as a permanent immigrant, and is very glad when he decides to settle in the country, and thus saves the colony the expense of repatriating him. But the fact is that South Africa will not admit those people as permanent residents. If the Chinese do not like that, why do they come? I can conceive it possible that many Chinese may be deterred from coming, because, while they would be glad to come there as small traders, and to do all kinds of work by which they would make even more money than they are likely to do in the mines, they would be unwilling to come there for the particular labour for which they are required. The choice is with them. You have no right to interfere with the conditions which the colony makes, or the conditions which the Chinaman is willing to accept. It seems to me that the distinction which is made is a distinction which is absolutely necessary in the state of affairs with which we have to deal, and is one that ought to be recognised by this House as well within the province of the Legislature of the colony concerned.

Then the right hon. Gentleman says that the coolies have not free access to a Court of justice If that is the case, I am entirely with him that they ought to have such access; but I leave that to be answered by my right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary. That is the only point in which I feel the right hon. Gentleman has raised a serious question which this House ought to satisfy itself about. The right hon. Gentleman's fourth complaint is that the Chinaman has no right to hold property. What kind of property does he mean? If he means landed property or house property, that is a common provision in heaps of countries. I think there is a provision of the kind in many of the United States of America; and does the right hon. Gentleman actually tell us that the Chinaman becomes a pariah in South Africa, because he submits to the same conditions as the Englishman in the United States of America? On the other hand, if he means to say that the Chinaman cannot hold personal property, that clearly is a mistake. It is ridiculous. The Chinaman holds his wages, and arrangements are made for their transmission to his relatives in China if he so desires. But if he prefers to keep it in a bank, or in his pocket, or to bury it in the ground, he has absolutely the freest liberty to do it. The property is his, and nobody can touch it. I do not wish to say anything that could possibly be objected to; but it seems to me that when the right hon. Gentleman piles up objections of this kind, which have so little foundation, it is a kind of special pleading to which we ought not to be treated.

The right hon. Gentleman came to another point, with which he dealt with more moderation, but which has been treated in the country with great virulence; and I venture to think that that is most unfortunate, having regard to the interests concerned. He says very truly that the Sand River Convention prohibited slavery in the Orange River State. He then went on to make an extraordinary statement. He said that if President Kruger had imported Chinese labour, we should have had a right to go to war with him. Well, I have been accused myself of going to war without sufficient reason. But those who think that of me must thank Heaven that the right hon. Gentleman was not in my position. I can only say that, although I should have been justified in preventing slavery in the Transvaal, I should not have felt myself entitled to say a single word about the introduction of Chinese labour under proper conditions. On what grounds does the right hon. Gentleman say that the contract for Chinese labour is a form of slavery? He goes back to a distinguished lawyer of the 18th century, Mr. Hargrave, who said that the English law would not permit a man to renounce the right of acquiring property. I beg to suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that the sole object of the Chinaman and the Chinese Government in the whole of this business is that the Chinaman shall acquire property, and he is going to acquire property in three years upon which he and his family will live for ever after. He is going back to his own country, I will not say as a millionaire, but at all events in a pecuniary condition which will make him the envy of all his fellows. Can it be seriously argued that a voluntary contract of this kind by which both parties profit, by which the labourer at any rate profits enormously—the object of which is to enable the labourer to acquire property—is to be condemned as slavery under the dictum of Mr. Hargrave of the 18th century? The thing is absolutely absurd. The whole question of slavery is disposed of by the voluntary character of the contract. Of course there are certain voluntary contracts which it is not lawful for a man to make. But it is not contended that there is anything in this contract which makes it different from any contract that may be entered into between employer and employed.

The right hon. Gentleman towards the end of his speech went into some more general considerations. He did not go into them at any length, but he was appealing rather to prejudice than to reason. He talked about the profits of the mines. Let us understand what that means. Certain mines have upon their original capital made enormous profits. Nobody denies that mining is a speculation, and that for one success there are a hundred failures. If mining did not offer these extraordinary chances no one would mine. But if you take the average of mining in South Africa it is not profitable at all. I do not hesitate to say that if you take the whole of the capital invested in South Africa, and take the returns from it at the present, I believe the owners of that capital would have done much better if they had invested it in Consols. But we are not interested in the mines at all, except incidentally. The right hon. Gentleman is enough a man of business, and has enough of general knowledge to know that it is not the mines that we are concerned about, but that it is the whole future of South Africa. There is not a man of any experience in this House, who regards this question impartially, who does not see that all that makes for the prosperity of a country and its development depends upon the capital invested in it. The mines are the one attractive feature of South Africa, and unless they are on the whole, or on the average, successful, or sufficiently successful to tempt further capital, none of the work we are trying to do to make the country ultimately a great agricultural country as well as a mining country can be done. You cannot have railways and irrigation, to which I look to make what is very little of an agricultural country one of the greatest agricultural countries in the world, without a large revenue, and you must have an industry which can provide that revenue, and you cannot have that revenue without an industry which can provide it, and there is none in South Africa that can provide it except the mines; and, therefore, though I care no more for the mines than any hon. Member on the other side, I do care very much for promoting in every way I can the strength of that great instrument which I anticipate will ultimately benefit the country generally.

There is only one other matter to which the right hon. Gentleman referred, and that also was a matter of prejudice. In the country we have been told again and again that the introduction of Chinese labour into South Africa is really the introduction of competition with British labour in that country. The right hon. Gentleman did not dwell upon it, he merely suggested that working men did not approve it. If they take their facts from the misrepresentations which again and again have been made to them, they will rightly disapprove of any system whatsoever which will injure British labour. But the right hon. Gentleman did not deal with that matter; he merely suggested it. He was too straightforward to say that any fear of this kind attaches to this proposal. Every man who knows anything about South Africa, to whatever politics he may belong, will, I am certain, say the same thing—that in that country, as in all countries in which similar conditions exist, white labour will not work side by side on equal terms with coloured labour. I think white labour is right. After all, we do hold our position by virtue of being the dominant race, and if we admit equality with these inferior races we shall lose the power which gives us our predominance. The white workman is right in not degrading himself to the level of the native, in refusing to work side by side with him excepting in a position of superiority as a foreman or ganger. But for every Kaffir or Chinaman employed in South Africa to work these mines you know perfectly well there will be a proportionate increase of British labour, which will be taken from the best class of labour in this country. It is really a monstrous thing to play upon prejudice in the way some irresponsible people have played upon it.

Sir, I have said all I intend to say. I shall conclude as I began. The discussion will go on. If hon. Gentlemen opposite can point to any defects in the Ordinance under which it is possible for either cruelty or tyranny to be practised on the Chinaman let them be brought forward in the House of Commons and I am convinced the Government will do what I should have done if in their place—endeavour in every way in their power to remedy the matter by amending the Ordinance. But do not let us take upon ourselves a duty which does not belong to us. Do not let us take upon ourselves to dictate to our Colonies. My appeal is to both sides of the House. I have not discovered on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite any reluctance to intervene and instruct our Colonies—or anybody else—as to what is virtue and justice and right; but I implore them really to rise to the seriousness of this occasion and to understand that this is not the time for that sort of impertinent intervention, and that unless our Imperial interests are touched, or unless some practical defect can be discovered, we should allow the Legislative Council of the Transvaal and the people of the Transvaal to have a policy which it is perfectly well known the vast majority of them support.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said the right hon. Gentleman had kept his eyes completely on the Transvaal, and had entirely neglected the bearing of the matter on the Empire as a whole. They could not but regard the opinion of the self-governing Colonies, and of the South African Colonies themselves, which as a whole was as bitterly opposed to the policy which had been pursued as was the opinion of the Australian Colonies and New Zealand. In his most able defence of the introduction of Chinese labour from the Transvaal point of view, the right hon. Gentleman had put out of his view the bearing of the matter on South Africa generally, and upon labour throughout the world. He had contended that this House had no right to interfere in the wages question. That, however, was not the view of a single Member of the House when the question was first discussed. The Government themselves felt that under the circumstances they were bound to interfere in the settlement of wages in the Transvaal, and the complaint of the right hon. Gentleman who opened the debate was that the pledge given by the Government had been broken, and that the security which the Government and the Opposition had agreed ought to be given had been over-ridden by the action of Lord Milner and the authorities in the Transvaal. The right hon. Gentleman had put out of view all the rights which Members of this House were bound to guard—the rights of the overwhelming majority of the population of South Africa, viz., the natives.

It would not be in order to discuss the bearing of Chinese labour under such an Ordinance upon the conditions of labour throughout the world, but it would be in order to consider its bearing upon the conditions of labour in the Transvaal itself, and the injustice which this country was not only allowing but perpetrating by this Ordinance—for which we were really responsible—upon the Kaffir population of the Transvaal. Why did the House of Commons interfere? It was on behalf not of the Chinaman, but of our own subject, the Kaffir labourer, whom in the condition of opinion amongst some of the Dutch and some of the British we were specially bound to regard, with whose interest we were charged, and in whose defence we interfered again and again with the recent Government of the South African Republic. The right hon. Gentleman had gone so far as to declare that the Indian Government ought to have been overruled when they made conditions with regard to Indian labour in the Transvaal. There had never been a case in the whole of our history when stipulations laid down by the Government of India on behalf of British subjects emigrating from India had been overruled by the Home Government. However much the interest of the same Government in their diplomatic dealings had been engaged on behalf of the demands made by their allies for Indian labour, they had constantly been forced to uphold the view of the Indian Government. Over and over again, with the support of the Foreign Office, France had appealed for leave to employ Indian labour in some of her colonies; the Indian Government had made stipulations which they would have made ten times over with regard to this Chinese Ordinance, and the Government had had to support those stipulations against the wishes of the Foreign Office and of the French Government.

He was not in a position to defend the differences between the Chinese Labour Ordinance and the Guiana and Trinidad Ordinances, because those with whom he acted in the Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines Protection Society, although they had condemned the Chinese Ordinance far more strongly than any other Ordinance, had protested against points in all the previous ordinances, and had never been satisfied with the conditions those ordinances imposed. It was impossible to make Party capital out of the Guiana Ordinance question, which was immensely older than the date assigned to it. There was an Ordinance in Guiana, against which Lord Brougham protested violently, as long ago as 1836. In 1844 there was another against which the Anti-Slavery Society protested, and in 1871 there was a British Guiana Ordinance, not very dissimilar to the other, against which the Aborigines Protection Society protested. But all those ordinances were mere trifles as compared with Lord Milner's Ordinances and the principles which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had just laid down. The points at issue in the speech just delivered were enormously larger than the points of details against which protest was made on the occasions to which he had referred. The mere fact, which the right hon. Gentleman had admitted, that in the earlier cases the people brought in remained in the Colonies at the end of their term of service, were able to hold landed property, and in some cases to form the bulk of the population, made an essential difference between the two cases. The right hon. Gentleman had frankly faced that fact and endorsed the opinion taken by South Africa upon this subject. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had always maintained that the result of the departure from the principles this country had always maintained in regard to the employment of Chinese labour in South Africa would be an increase in the employment of white labour, but there was no mention of this point in his speech. [Cries of "Yes."] He did not hear it. The right hon. Gentleman said this importation of Chinese labour in the long run would develop agriculture, but he did not hear him say that it would have any direct or immediate effect upon white labour. He had read carefully the circulars issued officially from the Emigrants' Information Office, and there was not a sign in them of any demand for white miners. On the contrary, in the latest circular, dated July, it was stated, "There is no demand for white miners."

The Colonial Secretary induced the House to accept this painful Ordinance by promising not only a minimum wage but also other things, and in order to meet the views of the Opposition he said on 16th February—

> "Chinese labour can be introduced . . . without presenting the aspect or the reality of slavery . . . A perfectly legitimate demand . . . The House will allow me to meet it shortly and, I hope, conclusively. I entirely agree that the provisions for the reception and accommodation of the wives and children . . . should be clearly made. I undertake that they shall be made . . . Manifestly it would be most wrong that they should go without their woman folk."

But then he immediately watered that statement down by adding, "if they wish it." Now they were being introduced at the expense of the employer, who did not "wish it."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington) said they might register them, and if they did not propose to take their wives and children with them at first they might send for them afterwards at the expense of their employers.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said that this promise was viewed by employers with consternation when it was made. This was a point of first class importance, in view of the comparisons which had been made with previous ordinances. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who gave a most unwilling assent to the proposal of the Colonial Secretary, made this his main point and showed that in 1852, 1854, and 1858, the matter was fully discussed as regarded British Guiana, Trinidad, and other colonies, and he said it received on that occasion—

> "An amount of careful consideration it does not seem to me to have received on this present occasion."

On the occasion of his first speech upon this subject, the Colonial Secretary had a little argument with him upon the subject of truck, and he complained that this Ordinance was a violation of the whole principle of truck, and was destructive of the rights of labour. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that the House ought to be satisfied on this point with his statement that the Transvaal had an admirable law of truck. What was the use of that law in face of the conditions of this Ordinance? Truck affected not only Chinamen but also the natives who worked in the mines. What was the result of the recent inquiry into this question which had been held in South Africa? The complaints of the natives showed what they might expect from the Chinese. One of the main complaints of the natives was in regard to the truck shops. They were also puzzled by the month of thirty working days, and it was a great puzzle to them to understand how many days there were in a month as it was for hon. Members to understand how many days there were in a Parliamentary week. The native counted his month by the moon, and he understood that it meant twenty-eight days, but he was now obliged to work thirty days per month, and Sunday labour was enforced by penalties in a way that would cause labour to suffer throughout the world. The Cape Commission complained of the enormous mortality amongst the natives, which was not due in the larger part to the climate, although pneumonia might be traced to this cause, but to the truck shop conditions and the food, because half the deaths were due to scurvy and dysentery. The natives recently employed came mainly from the Portuguese territory. There were nearly 60,000 Portuguese in the mines of the Transvaal alone; while there were only 18,000 from the Transvaal, the Cape, Natal, Zululand, Orange River, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland together. The reason native labour could not be obtained was because the natives knew the conditions of labour and they would not submit to them

One of the reasons put forward in defence of the recent war was the treatment of the Indian natives in South Africa; but there was another side to this question which those who were in favour of the war ought to remember. That treatment was now being continued and had grown worse, and it was now being affected by Transvaal laws, which were never enforced by the Transvaal Republic, although the present Government in South Africa were enforcing those laws in an aggravated form. Lord Lansdowne, speaking as an ex-Secretary for India at Sheffield, in November, 1899, said—

> "India has a special interest in the Transvaal question. A considerable number of the Queen's subjects are to be found in the Transvaal. Amongst the many misdeeds of the South African Republic, I do not know that any fills me with more indignation than its treatment of these Indians. The harm is not confined to the sufferers on the spot. These poor people return to their country to report that the Government of the Empress is powerless to secure redress at the hands of a small South African State."

Now they had gone further in this direction than anyone previously had attempted to go, and the result was that the matter had been brought before the Supreme Court of the Transvaal, and a judgment given by the Chief Justice of that Court supported the view that the British Government at that time took as to what was the condition of the Transvaal law, although it was not then enforced. On the 11th of May the Chief Justice of the Transvaal delivered judgment in the following terms—

> "He had no doubt as to the meaning of the language of Law 3 of 1885. If the Legislature

> had intended to restrict Asiatics' trading operations to certain localities, it would have been giving with one hand and taking away with the other, as Asiatics were allowed into the country for trading purposes. The law gave the Government power to assign certain wards, streets, and locations for Asiatics to live in. This provision was for sanitary purposes and it is . . . clear that it did not give the Government the right to appoint certain localities outside of which Asiatics could not trade.
>
> "The interpretation which the Transvaal authorities now seek to place upon that law is the one which the late South African Republic always advocated, and which the British Government always consistently opposed. It . . . struck his Lordship as remarkable that this Government without fresh legislation should put forward a claim which the Government of the Crown in England has always contended was illegal, and which in the past it has strenuously resisted."

Two or three leading officials had been fanning this flame with inflammatory speeches just as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had done that day, and they had stated that this matter could not remain where it was, and the opinion of the Chief Justice could not be left alone. They had, in fact, pointed not indistinctly to further legislation upon this subject, and when the Colonial Secretary was asked whether he would veto such legislation, he said that he would carefully consider it. The House knew very well that that legislation would not be vetoed, and the speech just delivered by the ex-Colonial Secretary was a clear invitation to those officials to go on with that policy and carry legislation which would be infamous under the circumstances. At the commencement of the war they declared an intelligent policy, and it would be monstrous and infamous, if after the judgment of the Supreme Court, legislation should be introduced into the Transvaal to go beyond that judgment. There was another point in connection with this matter. The Chief Justice, in that judgment, said that the immigration of British Indians to South Africa was permitted. It was not until lately that the Government had been making use of the Peace Preservation Ordinance to prevent the immigration of British Indian subjects to South Africa. In his opinion it was a monstrous use to make of that Ordinance. It had been used for many strange purposes. It had been used to prevent individuals from coming back whose presence in the Transvaal might have been obnoxious to certain people, but not dangerous to the State. But to use it to prevent British Indian immigrants entering the Transvaal as they had a right to do, because they were British subjects moving freely at their own cost, was a principle destructive of the unity of the British Empire. British Indians were ruled in every circumstance of their lives by the most rigid code of municipal regulations the world had ever seen. Not one of these men had a right to a municipal vote. They were asked to bow down and defer to the opinion of the white majority without waiting for representative institutions in a Crown Colony for the government of which in these matters they were responsible.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield) said these matters were settled by a public vote of the electors. In this matter they had unanimously decided that they would not agree to the course suggested by the right hon. Gentleman.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE said he would tell his hon. friend something which had a bearing on what he had stated. The Privy Council had decided that a South African Ordinance referring to "coloured" persons did not apply to British Indians, but to the native population. The Government of the Transvaal had overruled the Privy Council on that point, and, holding that "coloured" included Indians and all Asiatics, disfranchised British Indians in all local elections. He had nothing more to say on these subjects. While he did not wish to divert the debate into other topics, he hoped the afternoon would not close before they had heard something regarding the Government of the Transvaal upon other matters, important as this matter was. The financial dealings of Lord Milner in connection with that Government, and the finance of the South African States, which had lately come under our control, was a matter that must be dealt with also in the course of this debate. The pretence was put forward first that South Africa was bankrupt and could not pay anything, and then at another moment that it was in a prosperous condition and could do anything. The ups and downs of Transvaal finance would compare, he thought, with the proceedings of some of the less reputable of the gold mines on the Rand. Some of these mines had reduced the average earnings in the way described by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. The right hon. Gentleman had complained that it was not fair to instance companies which paid 120 per cent. The average profits of some people had been very high, but the average profits of the people who were swindled had been pretty low. Having studied Lord Milner's finance in South Africa he thought his methods had been worthy of the less reputable portion of South African financiers. There was one portion of his finance which had a close bearing on our finance. We had the prospect of obtaining at some time or other some of the money we had spent on the Transvaal if we kept our eyes open. But we should have to keep our eyes open if we were to obtain the money. We had to complain that promises made to this House on behalf of the Transvaal had been broken, that solemn assurances given by Chancellor of the Exchequer after Chancellor of the Exchequer had been distinctly violated, and that these most strange methods of finance had been resorted to for the purpose of enabling the Transvaal Government to break their promises.

There was one branch of the matter of great Imperial concern — he meant the question of the South African Constabulary and its finance. He would mention it briefly. Twelve thousand men were to be kept up there, but that intention had been abandoned. The House would see the bearing which this had on the number of troops in garrison to be kept there at our cost. First of all it was said that 12,000 were to be raised for the constabulary, then 10,000, and the number now was 4,470. The original estimate of cost was £250 per man. The last solemn promise made to this House and adhered to by two Chancellors of the Exchequer was that 6,000 men would be kept up at the cost of the local exchequer, though, as he had said, the number had fallen to 4,470. The Transvaal Government had told the local Assemblies and the local Press that they were opposed even to this expenditure on constabulary. They thought it ought to be greatly reduced, and they counted upon our keeping up an enormous garrison at our own cost in order that they should pursue their policy, whatever it was, at our expense. He knew that the present Colonial Secretary believed in keeping the Empire together. He supposed the right hon. Gentleman thought that it could only be kept together by giving a fiscal preference to certain colonies. The right hon. Gentleman thought the Empire could only be kept together in South Africa by our doing everything proposed by Lord Milner. On the Opposition side of the House they did not believe that, but they believed, notably in connection with the labour question, that it could best be kept together by adherence to the principles on which it been built.

*SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.) said he fully believed that if better treatment in South Africa had been promised to their Indian fellow-subjects there would have been found a supply of labour quite adequate to the requirements of the Transvaal. A promise of fair treatment to Indians would have prevented all the agitation and difficulty which had been raised throughout the United Kingdom on the question of Chinese labour. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had urged as an argument against the importation of Indian labour that, because South Africa had to be retained as a white man's colony, a large influx of Indian labourers could not be permitted, as it would practically swamp the white people. He entirely differed from that view. There was no real danger of the immigration of Indians becoming overwhelming. The right hon. Gentleman had complained of the protest made by the Government of India against the harsh treatment of British Indian subjects in Africa. That was strange. The Indian residents in Africa wished to be simply safeguarded against unnecessary and unreasonable measures of ill-treatment and degradation, and among his many great deeds as Viceroy, Lord Curzon had done nothing more popular or just than this truly Imperial service of courageously standing out as he did for the rights of the King's Indian subjects. He had been surprised to hear the ex-Colonial Secretary say that the Indian Government should have been forced to abandon this attitude. He was thankful that it had never occurred to anybody to make the Indian Goverment abandon the position they had taken up. Lord Curzon demanded fair treatment only for the Indian coolie, and that the higher class of Indians who went to Africa for the purposes of trade should have protection against insulting and disabling legislation. It was because Lord Milner and the South African Administration refused to allow this simple demand that the whole question of labour in the Transvaal mines had become difficult, and given cause for so much agitation here. He felt aggrieved in connection with the question of Chinese labour particularly on the ground that, after giving British working men full scope for their energy, if additional labour was wanted in the Transvaal it should have been obtained from other parts within our own Empire, and he submitted that the Indian population had a legitimate and an inherent right to find such employment under the British flag. He believed he had the sympathy of hon. Members on both sides of the House when he contended that it was an abuse of the powers and authority that rested with the British Administration whether in Africa or any other portion of our dominions, to exclude Indians and prefer men of other nationalities for such fields of labour.

But apart from this question of labour, there were many other acts of injustice towards their Indian fellow-subjects which he was sure hon. Members would condemn. The tale of these hardships was so long that he could not hope to recount them at length, as many speakers were waiting to discuss other important matters; nor did his right hon. friend need to be reminded of them, as he was fully acquainted with these grievances. He thanked him for the sympathetic attention which he had given to his representations, but he was afraid the matter had been allowed to get beyond the right hon. Gentleman's control. Time after time, in spite of pledges which the right hon. Gentleman had willingly given, determined attempts had been made in South Africa, even with the countenance of the responsible administrators there, to oppress and tyrannise over British Indian subjects and trample under foot their few remaining rights. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean, whom he wished to thank for his powerful advocacy of Indian interests, had referred to the judgment delivered a few days ago in the Supreme Court. When he asked the Colonial Secretary the other day in regard to the speech of Sir Arthur Lawley, in which he was alleged to have stated that the position created by that decision would not be tolerated, the right hon. Gentleman informed him that the report furnished was a mistaken one and that the speech did not bear the meaning which some people had put on it. He would, with the permission of the Committee, read a few words on this particular subject from Sir Arthur Lawley's speech on 18th May last. He said—

> "The present Administration stepped into the shoes of the late Government, and they were determined to adhere to the old law. They understood that those men who had been allowed—largely, it must be admitted, through the intervention of the British Government—to build up vested interests should be undisturbed for the period only of their lives, whilst any new-comers—any traders who had not received a licence prior to the outbreak of hostilities—should be required to reside and trade in bazaars set aside for that purpose. The present decision of the Supreme Court had told them that the law under which they proposed to carry their intentions into effect did not so provide, and that they had no power to enforce his residence and trading in bazaars. That was the position to-day. He hoped that before long they would be in a position to introduce legislation which would accurately define the *status* of the Indian who was there now, and clearly define the disabilities under which any incoming Asiatic would in the future reside in the Transvaal."

If that was not denying the full advantage to British Indian subjects of the decision of the Supreme Court, he did not know what those words meant. Sir Arthur Lawley said that this judgment would not prevent legislation being introduced to override it; but he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would give a promise in the course of the discussion that he would refuse his sanction to any such legislation. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary when he was going to solve this great problem of the *status* and treatment of British Indian subjects in Africa. This difficulty had arisen years ago in spite of pledges given to the contrary. As long ago as May 1843, Sir George Napier, Governor of Cape Colony, stated on behalf of the British

Government in a proclamation on the annexation of Natal—

> "There shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction or disqualification whatever founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language, or creed, but that the protection of the law in letter and in substance shall be extended impartially to all alike."

He did not want to take his stand on the strict obligation to abide by theoretical promises of this nature or to observe the letter of such proclamations. He could quite realise that in the progressive history of nations circumstances might require that expediency should modify their original intent; and he did not demand that all these promises made to British Indian subjects should be maintained under the creation of unforseen conditions in an entirely literal sense. What he asked for was that they should be treated with some semblance of fair play, and not be subjected to race hatred. But when they were victimised to mere capricious prejudices, which were looked upon with disfavour by the great bulk of the British nation, he wondered that British administrators could be found to give any encouragement to the indulgence of these prejudices. When this very question of the trading rights of British Indian subjects in the Transvaal under the old Kruger Government was adversely decided, the right hon. Member for West Birmingham said on 4th September, 1895, in a letter to the High Commissioner to the South African Republic—

> "In conclusion I would say that whilst desirous loyally to abide by the award, and to allow it to close the legal and international question in dispute between the two Governments, I reserve to myself the liberty later on to make friendly representations to the South African Republic as to the traders, and possibly to invite the Government to consider whether when once its legal position has been made good it would not be wise to review the situation from a new point of view and decide whether it would not be better in the interests of its own burghers to treat the Indians more generously and to free itself from even the appearance of countenancing a trade jealousy which, I have some reason to believe, does not emanate from the governing class in the Republic."

But since those words were written, since, in fact, British Administration had been established over the Boer territories, the position of their British Indian fellow-subjects had been made much worse, and they had lost right after right. Let it not be supposed that this question only involved the treatment of merely a few Indians in South Africa. It was essentially a question which affected 300,000,000 of their fellow-subjects in India, and he was sure that if this course was to be pursued it would build up a great platform of dissatisfaction among them. They already felt that absolutely unnecessary restrictions and disabilities were allowed to be imposed, day after day, in the Transvaal under the rule of Lord Milner. A promise had been made to him by the Colonial Secretary to bring this whole question to some fair solution and he was told that it was under consideration by the Cabinet. He would be satisfied with that, if it was to bring any solid result; but he was at least entitled to ask the right hon. Gentleman to make a declaration that afternoon as to how far this great question had proceeded in the deliberations of the Government, and what representations were being made to Lord Milner and Sir Arthur Lawley to discourage the unreasonable prejudices which were entertained in the Transvaal in regard to their Indian fellow-subjects, and whether there was any likelihood of any relief being afforded in regard to the matter. If the right hon. Gentleman could not hold out any such hope, let it be known once for all that the Imperial Government were helpless in the matter, and that things in South Africa were to be left to the one-sided decision of the local authorities. The people of India should no longer be left in the enjoyment of the false hope that their rights would be secured by the intervention of British influence against local prejudice if they went to the South African Colonies. If matters came to that pass, statesmen might well pause to consider what would be the ultimate effect of giving grave cause for discontent to millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects for the sake of pleasing a few thousand colonists in South Africa. On this ground he contended the question was one of Imperial concern, which required His Majesty's Ministers to see that some measure of justice should be secured to their British Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa, and that they should not be subjected to the hardships and humiliations now inflicted upon them by local legislation. They should be assured that they would be treated with equal justice and fair play in all parts of His Majesty's dominions. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give some assurance, which would have a soothing effect on the people of India, that the grievances from which their countrymen in our Colonies had suffered for much too long a time would be removed.

MR. MARKHAM said he had not intervened in these debates in respect of South Africa because he did not wish to give offence to Members of his own Party on this subject of Chinese labour. But so far as his own constituents were concerned they differed from him very widely on this question. He regretted it. During the time he had been in the House he had advocated Chinese labour as the only possible means of developing the resources of the Transvaal. He advocated it to the late Mr. Kruger in 1896, and also to the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburgh in the same year. He had no interest, financial or otherwise, in South Africa, he was not speaking on behalf of the the mine-owners; and he thought his worst enemies would perhaps acquit him in that regard, after having spent two years in conflict with South African people at a very heavy expenditure to himself. He would not therefore come to this House to advocate an unpopular cause but for a conscientious belief in it. He wished to say that, in his opinion, the prosperity of the Transvaal depended solely and wholly on the mining industry—not only the Transvaal but the Free State and all South Africa, on the development, directly and indirectly, of the gold mines in the Transvaal. Within the last eighteen months they had only emerged from a great war, and more than ever before the development of these countries depended on the mining industry. He knew that hon. Members on his side of the House said that there was no deficiency of labour before the war, and that other industries besides mining could be developed in those countries without bringing in outside labour. It was one of the chief arguments that there was a sufficiency of labour in South Africa, provided the Kaffirs were properly treated and were well paid. He would like to read an extract from a speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth on 18th April, 1901. That right hon. Gentleman then said—

> "How are you going to get any revenue out of the gold mines? You will not get it out of the gold mines, because, first of all, the gold mines will not give it to you. And if they will not give it to you, remember there is no other population from which you can rely to get any revenue at all Therefore, if they will not pay, you will not get it. But they cannot pay, and I will tell you why. The whole question of the development of the Transvaal is the question of labour. Now even in the flourishing times before the war there was an immense deficiency of labour in South Africa."

The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that—

> "The Member for Mansfield in an article which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, tells us that the present labour in the Transvaal comes from Portuguese East Africa, and from nowhere else, and then he is reduced at last to say that you must have Chinese for gold-mine labour. It comes, then, to this, that the hope of gold mining in South Africa depends upon the introduction of Chinese labour, which has been rejected by every society of white men, whether in America or Australia."

Now a very remarkable change came over the right hon. Gentleman when the question of the introduction of Chinese labour was mentioned. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton had stated in the course of the debate that statesmen altered their language as conditions developed. Well, this was what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth said on 24th March, 1903—

> "But what is the urgency of the present occasion when we have to consider what is to be done with regard to labour? There is a deficiency of labour now, but there was no deficiency before the war."

Two and a half years previously the right hon. Gentleman stated that there was an immense deficiency of labour. On that occasion he contradicted the right hon. Gentleman, who replied that it was stated by the Industrial Commission in 1897, that they could get all the labour they required, but one of the chief questions before the Industrial Commission was the deficiency of native labour in South Africa. He absolutely concurred in the statement made by the right hon. Member for West Monmouth in 1901 that there was a deficiency of native labour in South Africa, but he did not agree with his statement in 1903. Seventy-two per cent.

of the labour in the Transvaal mines came from outside the Transvaal itself. Long before this question of Chinese labour came up the system of native labour in the Transvaal was a system of forced labour. Hon. Members never gave a thought to the conditions of native work in South Africa; they were not aware of the way in which the natives were recruited. These natives were recruited under what was called the area system; a system under which areas were leased out to speculators and jobbers who had the control of those districts administratively, and who sent up natives, some of whom never came back, to work in the mines whether they liked it or not. From his own personal experience, Mr. Selous, who was perhaps more conversant with this system than anyone else, characterised this native labour as forced labour, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean had repeatedly argued the same way. The terrible mortality among the Kaffirs was entirely due, in his opinion, to the ignoring of climatic influences. These men, who had never a rag upon them from the time they were born, were brought from a tropical climate to a land where it was very cold in the mornings. They were savages, and had no idea of taking any care of themselves, and no care was taken of them, and so long as they were brought up to the Rand in that way this mortality would continue. He brought this same point before the late Mr. Kruger, but, unfortunately, neither the late Transvaal Government, nor the British Government, nor Lord Milner, had taken any steps to put a stop to this system of recruiting in tropical South Africa. It was notorious that the Kaffirs would not work in South Africa, and so long as they could subsist on the prolific bounty of the land without working no one had a right to force them to work in the mines for so-called civilisation, but really for the benefit of stock jobbers and gold mine-owners. This country was not entitled, in his opinion, to levy any charge on the Kaffirs in South Africa more than the cost of the administration that was given and of the protection afforded under their form of government. In Swaziland the tax was 40s.; in Basutoland 20s., and 20s. for each wife; and in the Transvaal 40s., and 40s. for each wife. That had not had the effect of making the Kaffir work, for the Kaffir did not work and would not work unless he were forced to work. That was a condition to which no one in this country desired to be a party.

What was the alternative to this condition of affairs in South Africa? He was opposed to the compound system and in favour of giving greater rights and more liberties to the Chinese than the Ordinance gave. But who were the people who had forced these restrictions and regulations on the Chinese? The trades union leaders. They had forced these conditions on the Chinese; they had complained that the compound system was not strict enough and they had asked that far more stringent regulations and rules should be imposed on the Chinese to prevent them competing with white men. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton referred to this question the right hon. Gentleman took care to make no mention of that fact. He asked why the Ordinance in this case was not the same as that in the case of British Guiana? The reason was because the men in the Transvaal would not have it. The complaint that coloured labour was displacing white labour and would do so still more was not justified. The Return asked for by the hon. Member for Camberwell showed that the number of white men in the mines was continually increasing. That Return, however, was of no value because the hon. Gentlemen omitted to ask for the numbers of the different classes of miners working in the producing mines and the non-producing mines. Had the hon. Gentleman been familiar with South Africa he would have known that there was a return by the Government mine inspector which gave the number of white men engaged in the mines. Before the war there was one white man to every seven Kaffirs, in May, 1904, there were 13,892 white men employed in the Transvaal mines, and the number had been steadily increasing from that time onward. But that was due to the development of the diamond industry. He had always contended that the Premier Diamond Mine should have been worked with white labour, by the State for the benefit of the Transvaal but the House last year took no interest in that question. That mine could have been worked entirely with white labour, and if the Government had taken it over last year, and thrown it open to public pegging by white men, and had allowed white men only to work in it, there would have been no necessity for Chinese labour now. But it was allowed to be leased to a company, who were only working a part of the area, and whose profits had risen from £300 a month last year to £100,000 a month, with diamonds selling at 32s. a carat which only cost 2s. a carat to obtain. When fighting that question in the House last year, he got no support whatever from the Liberal Party in his endeavour to get the mine thrown open to the public. They were in favour of a monopoly, as was also the Liberal Press, with the single exception of the *Daily News.* No one except Members of this House who did not know what they were talking about advocated that the gold mines should be worked with white labour. No one in South Africa or any mining engineer in this country would ever suggest such a thing. Even Mr. Creswell, of whom a great deal had been heard, admitted that it was impossible to work the gold mines on the Rand entirely with white labour. There must be a percentage of Kaffir labour, otherwise the percentage of gold obtained would not be sufficient to pay for the working of the mines. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the Isle of Wight opposed the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal on the ground that colonial sentiment was against it, but the Western Australian Government sanctioned the introduction of Chinese labour into Western Australia under conditions far more onerous than those in the South African Ordinance. Australia was a white man's country and South Africa was a black man's country, yet in 1898 Western Australia passed a similar measure to this.

Up to this point he had been entirely opposed to Members sitting on his own side of the House, but he now came to the point of disagreement with the Government and agreement with his hon. friends. When the question was first thought of and before it was introduced into Parliament he wrote to the Colonial Secretary in relation to the action the Government ought to take, and suggested to him that during the interregnum of Crown government it would be a deplorable and short-sighted policy for the Government to sanction the introduction of Chinese labour without first taking a vote of the people upon the subject. He failed to convince the right hon. Gentleman. Hon. Members might ask why, then, he did not vote against the Ordinance. Nobody felt more strongly than he did that it was for the people of South Africa to decide this question, but he was unable to come to the conclusion to vote against the Ordinance by reason of the misrepresentations that would be put forward in the country. For that and no other reason he abstained from voting on the question. Whether his views were right or wrong he claimed that consideration to which all Members were entitled, and he strongly objected to hon. Members like the hon. Member for the Isle of Wight, who knew nothing whatever about mining, coming down to the House of Commons and raising the bitterest partisan feelings. Whether the hon. Member was right or wrong on the moral and ethical side he expressed no opinion; people were at liberty to set up their own standard of morals and ethics.

On the question of wages, there was a very distinct pledge given by the Colonial Secretary as to the rate to be paid. Time after time the right hon. Gentleman had stated that there was no intention or desire on the part of the Government to introduce any labour in South Africa unless it was paid at the same rate as Kaffir labour. He did not wish to tie the right hon. Gentleman down to the exact figure of 2s. a day, but the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly correct when he said that the rate was 2s. Lord Milner and the cosmopolitan crowd by which he was surrounded at Johannesburg had been able to bring sufficient pressure to bear to bring about a rate of wage for the Chinese which was lower than the Kaffir rate. In the Report of the Labour Commission the rates of wages were given as stated by several witnesses. The Chairman and Managing Director of the Witswatersrand Labour Association stated that the rate of wages for Kaffirs was 50s. for surface work and 60s. for underground. The question and answer on the subject were as follows—

> "(*Q.*)—You tell us that boys receive 60s. per month. That is a standing wage, or is it piece work? (*A.*)—It is the standing wage for all boys with the exception of raw boys coming from the east coast. The latter do not necessarily receive the minimum wage of 60s. but they do receive 45s. when they first come up, and later on they rise to 60s. The boys from the Northern Transvaal receive 60s. at the start."

From a Paper appended to the Report, it would be seen that the average cost of native labour from January to June, 1903, was 2s. 7d. Sir George Farrar, who introduced the Chinese Ordinance into the Legislative Council, stated on 28th December—

> "Now what were the wages paid before the war? 47s. since the war; up to 1902, 33s. In April of this year we went even higher; we paid surface boys 50s. and underground boys 60s., and to-day the rate of wages is 54s."

On 15th April Lord Milner telegraphed to the Colonial Secretary—

> "Having regard to the cost of bringing Chinamen to the Rand, it seems to me that mine-owners must protect themselves to some extent."

And he went on to make the extraordinary statement—

> "The more I think of it, the greater appears to me to be the danger of fixing the minimum of 1s. 6d. It is plainly quite unnecessary in order to get the coolies and its consequences will be very serious for all the industries of the country."

A rate of 1s. 6d. serious for all the industries of the country when the Kaffir standard rate was 2s.! Why had the Colonial Secretary been bullied by Lord Milner? Why had he given in to Lord Milner and the mine-owners, seeing that he had a stiff back at one time? The right hon. Gentleman would not deny that the rate was 2s. a day.

MR. LYTTELTON intimated that he was prepared to deny it.

MR. MARKHAM asked on what evidence the right hon. Gentleman based his denial. According to the evidence of Sir George Farrar, of the recruiting agents of the Labour Association, and the evidence afforded by the interview between Mr. Brownlee and Mr. Macfarlane, even the inferior Kaffir received 2s. a day, while many got as much as £6 a month. Therefore, the Chinese were being brought in at wages which were under the standard Kaffir rate, and that, he submitted, was absolutely wrong. The Government had no right to bring into South Africa outside alien races to compete in the native market. The right hon. Gentleman had given a pledge that the rate of wages for the Chinese should not be less than those paid to the Kaffirs, and yet, forced and dragooned by Lord Milner, he had sanctioned a lower rate, although Lord Milner's policy in South Africa had been from beginning to end a ghastly failure, as the country was now beginning to perceive.

Under these circumstances it was very necessary that the Committee should know definitely whether or not the Chinese were going to do overseers' work. The many Questions which he had put to the Colonial Secretary had been treated as though the point were of no practical importance. The view of the President of the Mines Association was stated on 24th January last in these words—

> "With regard to the introduction of the Chinese, they were now informed that they were bringing overseers with them. If such a state of things took place, after the public statements made by Lord Milner and Sir George Farrar, they could write those gentlemen down as being the greatest and most arrant liars of this age."

He himself had cabled to South Africa to find out whether or not Chinese overseers were actually working in the mines, but his friend had been unable to give him the information because he could not get into the compounds to find out. The question was a very important one, and the right hon. Gentleman had not convinced him that the words of the Ordinance prevented Chinese overseers. Where they got one straightforward mine-owner they would get a dozen rascals who would take every possible opportunity of squeezing out white men in order to work the mines more cheaply. Personally, he was not in favour of trusting individuals at all. He would rather have such safeguards inserted as would leave no loophole whatever. He hoped, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman would give a definite pledge that no white man's job should be taken away by reason of the introduction of the Chinese. Such an assurance would give satisfaction not only in this country but also in South Africa. Many of his own constituents were miners, and basing his statement on the pledges of the Government he had assured them that so far as overseers were concerned the Chinese would not take away their work.

No possible equality could ever exist between blacks and whites. He believed that equal civil rights should be given to all civilised white men, and that whether men were black, yellow, or any other colour, they should enjoy the rights of citizenship when they became civilised men. But so long as South Africa existed they would never get the white workmen to assent to any equality whatever between the two races. He implored the Government to remove this question from the British Parliament at the earliest possible date, and allow it to rest with the people of South Africa themselves. His statement last year that we had lost South Africa was received with cries of "nonsense," but he could assure the Committee that the position was never more grave than it was to-day. There was bound to be an alliance between the Boer party and either the capitalists or the workmen. He feared the Boers would like to throw in their lot with the capitalists, and then the workmen whom the capitalists were so anxious to keep out of South Africa might go where they liked. The majority of the people in the Transvaal were Dutch, and by reason of the deficiency in the native labour supply the British population instead of increasing was decreasing, and until there was a better supply of native and coloured labour that decrease would go on. He apologised to the Committee for detaining them at such length, and expressed his gratitude for the indulgence they had extended to him.

MR. LYTTELTON: I do not think the hon. Gentleman need apologise for the speech he has made. It contained many most interesting facts. The facts which he vouched for of his own knowledge I believe were accurate; upon those from which he quoted evidence he must allow me to exercise my own judgment. Broadly speaking, I am entirely in agreement with my right hon. friend the Member for West Birmingham; for I have never been able to see that an Ordinance which gives the indentured Chinese many times the earnings they get in their own country, which returns them, consonant with their habits and wishes, at the end of the period of service with sufficient money in their pockets to make them, as compared with their fellows in their own country, comparatively wealthy men, able to buy their own land and cultivate it — personally I have never been able to see that such an Ordinance can be other than a benefit to the Chinese. I never have disguised the fact that there are certain disabilities which this Ordinance lays upon them, when they are in Africa, which I do not think are altogether pleasant, and which I myself, were I employing a man, should not like to impose. But these disabilities are imposed not by the will of their employers, but by the inflexible will and expressed desire of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Transvaal [Cries of "No."], who insist that on those terms, and those terms only, shall these immigrations take place. [AN HON. MEMBER: Where have they said so?] I will deal with that in a moment. Again, I am in entire agreement with my right hon. friend when he says that the Government and the House ought to welcome any criticism of the Ordinance which can show that the contract is not thoroughly understood by the Chinese, that it is not thoroughly well carried out by their employers, or that the labourers are not abundantly protected by every provision which ingenuity can suggest. The provisions which have been made have not been challenged, and therefore I need not deal with them again. The point which I address myself to is this, not whether this House would pass this Ordinance in its precise shape, but whether I have a case to advise His Majesty to veto the Ordinance as passed by the Legislative Council of the Transvaal.

The right hon. Gentleman who opened the debate referred to our own precedents for legislation in this matter. I frankly accept the fact that both Parties in the State are responsible for colonial legislation relating to imported indentured labour, which has existed for the last fifty or sixty years. Every detail of every Ordinance in the Colonies cannot be very strictly scrutinised by the Secretary of State for

India or even the Secretary for the Colonies. It is unnecessary to say more on that part of the case, which I admit is the partisan aspect of it. But all that part of the case is entirely gone. The right hon. Gentleman says with perfect frankness that he entirely approves of the British Guiana Ordinance. It is far stronger than if, by some negligence, the right hon. Gentleman and Lord Ripon, and the hon. Member for Poplar, had passed this Ordinance in haste or *per incuriam.* The position deliberately taken up by the right hon. Gentleman is that he approves of the Ordinance which amended and consolidated no fewer than nine other Ordinances relating to the same colony and dealing with the same subject-matter. Therefore I am absolutely entitled on behalf of the Government to say that this Ordinance passed by a Liberal Government in 1894 does in truth and in fact embody the deliberate, persistent, consolidated legislation of forty or fifty years connected with the passing of British subjects as indentured labourers into a British Colony, with the approval of the Indian Government.

Going back for a moment, if I may do so, to the test which I in my responsibility have to consider—that is to say, what sort of a case would I have against the Transvaal Government if they said, "We desire this legislation. Our necessity is great for it." The native labour in the mines in the month of June was only 68,000, while there is not the slightest doubt that before the war there were 100,000 native labourers, and probably 110,000 employed. Before the war the country had few burdens and obligations, and I fully accept the right to criticise claimed by the right hon. Member for the Montrose Burghs, of the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries, and of the hon. Member for Carnarvon. They have criticised the war from the beginning. They accepted the unpopularity which attached to such a position, and though I profoundly differ from them, their views were in accordance with their convictions, and they honestly maintained them. They are in a different position from those who accepted the popularity of the war, who supported it on this side of the House and on that at the time. I never believed for a moment, and I do not think anybody on this side of the House believed, that they would flinch from the consequences of a war which they believed to be just. But what is the position of those hon. Gentlemen who accept the popularity of the war and declare its justice, and then come down to this House and elsewhere and point out with lugubrious voices that its consequences must be faced, and faced manfully, by every one who has to deal with the colony which is the subject of the war?

Now, what is the position? The position is that, of course necessarily, the country which was engaged in a war of exhaustion has been largely devastated throughout, that immense cost is necessary to repair the ravages of the war, that a suspension of business has prevailed for a long time, and that immense repairs of the havoc of war are absolutely essential. To carry out these repairs the country itself has to make great efforts, but it has also had accorded to it by this country a guaranteed loan of £35,000,000 to pursue the work of development. It has also most loyally and patriotically undertaken to make a contribution of £30,000,000 to the cost of the war. The position is this: Upon that country, therefore, there is now laid a burden of £65,000,000. Are we, with our own record in this matter, to refuse the opportunity to those who have to earn this money which is absolutely necessary to discharge these burdens? Are we to turn round and say, "Yes, it is true we have imposed the burden in a period of great distress. We have allowed British subjects in British Guiana and Trinidad to come in under sometimes more onerous conditions than those in force in the Transvaal?" Are we who have rightly committed ourselves to that legislation to say to the Transvaal in a period of almost unexampled distress, in a period when the economic reparation of the country is absolutely necessary—are we, having permitted that legislation, having amended it, having consolidated it, and having allowed it to exist for forty or fifty years of our history, to say "No, we refuse you in your need similar legislation?"

I venture to think that such a position is impossible, and I will tell the House frankly why. We have often heard Englishmen called hypocrites, and I think everybody to whom it has been addressed has justly resented the charge, but how can we say that it would be otherwise than hypocritical to veto a proposal made by the Transvaal? [Cries of "No, no; the Legislative Council," from the OPPOSITION.] If we were going to argue this matter with the working men of the Transvaal, what kind of a case should I have? I take the right hon. Gentleman's selection of the differences between the two Ordinances, because I know that his experience has been sufficiently long to make him select the strongest cases of difference he could find. I think the first difference he selected was that under the Transvaal Ordinance the labourer was bound to reside on the premises, while in the British Guiana Ordinance he was bound to reside on the plantation. Personally, I do not see very much difference. The premises in the case of a mine are the whole land adjacent to the mine, and not merely the mine in which he is employed. I confess I fail to see any substantial difference whatever between the obligation to live on a plantation and the obligation to live on mine premises. I admit that there are somewhat longer holidays permissible in the British Guiana Ordinance than in the Transvaal Ordinance. But when the right hon. Gentleman says that there is not free access to the Courts, I do not think he can have studied the regulations, which most carefully provide for free access by the labourers to the Courts. Particular care has been given to this point. Section 41 of the regulations provides that every labourer is entitled to proceed to the office of the superintendent for the purpose of making a complaint against his employer or to enable him to have access to a Court of law for the redress of any injury. The right hon. Gentleman, if he thinks of it for a moment, will agree with me when I say that to ask a Chinaman to go into a Court of law totally ignorant of the language and the procedure would be a foolish and futile provision. Access is given to the person who is appointed under the sanction of his own Government to protect the Chinaman's interests, and he will protect him and bring his case into Court. There is a further provision that a substantial penalty will be inflicted on the employer if such access is not given. The right hon. Gentleman will agree with me that that is a far more effective and reasonable way to protect the Chinaman than is provided in the British Guiaan Ordinance.

The right hon. Gentleman drew a picture of the Chinaman, one of the shrewdest of men, being totally guileless and ignorant of what he should do with the money he earns. If the right hon. Gentleman will read the Ordinance he will see that there is nothing to prevent the Chinaman from earning money, nothing to prevent him from dealing with personal property in any way he thinks fit; and the restriction imposed by the will of the inhabitants [OPPOSITION cries of "No."] simply applies to land. Let me develop that for a moment. Is there really any substance in the argument of the right hon. Gentleman? You employ a Chinese coolie for three years; you pay him for a ten hour day. Is it not ridiculous to suppose that a Chinaman during his period of indenture will become a landowner?

Then there is the last point of the right hon. Gentleman. From the first I have always taken blame to myself for having made a blunder. The right hon. Gentleman said that there is a minimum wage in the British Guiana Ordinance, while we have not provided properly for a minimum wage in the Transvaal. The minimum wage in the British Guiana Ordinance for time-work is not according to the current rate, but 1s. 1d. From the first, I admit, I said that there was no need to impose a minimum wage; and I stated quite strongly that the Chinese labourers would have 2s. a day. [AN HON. MEMBER on the OPPOSITION Benches: At least 2s.] That was an error; but I made that statement in relation simply to the question of the possibility of undercutting the Kaffir. To that extent I regard the pledge as binding. I am sure that no rational man would desire, when the Chinaman was willing to come for a certain wage, and a wage much greater than that he received in his own country, that that wage should be doubled, although such doubling is not necessary to protect the Kaffir from being undercut. No one wishes that Kaffir labour shall be appreciated by the introduction of Chinese labour.

SIR HENRY FOWLER: My contention is that the Kaffir is practically being undercut.

MR. LYTTELTON: I quite accept that issue. Directly I found that my information was incorrect and that the Chinese would come for less than 2s. a day, I changed my policy and insisted on a minimum wage. That wage must necessarily be experimental. The minimum Kaffir wage is 45s. Lord Milner assures me that the average wage earned by the Chinaman will be 50s. I quite agree that that assurance may prove incorrect; but in order to protect the Kaffir against any injustice or undercutting, it is now part of the contract that, if the Chinese as a whole do not earn on the average 50s. a month, besides board and lodging, then the present minimum wage of 30s. shall be raised to 45s. I ask the House to consider that as business men; and if they do not think that this arrangement affords sufficient protection to the Kaffir, then I am afraid that nothing I can say will persuade them. If criticism is to be made upon me at all in this matter of the wage, it might almost legitimately be said that I have taken more care of the Kaffir than really I was obliged to do; because though I hold strongly that you ought not to allow the native labourers to be unduly undercut by an alien invasion, yet I very much doubt whether it is not almost insulting to apply that provision in all its strictness when nearly 80 per cent. of the Kaffirs are not British subjects at all. That is the last distinction which the right hon. Gentleman drew between the British Guiana Ordinance and this Transvaal Ordinance; and these distinctions are so small that it would be impossible that they should carry such a heavy burden as affording to me justification for advising the King to veto legislation which has substantially obtained for years in other Colonies.

But the right hon. Gentleman might have drawn one other distinction. It is true that at the end of the period of service, in one case three years, and in British Guiana five years, the Indian coolie is permitted to continue in the country while the Chinese labourer, by the unanimous wish of the working population of the Transvaal, is to be repatriated. As a lawyer I understand the doctrine of "relation back." But it is impossible to contend that that which is slavery during the whole period of service changes its character because of something which occurs at the end of the service. This Ordinance was desired by the people of the Transvaal.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): Try the *referendum.*

MR. LYTTELTON: The hon. Gentleman's interruption is more apropos than some have been. I am just coming to that.

SIR HENRY FOWLER: I do not adopt the right hon. Gentleman's kind suggestion as to the argument I might have used.

MR. LYTTELTON: Then the right hon. Gentleman sweeps aside the argument on which the hon. Member for Poplar has chiefly founded himself. As to the *referendum*, I have never concealed from myself that if this case had not been one of great urgency it would have been most desirable to have a *referendum.* It would obviously show whether what we believe to be the will of the people of the Transvaal is their will. I and the Government are not at all afraid of that issue.

DR. MACNAMARA: Then take that step.

MR. LYTTELTON: But when he speaks in this debate I should like the Leader of the Opposition to say whether, in the event of this Ordinance receiving the sanction of the majority of the elected representatives of the Transvaal, he would advise the King when he comes into power to repeal this so-called slavery Ordinance.

SIR H. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): The right hon. Gentleman means a fully-constituted, representative, and independent Colony, and he asks whether, if such a Colony did certain things, we should interfere to stop them? Let us see them in that position first.

MR. LYTTELTON: If this was slavery or akin to slavery it could not find a place on the Statute-book, even though it was approved by a self-governing colony. But the measure of the indignation of the right hon. Gentleman is to be found in his answer to the question whether he would repeal this Ordinance if put into power. "If you put me there I will tell you." I prefer the attitude of the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton. But the right hon. Gentleman and others who have interrupted me in the course of my speech and asked for evidence of the will of the Transvaal people will have an opportunity next year of ascertaining that will for themselves, because His Majesty's Government have decided to give representative institutions to the Transvaal. Do not let me be misunderstood. I use that phrase in the technical sense. Full self-government is called responsible government, but the decision of His Majesty's Government is to substitute for the present nominated element in the Transvaal Legislative Council an elective element. So that upon a question upon which you are to ascertain the voice of the country as a whole you will always have the machinery, by virtue of your elected members, wholly apart from the official members, for seeing whether or not the measure is consistent with and in harmony with the feeling of the country. When the question is put before those representatives elected from the country we shall see who is right and who is wrong upon the great issue—Does the country approve of the Ordinance? It will be very interesting also to know whether, if the decision of those representatives is in favour of the Ordinance, any modification will be made in the language we have heard in increasing force until it reached Chertsey, and whether it will in time assume the character of that language which is used when a general election is near.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester): Upon what franchise will the members be elected?

MR. LYTTELTON: It would not be in order to go into details upon that; but I think that if the hon. Gentleman studies the matter he will see that there has not been any indisposition on the part of the Government of the Transvaal to make a very free and popular suffrage in local government. We have municipal institutions spread all over South Africa. There are twenty-three urban districts, and there are municipalities, for the first time of any power, in all the larger towns. I think, speaking from memory, the ratepayers' franchise is on £100 fixed property and £24 annual value, a very fairly popular basis.

I ought to refer to the evidence in relation to the hon. Member for Mansfield's speech. He read certain evidence, which is, I will not say out of date, but not nearly so recent as mine. The evidence on which I rely in fixing 50s. as the average wage of the Chinese labourer relates to the average wage of the Kaffir, and my authority is the report of the Government mining engineer for the six months ending December, 1903. It shows an average wage of £47 5s. 3¼d. per head for Kaffir labour.

DR. MACNAMARA: Are they all adults?

MR. LYTTELTON: I believe so, certainly. That is the average the Chinese have to earn in the first six months and if they do not earn it the minimum wage is put up to 45s. In regard to white labour I entirely agree with the right hon. Gentleman. I know no one, from the Member for Aberdeen downwards, who is acquainted with tropical countries, who has ever had the hardihood to say in this House that white labour will ever compete with Kaffir labour below ground.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight): What about West Australia?

MR. LYTTELTON: I will not say what I think about that interruption. [Cheers and cries of "Why not?"] It illustrates the fundamental error that has been made by hon. Gentlemen on the other side in connection with this topic—an error extraordinary to any one with the most elementary knowledge of the problem—the confusion of New Zealand

and Australia, which are white men's countries, and in which there is practically no aboriginal population at all, with South Africa, which contains a native population many times exceeding that of the whites.

The right hon. Member for the Forest of Dean was good enough to say that I had broken my pledge in regard to the women and children. The only pledge that I gave was that every facility should be granted to the Chinese labourers to take their wives and families with them if they desired to do so. The right hon. Gentleman did me the justice to read out that, and I frankly accept information and instruction at his hands if he will point out to me any way by which a man could be compelled to take his wife and family with him. I imagine that the right hon. Gentleman has considered that problem, but he is not ready with a reply to it. Provision has been made in the Ordinance that wives and children shall be taken at the employers' cost in the first instance, and that the right of every Chinaman to take his wife and family shall be pointed out to him clearly; and, in case a man wishes to find out for himself what the country is like and whether he would care to take his wife and family there, elaborate machinery is provided by which he can do that. He is allowed to register his wife and family at the port of embarkation, and then, if he finds the country to his liking, he is at liberty to send for his wife and children, who can be brought over at the employers' expense. I think the right hon. Gentleman did me scanty justice in saying that I had broken my pledge when I have not only made provision for what I promised but for a good deal more. Then, again, he conveyed to the House the idea that I had misled them by saying that the Truck Act, as we understand it in England, would not be applicable to the Chinese and they would be bereft of that safeguard. If he looks at the 24th Regulation he will find that the wages of every employee shall be paid monthly in the current coin of the realm or the colony, and no payment of wages to any labourer shall be of any force or effect unless the same has been made as aforesaid. Further, he will find that no employer shall deduct any sum in respect of kind from wages due.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: As I understand it, great credit is taken for the food supplied by the employers being good food, but they are not to go beyond the boundaries of the Rand, on which the employers supply the food.

MR. LYTTELTON: That observation seems to be a little like an afterthought. [Cries of "No," and AN HON. MEMBER: It is the essence of truck.] It is surely rather imperfectly described by the word truck. [Cries of "No."] Well, I do not think I need discuss that. Any lawyer in the House would know that that last observation has nothing to do with the Truck Act. But if any hon. Member wishes to point out a method by which these regulations can be improved with regard to the Truck Act I shall be glad to hear from him. At present I say that the provisions which I have read out do incorporate the essential elements of the Truck Act into the Ordinance for the benefit of the Chinese labourer.

I had a challenge with regard to the subject of overseers. Again, if anybody can point out any means by which this provision can be strengthened in that respect I will most carefully consider it. But the present provision in the Ordinance is this. Chinese coolies are restricted to unskilled labour, defined as work usually done by the aboriginal inhabitants of South Africa. There is a penalty of £500 on anybody who employs Chinamen for any other work, and there is in default, I think, two years imprisonment. The whole case made by the hon. Member for Mansfield and on the other side is that you must keep places of trust for white men; and that is the demand of the white men who are employed in the mines in South Africa, as hon. Gentlemen opposite well know. But I am surprised to find that directly there is an idea that any Chinaman may get his head even an inch into better labour there is an outcry from those who denounce restrictions. I ask anybody on the other side, however, whether he could make a stricter provision than this which entails a penalty of £500 or two years imprisonment on any one who employs a Chinaman in any work except that done by

Kaffirs, or, in other words, in any work usually done by white men. I go further. I defy any one to suggest a better police for the enforcement of such regulations than these very men, the white foremen. If any one can do so I shall be glad to know.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said the right hon. Gentleman had stated the other day that 580 whites now employed on unskilled labour would not be governed by the Ordinance. How were their rights going to be secured ?

MR. LYTTELTON : The point whether this work has been done usually by white men or by black men is a question of fact which must be decided by the colony, and I am not going to say, 6,000 miles away, that there may not be one or two cases which are near the line. As a rule, it would be extremely easy to say "Aye" or "No" whether this work was generally done by blacks or whites, though it may or may not be that it is being so done merely temporarily, for a few days. But it is impossible for me here to foresee every possible case that may arise. All that anybody can do is to take the most scrupulous care that the law be such as the law in this case is—namely, that these men should not do the work ordinarily done by whites, but should be confined to the work ordinarily done by blacks, and make such provisions that the law cannot be evaded. I say it cannot be evaded when you have the best and most vigilant police to enforce it. I was delighted that my right hon. friend the Member for West Birmingham brought a new voice to this dreary topic, to illuminate it in the way he did.

I wish to say a word in conclusion on the question of Indian coolies, to which pointed reference has been made by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean and by my hon. friend the Member for Bethnal Green. Nobody has had more constantly in his mind the extreme difficulty of the question than I have. You have on the one side immense countries, with thickly congested populations anxious to expand, to work, and to better their condition, such as India. You have in other parts of the Empire, such as Australia, vast unoccupied districts, or occupied only on the fringe by white men, where it has become the definite determination of those white men, both in Australia and New Zealand, and of late years in America and British Columbia, to exclude Asiatics from competition with their labour. I venture to say without fear of contradiction that if it were possible for 100,000 Asiatics to come here to indenture themselves under a form of contract they would be resisted by a cordon nine deep. But that is not the point; the point is whether you are going to insist that there should be an unfettered influx of British Indians into the Transvaal without any restrictions whatever. The Committee know that the working man here would not stand it. We have, however, to consider not only what is right and just to-day in this country, but also what is consistent with the national honour. With regard to the future, I myself am of opinion that you cannot coerce the inhabitants of a colony against their will to receive even British subjects, British Indians, if they are coming there with a desire to compete with them in their work. And if the inhabitants of that colony absolutely decline to permit such competition, and if you attempted to coerce any colony in such a position, I believe you would lose it. But you may endeavour by every possible means you can to persuade them that such a policy is short-sighted, inhuman, deficient from the Imperial point of view, and so forth; but you must stop short at persuasion; anything like compulsion is, in my opinion, absolutely impossible. That applies to the future situation of British Indians coming to the Transvaal; and if they choose to pass a law in the future which shall make it difficult for British Indians to come in, though I should regret it deeply from many points of view, I do not believe we could resist it. The case is far different in regard to those British Indians who came in during the time of the late Dutch Republic, on whose behalf Minister after Minister, from Lord Derby to my right hon. friend the Member for West Birmingham, has made repeated protests and repeated claims. Now that the decision has been given by the High Court of the Transvaal, which has granted to British Indians those privileges for which we have protested, to those privileges so granted I for one adhere. I think it is impossible for this country to take up any other position consistent with the national dignity and honour in regard to men who have come into the country, and on whose behalf we have made strong representations, and whose claim has been upheld by a judicial decision; it would be inconsistent with the national honour and dignity to refuse them those privileges—in other words, to say that they should not have under the King's flag that which the Boer Republic rightly gave them. In my opinion that is a matter which has only got to be placed clearly and distinctly before the Transvaal Government as it has been in despatches not yet published, and I am certain that the citizens of that country, who value the honour of the British name as much as anyone in this House, will appreciate that the national honour and dignity is at stake in dealing with the British Indians who are resident there, and that they will freely accord that right to them.

SIR ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs) said the Colonial Secretary had made in the course of his speech a very important statement in regard to the policy of the Government. He proposed to refer to that statement, and he wished at the outset to say that he was heartily glad to hear that the Government intended to bestow representative institutions upon the Transvaal. He hoped those institutions would be a reality, and he desired to warn the right hon. Gentleman against the great danger of allowing anything in the nature of gerrymandering with those representative institutions. He could not help expressing again his great pleasure that that step was going to be taken. He hoped it would prove to be a real step and a real advance, and if that turned out to be the case he was certain it would do nothing but good.

He was not going to say more than a few words about Chinese labour. They had already had about four days discussion upon this subject, and there were only about three hours left for discussing the whole financial condition of the Transvaal, which was in a condition that might justly be described as alarming. There were also other important questions about law and order in the Transvaal which had still to be discussed. He would only take up about three minutes more with what he had to say about Chinese labour. He agreed that in introducing Chinese labour they must have restrictions. That was obvious, otherwise they would have the country flooded with Oriental vices and insanitary conditions, and what was far worse, they would have an influx of cheap labour, so cheap that the native labourer could not possibly contend against it. He agreed with the Colonial Secretary that any proposal of that kind would be resisted in this country, because it would uproot their industrial conditions. The Colonial Secretary had disregarded the opinion of Cape Colony which had been expressed by unanimous Resolutions passed by both Houses before and after the general election had taken place. There was no question whatever about the unanimity of that opinion, and it was an extraordinary thing that they should now be told that such a thin line divided the opinion of the Transvaal and Cape Colony upon this question of Chinese labour. It was nothing of the kind. Last year the then Colonial Secretary told them that the opinion of the Transvaal was hostile to the introduction of Chinese labour, and it was said that within a few months it had changed. What had changed the opinion of the Transvaal? It was simply due to the mine-owners and capitalists threatening to interfere with the continuance of the mining industry which was so vital to Johannesburg and the Rand. [AN HON. MEMBER: It was stern necessity.] Yes, stern necessity on the part of the employers of labour. That was the opinion expressed by several persons who were thoroughly familiar with the whole country and who had given documentary proofs in support of their views.

And it being half-past Seven of the Clock the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee Report Progress; to sit again this evening.

EVENING SITTING.

SUPPLY [18TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee).

[MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1904–5.

CLASS II.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £27,750, be granted to His Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1905, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including a Grant-in-Aid of certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

SIR **ROBERT REID**, continuing his speech, said he wished to refer to some matters which had not been discussed at all this session, and which were hardly discussed last year, but which at the same time were of vital importance. He could not help thinking that it was a commentary on the Downing Street method of Colonial government that, whilst there had been some four discussions this session on this subject, the important matters to which he was about to refer had not been dealt with. He was glad the Colonial Secretary had acknowledged the great devastation in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal as the result of the war, because it was good that the people of this country for good or for ill should appreciate what had been the result of the war in South Africa. It was quite clear not only from what the Colonial Secretary had said, but also from what Lord Milner and other officials in South Africa had stated repeatedly in the Blue-books, that the country was a wilderness devoid of crops, of stock, of population, and to a large extent of habitable dwellings, whilst the native live stock had been nearly exterminated. That was the state of things which resulted from the war. During the progress of the war it was quite obvious the public were wholly deceived, because hon. Members who took an interest in the subject at the time would recall the fact that information was asked for as to the number of houses destroyed, and a Return was given showing 600 houses or thereabouts, to each of which an explanation was attached giving the reasons why it was destroyed. The real fact was, however, that the greater part of the habitations in both colonies were destroyed. The fault was not with the military. It was even possible to think that if the policy of devastation had not been pursued the war might never have been brought to an end. The fault was not with the military, but with the authors of the war, at whose door must be laid the whole responsibility for this devastation. The duty to repair the ravages of the war, to rebuild, and to repatriate a multitude of people destitute of everything, had been, he was glad to say, acknowledged by the Government, and he regarded that with particular satisfaction. He thought this country was fully entitled to the credit of having exercised great humanity and great generosity in re-establishing those colonies after the war. That credit, humanity, and generosity was, in his opinion, one of our most valuable assets, and one which could not be taken from us. He had, however, found it extremely difficult to ascertain what the money was that had been spent upon it. From the various Estimates and Supplementary Estimates it would be seen that a great deal of money had been voted for this purpose during the past two years, and although the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary had endeavoured to assist him, the Return he had been good enough to make showed that the Colonial Office itself was not aware of what money had been spent, but so far as he could make out a sum of £20,145,000 had been paid by this country in two years since the conclusion of the war in respect of repatriation, compensation, and other matters. There was also a sum of £5,800,000 taken from the loan and applied in the same way, making a total of £26,000,000. The position appeared to be that these two colonies had been living on this country since the war, and that the expenditure was not to be found stated collectively. It was this money which had kept the two colonies from a state of absolute financial destitution. Much, however, remained to be done.

One particular matter to which he wished to refer was the way in which military receipts had been dealt with. During the war receipts were signed by officers for goods supplied, and the Colonial Secretary very properly said that those receipts should be as good as English bank notes. From the information he received there was a great complaint that those receipts had not been good and that treatment of them had not been in accordance with the promise given by the Colonial Secretary. He could not help thinking that the utmost diligence ought to be observed in meeting those most sacred obligations. The Colonial Secretary also stated that the widows and orphans left by the late war should be compassionately dealt with and in his opinion the promise should be liberally and generously carried out. Generosity would be remembered in times to come and nobody could say how soon we should reap the benefit. The relations between the Boers and the natives also required to be considered, of course no one wanted the Boers or any civil population to be armed with rifles, but there ought to be sufficient rifles and ammunition distributed to enable the Boers to protect and defend themselves from the natives.

Another question to which he wished to draw attention was the land settlement. The policy of the Government was to settle upon the land many of those who went out to fight. He found that 1,135 settlers in all had been placed upon the land in the Transvaal and the Orange Colony, at a cost of £878,000. In addition to that there was a sum of £580,000 expended on land purchased which was as yet unallotted. What he wished to know was how many of those settlers were still there, because he had been informed that in many cases the settlers had not remained. In one case 120 settlers were established at Willow's Park and none of them were there now, whilst in another case out of fifty settlers only six were left. He would like to know how the right hon. Gentleman could reconcile the figures he had given, which totalled up to £1,400,000, and those which appeared in another part of the Blue-book, where it said that £2,000,000 had been spent out of the guaranteed loan. What in fact was the true cost. He himself had had considerable experience in dealing with complicated and muddled figures, and from his experience he defied the hon. Gentleman to say that he understood the figures. It could not be done. He asked whether it was the case that the distribution of the Compensation Fund had cost £1,750,000 sterling, and, if so, what was the explanation of this extravagance. Under the Peace Preservation Ordinance, which established pure autocracy in the Transvaal, 600 persons had been removed from the country within the last eighteen months. What was the reason for keeping permanent this Ordinance, which was brought in as a temporary measure and how long was it going to be maintained?

Dealing with the financial situation, he said he desired to point out that there had been a complete breakdown of the agreement made between the late Colonial Secretary and divers persons in the Transvaal a year ago. The profit tax was applied in such a way as to yield but a very small proportion of what was expected. The £35,000,000 loan had been duly guaranteed by this country, but we had not yet received the first instalment of the £30,000,000 promised on behalf of the Transvaal towards the war debt. He was not surprised, though he imputed no blame to the Colonial Secretary, and should in all probability have acted in the same way had he been in the right hon. Gentleman's place. It was obvious that a population of 400,000 could not take on their shoulders a burden of £65,000,000 sterling. The Government were perfectly right in not trying to enforce this shop-window agreement against a population quite unable to meet the obligation. He did not believe there was any chance of our getting a single sovereign of the £30,000,000. He only hoped we should not find ourselves bound to meet the £30,000,000 which we had guaranteed.

He turned to the annual revenue and expenditure account of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, and this subject was made more difficult by the fact that there were three separate accounts to be dealt with. There was the Transvaal Revenue Account, the Orange Colony Account, and the

Intercolonial Budget, and the figures were shuffled fron one account to another in a manner which was most confusing. There had been three stages during the past twelve months of this business. The first was in the summer of the previous year, 1903, when they had speeches from the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, the then Colonial Secretary, drawing pictures of the most glowing kind of the Transvaal finances, that was just before the issue of the £35,000,000 loan. Then the loan was issued and then came the winter of 1903–4, "the winter of our discontent." Lord Milner took a gloomy view, and misery and despair settled over the Transvaal until the Ordinance was passed, when all grief disappeared, and now before a single Chinaman had set his foot in South Africa everything was right again and everybody had the fullest confidence in the finances of the colonies. The annual expenditure account showed some strange miscalculations. The estimate of the profits of the gold tax was £450,000; the reality was £116,000. The estimate of the receipt from railways was £2,150,000; the reality was £1,400,000. There was another curious figure. The gentlemen who made the estimate on which the guaranteed loan was issued forgot altogether the cost of issue. The cost of issue which was not provided for was £378,000. There had been a serious miscalculation in regard to railway works. On railway works on existing lines the cost was greater than was anticipated, and the receipts were less in the past year, the total loss being £668,000. These figures taken together amounted to a very large proportion of the revenue of the Transvaal. There were other miscalculations which he had not time to go into. He did not think the accuracy of what he had said would be disputed. The accounts at the end, however, came out wonderfully square. How was that accounted for? It was difficult to find out from the books, but he thought he could trace something. In the first place there was a saving of £200,000 on £5,000,000 not advanced, and another saving on the constabulary charge which was reduced. The first item of the guaranteed loan they were asked to vote last year was £1,500,000. That was to meet the deficit of the year 1901–2. They were asked to vote that in the latter half of 1903. The year for which the money was wanted had been over more than twelve months, and the deficit was not £1,500,000, but only £542,000. The result was that there was a balance of £958,000 which was diverted from the purpose for which it was originally voted by this House and appropriated to this or that in one way or another. If he was wrong he would be very glad to be corrected.

Mr. LYTTELTON: My hon. and learned friend is not quite accurate in saying it was appropriated to purposes not authorised by this House. If he will look at the Act of Parliament he will see that there is power there expressly to devote such portions of money which are appropriated to certain purposes to other purposes.

Sir ROBERT REID said he was very much obliged to the Colonial Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman gave his sanction to what he called the diversion. There was a despatch from the Colonial Secretary giving his consent. He was not saying that it was done illegally. He was dealing with the financial aspect of the question. Could anybody conceive that people dealing with finance could have made in July, 1903, such a mistake about the deficit of the year ending June, 1902? The thing was absolutely incredible, and it was not explained in the Blue-book. In connection with the guaranteed loan, the sum of £5,000,000 was provided for new railways. Would the Colonial Secretary be good enough to tell the Committee whether any of that money had been spent on new railways at all? He knew that about £2,000,000 had been spent on material and rolling stock, but he rather thought that there was very little, if any, new railway constructed at all. Of that £5,000,000, £700,000 was diverted from new construction, and applied to what was called capital expenditure. It was not capital expenditure. It was revenue expenditure absolutely. The colony of Natal had paid the sum of £788,000 for the ceding of territory and railway by the Transvaal. He wished to know whether that sum had been used for the purposes of the Transvaal, or was it still in the coffers of that colony? He found from these

Papers that, quite apart from the guaranteed loan recently raised, the Transvaal had been borrowing on short loans. He wished to knew the extent to which that had gone on, and the rate of interest paid for the loans. He calculated that of the guaranteed loan of £30,000,000 not more than half had been spent productively. That being the state of things, South Africa threatened to be a gulf into which the treasure of this country would be squandered unless this House interfered. It was time to return to Lord Rosmead's doctrine that you could not govern South Africa without the good will of the Dutch, who were an increasing majority. They must grant representative government, if not complete, at all events substantial. If the war had been a blessing Lord Milner had been indeed blest. He was the chief author of it. In his opinion, that very fact, quite apart from all other reasons, made him a man who was not fit to lay the basis of a true peace. The course he suggested was not free from danger, but it was the lesser of two dangers. If a course of that kind were not adopted he believed that our position in South Africa was nearing its end.

MR. JOHN STROYAN (Perthshire, W.) said he thought they might be perfectly well satisfied with the speech of the Colonial Secretary. It was a most able speech characterised by full knowledge of a situation in regard to which there was much ignorance and misrepresentation. Some very extraordinary arguments had been brought forward in the course of the debate. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton had referred to certain shares which were originally £1, and which were to-day £17 each. Personally he did not know the shares to which the right hon. Gentleman referred. It would be very hard, however, if in a speculative business like mining those who took all the risks were to be refused the plums which turned up now and again. When the hon. and learned Member for the Dumfries Burghs was speaking he interjected a remark as to the reasons which caused the people of the Transvaal to alter their minds with regard to Chinese labour. The hon. and learned Member resented the interruption. He had great respect for the hon. and learned Member, and he should be sorry if he thought he meant more than an ordinary interruption. The people who originally objected to Chinese labour were undoubtedly the working men; they objected to it because they still hoped that there would be an ample supply of Kaffir labour which they had been accustomed to. But they became fully aware after the sitting of the Commission, and from other sources, that that was impossible. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire stated in 1901 that there would be a scarcity of native labour and that in consequence there would not be adequate employment for white men. He thought it had been clearly shown that the regulations under which the Chinese were to be imported were such as would give protection to white working men against undue competition.

There was just one fallacy he should like to correct, and that was that the white working man was not capable of protecting himself against the capitalists. He had had a long and intimate experience of the working men of the Transvaal, and to say that they were not capable of taking care of themselves was to betray utter ignorance of the qualities of men, many of whom had been bred north of the Tweed. The available Indian coolie was physically unfit, in his opinion, for hard work in the mines and standing the rigours of the winter. They had heard a great deal of the standard wages. They were told that the average wage at the present time was 50s. on the surface, and 60s. underground. That was the high-water mark standard at a time when there was a great demand for native labour and a great scarcity of the article. That was subservient altogether to the great issue in regard to the development of the agriculture of the country. Before the days of gold-mining the native labourer was paid 10s. to 15s., and all found. But when the demand for native labour grew up on the Rand wages rose to 50s. or 60s., which, as he had said, was the high-water mark. This meant that a farmer could not pay the wage, and grow crops profitably. The result was that flour and everything else was imported into the Transvaal, though it ought to be grown in the country itself. He knew Kimberley before the days of the amalgamation, and he could state that the mines were worked by black men but there was a very much larger percentage of white men supervising them than was the case in the gold mines. The "boys" had to be carefully watched when they were picking. With regard to the course taken by the British population of the Transvaal in the war he would point out that as a matter of fact those much sneered-at men, the members of the Reform Committee, who were blamed for bringing on the war, went down to Natal, joined the British forces, and did as excellent service as any body of men during the war.

*MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.) said he made no apology for turning from the discussion of Chinese labour in the Transvaal in order to open a subject which during the past four years he had frequently brought to the notice of the House on this Vote and on other occasions. Malta, under English administration, had now become the choicest example of despotic rule. He desired to state frankly that it was the gallant fight made for the retention of Italian as the language of culture and literature in the island that first compelled his attention. But events had marched rapidly in these four years. The struggle in Malta now was not merely for a language; it was for legitimate freedom as against despotism. Constitutional government there had, at its best, been nugatory; now it simply did not exist. The present Colonial Secretary had been less than a year in office. He had not yet shown an inclination to depart from the mistaken policy of his predecessor. He availed himself of this opportunity, therefore, to expose at their true value the contentions on which that policy was based, and to submit to the right hon. Gentleman the considerations which should lead him to better and more statesmanlike paths.

Let him first deal briefly with the figures, on which it was contended that the Maltese people preferred English to Italian as the secondary language. And here let him remove a possible misconception. He recognised fully that the home language of the islanders was Maltese, with its 75 per cent. of Arabic words and its 20 per cent. of Italian. The point at issue was whether English was to supersede the position held by Italian as the language of culture and literature, and whether this attempted Anglicisation of the people was to be justified by its probable national or commercial results. Hon. Members were aware that the ex-Colonial Secretary based his principal contention on the ground that the parents of the school-going children had asked for English as against Italian. He brushed aside as of no consequence the fact that, election after election, representatives were returned to the Council without contest, and that the retention of Italian was a principal plank in their platform. As to the value to be placed on those schools' returns he should have something to say. In the first place, the census of 1901 disclosed the fact that only about 16,400 children of school age were attending school—in other words, only 36·4 per cent. In the second place, these returns dealt only with Government schools. It was important to note that there were 2,248 attending non-Government schools, children of the class to whom, as he should show, Italian was necessary. In the third place, this system of percentages ignored the natural divisions of the population. He had been at some trouble to investigate the conditions of the thirty districts into which Malta was divided for these school returns, and he had no hesitation in saying that out of the thirty no less than twenty-two were rural districts in which the Maltese language was, for all practical purposes, the only one used. A glance at the figures of these districts would show that the children rarely attended after the second, or, at most, the third standard. It was calculated that fully 90,000 out of the total population of 180,000 native Maltese lived in these districts. The amount of English that could be learnt by a child whilst attending the first and second standard was almost a negligible quantity, for they had first to be instructed in their own language, the Maltese. To the parents in these twenty-two districts, therefore, the choice of English or Italian was immaterial. But was it immaterial to the teachers? These were Civil servants. The word had gone forth that English was to take the place of Italian in the island. He did not press the matter further than that. As a matter of fact, Italian was the more useful as a secondary language to this class, for in their dealings with owners of property they required Italian, in which language receipts were given, and when they emigrated it was more useful than English. Moreover, in legal disputes it was Italian that was necessary.

Now, as regarded the rest of the population, 32,000 might be said to constitute the upper classes, to whom Italian was essential and English an accomplishment. The great majority of their children were in non-Government schools and had not been taken into account in this policy based on Government school percentages. Then there were about 40,000 of the artisan class whose language was Maltese, but to whom he was prepared to admit English was more useful than Italian by reason of their occasional employment in connection with military and naval works. Finally, there were about 15,000 connected with trade, to whom both languages were useful, Italian in a greater degree than English. To sum up, the contention based on Mr. Magro's percentages was misleading, because non-Government schools were not included; the high average in favour of English as against Italian was obtained by including districts in which half the population lived whose children rarely got beyond the second or third standard in school, and to whom it was therefore immaterial which language they chose, whilst the teachers were deeply interested in their asking for English. A quarter of the remaining population found Italian necessary, the remaining quarter English the more useful. On these facts he should like to observe that neither the Maltese people nor their representatives had opposed the teaching of English. They were in favour of its being taught where it was of value, but they were strongly and rightly opposed to the pushing of the Colonial Office in seeking to supersede the Italian language. That policy was apparent for many years. It culminated in the proclamation of 1899, in which it was laid down that English should be the language of the Courts after fifteen years. It was here that the ex-Colonial Secretary saw that he had gone too far, and withdrew the proclamation after an Amendment to the Address was moved in the House in January, 1902. That withdrawal was made, as the House would remember, not as an act of justice to the Maltese, but on the ground that Italy had been offended. Did such a withdrawal satisfy the Maltese? Did it indicate a return to a saner policy? He maintained that the public opinion of Malta had been justified in the view it took of the action of the Colonial Office. These figures were still trotted out and the attempts at Anglicisation continued.

Before he dealt with the despotic nature of the present Government of Malta he wished to deal with the commercial aspect of this language question. It was beyond contest that the British trade with Malta was very small in comparison with the volume of trade between the island and Italy and other Mediterranean countries. The average import trade of the five years 1897 to 1902 showed that from the United Kingdom and the British colonies together there came only £500,000 of imported goods. The foreign imports during the same period showed an average of £8,500,000. Now, for trade with all the Mediterranean countries Italian was a necessary language. A knowledge of English was necessary for dealings with the garrison, the Navy, English visitors, and the small volume of English trade. Let him take another aspect of the case. For a teeming population such as that of Malta, emigration was necessary and healthy, as in the case of all surplus populations. Of the 34,000 Maltese to be found in countries bordering on the Mediterranean, the total in British colonies was 700, of whom 615 were in Gibraltar. But in Tunis Regency there were 15,000, in Algeria 5,000. In these Italian, or should he say the *Lingua Franca*, was undoubtedly more useful than English. But of course the Maltese language itself, with its proporton of 75 per cent of Arabic, was the real passport to success, and the positions occupied by the Maltese in these districts was proof of their capacity. Turkey and Greece absorbed between three and four thousand. There remained Egypt with 6,500 Maltese out of a total of 14,000 British subjects. He had yet to learn that English was the language of that country or that the international Courts were to be superseded. Here again it was the Maltese language itself that was of most value to emigrants, and Italian, or the *Lingua Franca*, that was next in point of usefulness. Now, it was precisely from the rural parts of Malta, embracing half of the entire population, that the bulk of the emigration took place, a fact to be borne in mind when these school percentages were trotted out for Anglicisation purposes.

He now came to the last count in his indictment. The English Government had endeavoured to thwart the wishes of the Maltese people, as shown in election after election, by imposing a despotic form of Government. What that meant in South Africa had been shown earlier in the discussion that day. In the course of last year they deprived the Maltese of the Constitution, poor thing as it was in reality, by reason of the Orders in Council, which they had had since 1887. They gave the official members a permanent majority. Seven times since last July there had been general elections in Malta. Not a single seat had been contested. In the whole of Malta they could not find a single man to stand as a representative of their policy. What, then, became of their contention that the English Government, and not the elected members, represented the wishes of the Maltese? The ex-Colonial Minister was accustomed to state that the Maltese took no interest in the elections; that the electorate consisted only of 10,000, and but few exercised their franchise rights. If there was no tariff reformer found to fight a free-trade seat, was that a proof that tariff reform represented the wishes of the people of England? Ordinary people would deduce the contrary conclusion, but possibly the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham hoped to establish his peculiar theory before long. Was the present Colonial Secretary of the same mind with regard to Malta as his predecessor on this point? If not, let him find a Government candidate and test the opinion of Malta. They complained of a small electorate, but had they ever broached the idea of enlarging the franchise? They named official members to act on the Council, knowing full well that they dared not express the least disagreement with the Governor or the Chief Secretary. Was it any wonder that the elected members resigned in a body after each election and refused to be parties to a farcical form of government? If they took their seats they would be outvoted on every point by the official members, who had no minds or souls of their own, but must vote as one man. But if the Colonial Office had blundered in its administration of Malta, what was to be said of a Governor who was guilty of a wanton misstatement of an historical fact? Writing to the Colonial Secretary on January 21st, 1904 (page 33 of the latest Malta correspondence), Sir Charles Clarke said—

> "There is nothing in the letter which has not been written and said many times before, including the unfounded statement that the Maltese spontaneously placed themselves under the protection of Great Britain."

And further on, in the same letter, he sneered at the "so-called representatives." Now this was either a deliberate or an ignorant attempt to dispose of an historical fact. He should not appeal to history. He merely referred hon. Members to the speech of the ex-Colonial Secretary on 28th January, 1902, when he withdrew his ill-advised Proclamation. At page 1186, vol. 101 of *Hansard*, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said—

> "They (the Maltese) are proud of the fact that they were incorporated in the British Empire at their own request and not by conquest."

And with greater emphasis he restated the facts at page 1189—

> "What are the terms, then, which the Maltese made with Great Britain when they voluntarily entered the British Empire? They were not terms of surrender, it is perfectly true; we did not conquer the Maltese, we were fighting side by side with them, but we were never fighting against them. It was not a conquest, it was a cession by the representative authorities of the Maltese."

And yet the Governor now spoke of—

> "The unfounded statement that the Maltese spontaneously placed themselves under the protection of Great Britain."

That expression had deeply wounded a high-spirited and sensitive people. Had the Colonial Secretary repaired that insult yet? If not, he invited him to do so that night. If this had happened in Australia or Canada he should not give much for that Governor's further tenure of office. But the Colonial Secretary had to do more that night. In reply to a

Question of his on 31st May, he stated that—

> "The run upon the savings bank in Malta which was met without any difficulty whatever by the Government was not due to the cause suggested by the hon. Member, but to articles in the local Press deliberately calculated to have that effect."

He would restate the facts briefly. The balance-sheet for the preceding eleven months was issued on the 29th February. It was there stated that the investments in Imperial and Colonial Funds amounted to £709,999. The only reserve funds on the other side of the account amounted in all to close on £24,000. *Malta*, the national paper, pointed out that sufficient allowance was not made for depreciation. This was confirmed in a reply to a subsequent Question put by him to the Colonial Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that the market value of these securities on that day was less by over £59,000. Moreover, these investments were placed at their cost price and not even at their nominal value, which he admitted was less by £27,000. To meet this depreciation of £59,000 there were only reserve funds amounting to £24,000. By taking these investments at their cost price the balance-sheet was made to show a surplus of £47,000 to be carried down to the Treasury account. If ever there were a balance-sheet that called for criticism, it was this. Remember this was a despotic Government. There were no representatives of the people to challenge the figures at a Council meeting, and he contended that the Press only did its duty in calling attention to a faulty balance-sheet. Subsequent replies, with which hon. Members were familiar, had not improved the position of the Colonial Secretary, acting of course on information received from Maltese official sources. The right hon. Gentleman stated that the balance-sheet was accompanied by other statements, and that on examination it would be found that the Government of Malta had to its credit the additional sum of nearly £68,000. He was still convinced that the arithmetical calculations of the right hon. Gentleman's advisers were wrong, for, in arriving at this total, allowance was not made for items of expenditure and advances amounting to over £25,000. But, in any case, sufficient confirmation of the justice of the Press criticisms was found in the fact that the Council had within the last few weeks placed an additional sum of £20,000 to the reserve fund. He only cited this matter as a proof of the despotism now rampant in Malta. Civil rights were being entirely superseded in the interest of naval and military control. Public meetings were only allowed to be held at a considerable distance from the principal centres of population. It was just as if the English Government decreed that meetings of the citizens of London should be held on Ealing Common and not in Hyde Park. If he were an English Member of that House, he would say, what was the value of Malta to England as a naval station if they deliberately estranged the people? Yet that was what their policy would eventuate in. Why not face the facts boldly? Let them give up their attempted policy of Anglicisation in the matter of the language question; give the people reasonable control of their local affairs; separate, as they could very well do, Imperial from local interests, and they would observe, in spirit as in the letter, that voluntary cession by which a small but high-spirited people came into the Empire.

*MAJOR SEELY said he trusted the Committee would pardon him if he called attention for a few minutes to the question raised by the right hon. and learned Member for Dumfries. He believed it to be true that since the war ended between £20,000,000 and £30,000,000 had been expended by this country in South Africa. The point which he asked the Committee to consider was whether we were really getting the kind of country we wanted in South Africa in return for this immense expenditure that was now going on, and which for a great part must be continued. He would say, with great respect, that we were not building up such a State there as we should wish to see established, at any rate in some important particulars. It seemed to him that we should do four things. The first was that we must be generous—it was a small matter financially, though a great matter for the future of the country—in the matter of repayment of the amounts due for damage done to property. He thought we should do wisely if we altogether abandoned the rule referred to by the hon. and learned Member for

Dumfries in regard to military receipts, namely, that the fact of having been on commando should be any bar to recovery of money. The second was that we must realise, which we were not doing, that we did not hold the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony in the remotest degree by the actual military force that we kept there. It was altogether to misunderstand the facts to think that we held those colonies by the garrison at present there. How far it might be necessary on account of native troubles, and how far those native troubles might be accentuated by the proposal to introduce an alien race who would undercut the wages of the natives, he did not know; but that this garrison should be maintained for the purpose of keeping the Boers in order was ridiculous. He knew the Boers well, and he was certain that they were now the last people in the world to misunderstand the determination of this country; a garrison of 25,000 men more or less had no real bearing on possible military operations—another war would again demand from a quarter to a third of a million of men, and 20,000 men more or less were of comparatively little moment in this matter. It was as well to state these facts frankly.

The third thing was that we must do nothing in the country which was not consonant with the highest ideas of British justice. That we were not doing, because there could be no doubt that we were actually running counter not only to the principles of British justice, but to the principles of British law. So much so that, in the endeavour to transport these Chinese labourers into the Transvaal, it had been necessary, unless he had been misinformed, for the Government of Natal to pass special legislation to enable them to get the semi-slaves—frankly he called them so—for that was what they were in the eye of the law—into the neighbouring colony. The power to deprive them of their liberty was not inherent in the colony of Natal, because it was not inherent either by the common law of England, or by the Roman-Dutch law which prevailed in Natal and the other colonies in South Africa. The contract which the Chinaman voluntary signed could not be enforced in any English-speaking colony. That he asserted without fear of contradiction. And if that were so, surely it was not an undue straining of language to say that they were introducing semi-slavery, or modified liberty—he did not care which it was called—into this new country. And when they did that, they did a thing which was, which must be wrong, and which no necessity could possible excuse. If there was a shortage of labour and if white men could not work the mines entirely, which was, of course, more or less true, the truth being that while some mines could be worked by white labour only, others could not, even so no amount of necessity could justify our departing from the high principles which had been laid down by the English law by countless decisions, and which had never been called in question until this legislation had been sanctioned. They had introduced a power by which a man might part with his liberty, which the English common law and the Roman-Dutch law did not permit. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham himself confessed that the Indian Government would not permit their inhabitants to subject themselves to the terms of this Ordinance and deprive themselves of the rights which were consonant with British citizenship. Even the financial necessity seemed to have disappeared since the Ordinance had been passed.

One other thing they must do in addition to those he had already stated. They must keep faith; they must do that which they had promised to perform. Solemnly, on behalf of this country, as the responsible Minister, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had laid it down as a principle that the introduction of Asiatic labour should not be sanctioned until the great majority—these were his actual words—of the inhabitants of both States had been clearly ascertained to be in favour of such importations. Now, had the views of the great majority of the inhabitants of both States been ascertained on the point? They did not know what the Englishmen in the Transvaal thought about it. That must remain uncertain. A petition had undoubtedly been promoted by private individuals. Whether it was entirely *bona fide* was immaterial; but it had not been scrutinised, and was therefore not serious evidence. He himself believed, from information which came to him, that the majority of the English inhabitants of the two States were opposed to this importation of Chinese labour. But what about the opinion of the other half of the white people in the two States, the Dutchmen, to whom the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham appealed with so much force and effect when he was in South Africa? They were told that in these two States there were fourteen Dutchmen to ten Englishmen, and there could be no doubt as to what the opinion of the Dutchmen was. On 23rd May a Boer Congress assembled which was attended by 168 duly elected delegates. At that Congress a resolution was passed declaring that the importation of Chinese labour was an evil thing for the country, and not by one single vote was that resolution called in question. Where was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham's pledge? Where was England's honour? Dragged in the mud! He should like to know what the answer of the right hon. Gentleman was to that. The resolution passed by that Congress was a convincing proof that the great majority of the people in the two States were against the introduction of Chinese labour. He urged the Committee at this eleventh hour to reconsider the decision they had come to. It was a sad thing to have broken one's pledged word, but it would be a better thing to acknowledge the mistake and do the best they could to repair the damage. Everybody in that House would welcome the statement of the Colonial Secretary that he proposed to give a measure of representative government to the Transvaal. To give representative government before it was demanded as a right was a wise and politic thing to do. But they should no longer remain under this slur. They should take a vote of the people of the Transvaal and fulfil the pledge given by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. He would respectfully ask the right hon Gentleman to urge upon the Government to take that vote. It could be done, and would remove all his hostility to the action of the Transvaal Government, except the semi-slavery portion of the Chinese Ordinance. Until that vote was taken, it was idle for anyone to suppose that this matter would be allowed to drop. It was a stain upon our honour, and as such must be fought until it was removed.

MR. LYTTELTON said the hon. Member had quoted one statement made by his right hon. friend the Member for West Birmingham but not another. In a subsequent statement his right hon. friend pledged himself to treat the inhabitants of these two colonies for all purposes as self-governing colonies. They had been so treated. The hon. Member for Camberwell the other day was unable to grasp the distinction between giving a colony self-government and treating a colony as if it had it.

DR. MACNAMARA said the Colonial Secretary had received a telegram from Australia and his answer implied that the Transvaal was to be treated as a self-governing colony.

MR. LYTTELTON: The hon. Member is repeating the fallacy that was explained the other day. We may have a system of government that is not representative and we may elect to treat a colony so constituted as if it were a self-governing colony. The Transvaal is being treated a a self-governing colony at the present time.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Oldham): An elaborate piece of humbug. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Order!"]

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I rise to a point of order. I heard the junior Member for Oldham say "It is humbug." I ask you, Mr. Chairman, whether that is a Parliamentary expression?

*THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member for Oldham is constantly interrupting, and I was about to ask him to desist. I cannot say that the word "humbug" is un-Parliamentary, but I would ask the hon. Member for Oldham to allow somebody else to speak besides himself.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL: Of course I bow to your ruling, I should like to say I did not intend the word "humbug" to have personal application to the Colonial Secretary, but only to be a political criticism upon the present *status* which is attributed to the Transvaal Government.

*THE CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member would reserve his remarks for his speech it would be much more desirable than keeping up a running comment.

MR. LYTTELTON: The endeavour has been made to follow the principle laid down by the late Colonial Secretary and to treat the Transvaal as a self-governing colony, adopting the prevailing opinion in matters other than those of Imperial concern. We have formed the best Government, and nobody denies that it is the best Government we can get for the time being, and we have endeavoured to the best of our ability to obtain the opinion of the country from that Government. If that Government expresses by an enormous majority a certain view, we must abide by that decision unless we desire to act against the wishes of the colony. That was the principle laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, and that is the principle which the Government have followed. That is the principle which we believe in, and it is the principle which the Government are willing to put into operation by granting representative government next year, in which case it would be amply competent for the country, if we are wrong upon this matter, to reverse the decision we have come to. The hon. and gallant Member who has just sat down urged that we should be generous to the Boers, and I am not disposed to disagree with him in that aspiration; but what I venture to say is—and I will fortify it by a statement which I do not think can be denied—that we have been really generous towards the Boers in this matter. We have heard from gentlemen who sit here and at home, and who enjoy a comparatively easy life, bitter criticism and bitter reflections upon Lord Milner and those who are assisting him in the Government of the Transvaal. Those who criticise Lord Milner and his assistants in administration hould remember the difficulties. The war has reduced the country in parts to a wilderness. Think what the Government, few in number, had to do. They had to get 200,000 men out of the country and bring about the same number in. The over-sea prisoners had to be restored, they were placed in camps, they had to be restored to their families and their farms, often a long distance away. In many cases only ox-wagons could be used for transport, and the journey occupied three weeks. Material for houses, rations, stores, stock, seeds, implements for agriculture had to be supplied in the face of prodigious difficulties. Very few mules and oxen were left, and such as remained were in poor condition and fell victims to diseases common in the country.

MAJOR SEELY said he had only alluded to the differentiation between those on commando. He did not dispute that the Government had displayed the greatest generosity.

MR. LYTTELTON: I am only trying to explain what has been done. The difficulties were increased by a drought, and the work of repatriation of the Boers was one of enormous physical difficulty. The greatest possible energy was displayed, and no doubt it was accompanied with lavish expenditure, for the lives of men were at stake. Ready and lavish was the expenditure, and it is idle to blame men who were confronted by a gigantic task—it is idle to criticise over-minutely the expenditure they thought necessary. It has been necessary for Lord Milner to create local government. Twice the number of children are now being educated in these colonies than has ever been educated before. He had to consider such complicated questions as the Gold Law and the Diamond Law. The native laws had to be modified, I might almost say to be repassed. The legal system had to be reconstituted. The reparation and reconstruction of railways had to be undertaken. Without further elaboration this is enough to show that a huge effort has been made and that the replacing of so large a portion of the population in their homes within nine months of a tremendous war is a most wonderful performance. This country has shown unparalleled generosity in its treatment of a conquered people. Besides the free gift of £3,000,000, £5,800,000 has been expended out of the guaranteed loan for repatriation purposes. When it is pointed out that the whole of the loan has not been devoted to the purposes of development I answer that such parts of it as have been diverted to the purposes of charity have been rightly diverted. £2,000,000 has been given as compensation to British subjects, to foreigners, and to natives; £2,000,000 as a free gift to the protected burghers; £2,500,000 has been spent in honouring requisition receipts. I may safely challenge any Member of the Opposition to say whether he can produce from any country an instance of an expenditure of £250,000,000 on war being followed by an expenditure of £14,500,000 in the interest of those with whom there has been war.

My hon. and learned friend has made certain commentaries on the financial situation. My hon. and learned friend's position, as I understand it, is that this conquered country is not fit to stand alone, and that we are practically obliged to finance it, and have financed it to the extent of £21,000,000. The hon. and learned Gentleman's object is to show that the expenses paid in the past are likely to be recurrent, and the equilibrium obtained between revenue and expenditure is illusory. In the Civil Service Estimates of 1903 there is an item of £17,305,000 in respect of various sums paid to the Transvaal. Of that sum, £6,000,000 has been repaid by the Transvaal, £4,500,000 has been paid for the South African Constabulary, which really forms part of the war expenses, and £1,800,000 has been paid for the railways while they were being worked for military purposes. These items make a total of about £12,500,000, all for war purposes, £6,000,000 of which has been repaid. The remainder is made up of £3,000,000 due to the burghers under the treaty, and £2,000,000 for other purposes under the treaty. I contend it is absolutely impossible for my hon. and learned friend to show that any item is likely to be recurrent. Comments have been made upon the miscalculations alleged to have been made in the Estimates, but, as a matter of fact, the revenue of the Transvaal has been estimated almost absolutely correctly. I entirely differ with the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean in regard to the constabulary. I can assure him that from the first it has been said by Lord Milner that 6,000 men were necessary for the constabulary, and that those numbers would be reduced as time went on. That has been done. Economy has been exercised, with the result that the Transvaal has obtained a very substantial sum of about £800,000 and the Orange River Colony has a surplus of nearly £200,000. The whole of the land settlement organisation has been placed on a very much reduced basis.

With regard to the Intercolonial Council, I may say that it is true that the estimate of the return of the railways was very much greater than the amount realised. That is due to a miscalculation regarding the effect of a very large reduction of rates, the benefit of which the country has had. It was estimated that there would be only a loss of £500,000, and the actual loss was £1,000,000. There was also a serious miscalculation as to the expenditure upon certain lines. The result is that, instead of equilibrium as between the expenditure placed upon the Intercolonial Council and the revenue which is appropriated to it, there is a considerable deficit. Reference has been made to the tossing about of figures. The only tossing about of figures has been that any deficit in the Intercolonial Council figures has to be made good by the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. They have proved adequate to the task. It is true that at one time last year things looked much darker than they have looked since. As to the position of these two colonies, they have undertaken to make a contribution of £30,000,000, the first £10,000,000 of which was underwritten by financial houses, with the stipulation that the issue should not be made under unfavourable financial conditions. We have never yet been in a position in which the terms of that bargain could be fulfilled. If you enter into an undertaking you must of course stick to the terms upon which it is made. It is like any other contract, and you cannot enforce it until the conditions under which it was made have been fulfilled.

Mr. LOUGH (Islington, W.): We have fulfilled our part of the bargain but the other part has not been fulfilled.

Mr. LYTTELTON: The hon. Member has been misinformed. I agree that that was all part of one transaction, but it was part of the bargain that the financial condition of the country and the market should be favourable. We have not, since the undertaking was entered into, been in that position, and therefore we could not call upon the underwriters to fulfil their bargain. Though the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal are able to pay their way, there is still no surplus available to meet the interest on the £30,000,000. Alluding to some of the criticisms that have been made, it is an error to suppose that money has been charged to capital account which ought to have been charged to revenue account, for the sum which has been spent in relaying the railway lines, in erecting new railway buildings, and purchasing new railway stock, is properly chargeable to capital account and not to revenue account. The sum of £900,000 which has been drawn from the balance has been properly applied just in the same way as other items of expenditure, and I venture to say that that is not an item of expenditure which we may expect to recur. The hon. Member is not correct in saying that there has been any borrowing on short loans. It was anticipated that that might be necessary but it was found unnecessary to have a short loan.

With regard to Malta, that is a *chose jugée,* as my predecessor has convinced the House. ["No."] It was shown by my right hon. friend that, so far from there being any real repugnance on the part of the population of the island to learn English, from 90 to 95 per cent. elected to learn English instead of Italian. With regard to the figures which the hon. Member has quoted I am afraid that it would be perfectly useless for me to go into them now. If these Estimates had come on next week instead of this week, as was intended, a despatch on this subject which is now on the way might have reached me. It has been brought to my notice that one of the Crown Agents is a director of the London Assurance Company and has occupied that position for a considerable time. I believe absolutely that, as far as the tenure of that office by the gentleman in question is concerned, nothing but good has resulted to the public service. Sir Ernest Blake accepted the directorship in accordance with precedent, and his association with the company has been absolutely honourable and worthy and has really inured to the benefit of the public service. But now that the matter has been called in question I am unable to sanction the tenure of that appointment on the part of a gentleman who, though not a civil servant, has in many respects more important duties than civil servants have to discharge.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said the Colonial Secretary had treated the contribution promised by the mining gentlemen in the Transvaal as if it were a voluntary offer on their part. On the contrary, it was part of an honourable bargain they entered into with this country in consideration of something which we promised.

MR. LYTTELTON: I said it was a binding contract.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said it was on the basis of that contract that this country guaranteed the £35,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman must have forgotten what his predecessor said on 6th May, 1903, when he issued that very glowing prospectus to the British public upon the strength of which the £35,000,000 were found. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "These arrangements for contribution are connected with and conditional upon the loan which I am now recommending."

This country had performed its part of the condition, and he would like to knew whether the gentlemen in the Transvaal were going to perform their part. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think there was something ill-natured in criticising these financial miscalculations in South Africa. But his predecessor, when money was wanted, went to the British public with a glowing account—

> "One of our difficulties has been how to deal with the extraordinary growth of revenue which we have to chronicle, and which comes upon us as a constant surprise month by month. I must warn the House," he added, "that the estimates of the Transvaal are perpetually changing. Every month we get a new estimate, and it is always a better one than the last."

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Hear, hear.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: And so it was until the £35,000,000 were subscribed. These estimates from the Transvaal were still changing, but they were changing for the worse. It was of that that the Opposition complained. Those gentlemen came to the British public and said, "We are prospering and thriving and we have so much money that we really do not like to tell you how much we have got for fear you might think we were humbugging you." But immediately they got this loan they turned round and said, "Things have changed and they have got very much worse. We cannot pay the interest and we cannot perform our part of the bargain." He thought under those conditions that they had a perfect right to complain. This kind of thing was, unfortunately, what they had experienced from the Transvaal from the very beginning. They were frequently told that these things were done upon the statements of men of the greatest integrity and unimpeachable honour in South Africa, and then some six months afterwards they found that the whole thing had been absolutely falsified. It was all very well to make such statements in regard to Chinese labour. The right hon. Gentleman said that the Transvaal was not self-governing, but his complaint was that the Colonial Secretary treated it as if it were self-governing. The ex-Colonial Secretary gave the House a pledge with regard to Chinese labour, and that was the difficulty they had got into. Those pledges were given to the House upon facts obtained from gentlemen in South Africa, and when it turned out that those facts were not correct then the Government were guilty of a breach of faith owing to having trusted the statements of gentlemen in South Africa. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, while Colonial Secretary, dealing with the question of imported labour, said to the House—

"Remember that the vast majority of the people of South Africa are opposed both to forced and Asiatic labour."

Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

"So long as that condition obtains the Government are not going to force either compulsory or Asiatic labour upon them."

That was a distinct pledge on the part of the right hon. Gentleman that so long as the vast majority of the people of South Africa were against Asiatic labour it should not be forced upon them. Did any one contend that the vast majority of the people of South Africa were not against Asiatic labour? [MINISTERIAL cries of "Yes."] The Cape Parliament had passed a unanimous Resolution against it. No one could deny that the Orange River Colony was against it. The only contention was that there was a majority in its favour in the Transvaal, but there was no proof of that. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, who had given this pledge on behalf of the Government, was now in the position of seeing his successor in office breaking it. The right hon. Gentleman, who, with Lord Milner, was responsible for the condition of South Africa, who had given the country a pledge that the war was in the interest of the white races in South Africa, was personally bound to see that that pledge was redeemed. The hon. Member for Perthshire said that the white man in the Transvaal was intelligent and could look after himself. Perfectly true, and that was the reason why Chinese labour was to be substituted for white labour for fear trade unions should be established.

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said that all these conditions with regard to Chinese labour were questions entirely for the

Chinese themselves. Not at all. These contracts were entered into in the name of the Sovereign of this country, and he thought it was the interest of every man in the country to see that no contract was entered into in the name of the representative of this Empire which was discreditable and dishonourable in itself. These conditions were of that character. But the right hon. Gentleman said that they were explained to the Chinese. Were they? He had a letter with him which demanded explanation from the Colonial Secretary. It was written to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton by a missionary very well known. [A laugh.] Hon. Members laughed at missionaries, but they were very willing to quote missionaries during the war. This letter was from a missionary named the Rev. Arnold Forster who stood very well with the Wesleyan Methodists London Mission. In it he called attention to the translation given in the *North China Herald* of the contract which was being presented to the Chinese emigrants to the Transvaal to sign. He said that in quite a number of particulars the Chinese document differed materially from the conditions announced by His Majesty's Government in Parliament as the conditions by which the labourers were to be bound, and he submitted that every one induced to emigrate to the Transvaal on the strength of that information given in that document would be acting almost entirely in the dark in regard to the limitations of his freedom and his liability to penalties for infringing them. Nothing was said of the right of the labourer to be accompanied by his wife and children. This was a serious charge brought by a responsible gentleman on the spot as to whom the directors of the mission said there was no man in the China Mission who more thoroughly deserved their sympathy and confidence. If it was true, this was a grave charge of fraud against somebody. It was the business of the Government to have seen that a proper translation of the contract was given to these men.

At any rate, he was glad that this matter had once more been brought forward, were it only that it had given the right hon. Member for West Birmingham an opportunity to nail the yellow flag to the mast of protection. A certain amount of credit was taken in the country by tariff reformers for the fact that the late Colonial Secretary was against Chinese labour. They were told that they must not attach the stigma of Chinese labour to him. He had nothing to do with it. He got away when all the unpleasant consequences came on. He left them to his successors—the payment of interest, Chinese labour, deficits, and all these troubles. The Colonial Secretary said they had spent millions of money for rebuilding. Rebuilding what? The right hon. Member for West Birmingham said in the House there were only 600 farms destroyed. Why should all these millions be spent on rebuilding 600 farms? This was a horrible mess from beginning to end, and the two Gentlemen primarily responsible for it were the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham and Lord Milner. From time to time the right hon. Gentleman had made these glowing statements about this land of gold and diamonds, with plenty of money coming in, and with increasing estimates. That was the sort of statement he was making now about trade matters.

He trusted that the people would begin to put together these estimates which had been made from time to time by the right hon. Gentleman on the authority of some one. All these estimates had been falsified, and it was because they had landed the country in this great mess that he moved a reduction of the Vote by £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum not exceeding £27,650, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

MR. CHAPLIN said that the Transvaal had ceased to be as productive as it had been because of the shortness of labour. This rendered the importation of Chinese labour necessary. The pledges with regard to white labour had not been fulfilled because of the obstruction of hon. Members opposite. When Chinese labour had been established in the country a demand would be created for additional white labour. Charges had been made against his right hon. friend with regard to the non-fulfilment of the conditions about the wives and children of the Chinese labourers. He had heard a good many statements in his time from the opposite side of the House which required verification. There was the case of——

And, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

COUNTY OF SUFFOLK (RE-COMMITTED) BILL [NOT AMENDED.]

Considered in Committee; Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1:—

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

WILD BIRDS PROTECTION ACTS AMENDMENT (ST. KILDA) BILL.

Considered in Committee, and reported without Amendment; Bill read the third time, and passed.

THE SEIZURE OF THE "MALACCA."

On the Question that the House do now adjourn,

SIR JOHN BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich) asked the First Lord of the Treasury if he could give the House any further information about the "Malacca."

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR (Manchester, E.): No, Sir. I have seen a rumour in the evening papers, but we have not confirmation of it.

Adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 22*nd July*, 1904.

COMMISSION.

The following Bills received the Royal Assent—

Hall-marking of Foreign Plate.

Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea).

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London).

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (Birmingham).

Education Board Provisional Order (Cardiff).

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 4).

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5).

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6).

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7).

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8).

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12).

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 14).

Local Government Provisional Order (No. 15).

Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas).

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2).

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4).

Commons Regulation (Merrow) Provisional Order.

Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order.

Land Drainage Provisional Order.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 1).

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5).

Canal Rates and Charges (Regents Canal) Order Confirmation.

Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Order Confirmation.

North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation.

Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation.

Leith Burgh Order Confirmation.

Airdrie Corporation Gas Order Confirmation.

Wishaw Corporation Order Confirmation.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation.

Govan Corporation Order Confirmation.

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation.

Glasgow and South-Western Railway Order Confirmation.

Donegal Railway.

Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway.

South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time).

Bexhill Water and Gas.

Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways.

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway.

Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power.

Manchester Ship Canal (Finance).

Preston Corporation Water.

Shipley Urban District Council.

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power.

Great Northern Railway.

Matlock and District Gas.

Ticehurst and District Water and Gas.

London and North-Western Railway.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway.

Brymbo Water.

Great Central and Midland Joint Railways.

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock.

Southend-on-Sea Gas.

St. Mary Woolnoth.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

Minehead Urban District Council Water.

Clyde Valley Electrical Power.

Birkdale Improvement.

Crystal Palace District Gas.

Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time).

City of London (Central Criminal Court House).

Filey Improvement.

Maidenhead Bridge.

Great Central Railway.

London County Council (Money).

Plymouth Corporation.

Wolverhampton Corporation.

Liverpool and Wigan Churches.

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation.

Richard Jaeger's Patent.

Doncaster Corporation.

Skipton Water and Improvement.

Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways.

Llanelly Harbour.

Tynemouth Corporation.

Great Eastern Railway.

North-Western Electricity and Power Gas.

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway.

MARQUESS CONYNGHAM.

Report made from the Lord Chancellor that the right of Victor George Henry Francis, Marquess Conyngham in the Peerage of Ireland, to vote at the election of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10); Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8).

Also the Certificate that no Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill:—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2).

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Radcliffe Tramways and Improvement Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Felixstowe Gas Bill. Reported, with Amendments.

Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways Bill. Moved, That the order made on the 14th day of March last, "That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the Bill be now read 2^a; agreed to. Bill read 2^a accordingly and committed.

Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill; Thurles Urban District Council Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment (St. Kilda) Bill. Brought from the Commons.

Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]; Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Bournemouth Corporation (Tramways) Bill [H.L.]; Holywood Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

Ebbw Vale Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]; Harrogate Waterworks Tramroad Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments. The said Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Arbroath Corporation Water Order Confirmation Bill; Dunfermline District Water Order Confirmation Bill; Melrose District Water Order Confirmation Bill. Read 3ª (according to order), and passed.

Dundee, Broughty Ferry and District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill. Read 3ª (according to order); Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

BAHAMAS.

Amended prison rule relating to the personal correction of prisoners. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877.

Statutes made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, on the 4th March, 1904, amending Statutes II., III., IV., V., VI., and VII. of the Statutes of the College. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 156.)

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3228. Japan (Yokohama); No. 3229. Egypt (Port Said and Suez).

SEA FISHERIES ACTS.

Annual Report of proceedings under the Acts, for the year 1903.

SALMON AND FRESHWATER FISHERIES ACTS.

Annual Report of proceedings under the Acts, for the year 1903.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

WINTER ASSIZES ACT, 1876.

Seven Orders in Council of the 15th July, 1904, relating to the ensuing winter assizes.

EXTRADITION ACT, 1870.

Order in Council on the 15th July, 1904, entitled, "The Straits Settlements Fugitive Offenders Order, 1904."

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Orders in Council of the 15th July, 1904, entitled respectively "The China and Corea (Shipping Registry) Order in Council, 1904" and "The China and Corea (Consular and Marriage Fees) Order in Council, 1904."

COUNTY COURTS BILL [H.L.]

House in Committee (according to order).

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY): My Lords, I think it would be more convenient that the Amendments which will be necessary to this Bill should be moved in the Standing Committee, where they could be more easily discussed than in the full House. That is what I would suggest; but, of course, the matter is one entirely in the hands of your Lordships.

Bill reported without Amendment; and re-committed to the Standing Committee.

MINISTERS AND THE FISCAL POLICY.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, who had given notice to call attention to the attitude and declarations of certain members of His Majesty's Government in relation to fiscal policy; and to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to state to what extent the Government purposes to support the policy of preferential tariffs, including the imposition of import duties on food, said: My Lords, I do not think His Majesty's Government will complain if, at this late period of the session, indeed on the last, or almost the last, day on which it will be possible for the House to discuss anything except matters of the most urgent legislative importance, I ask them, if it be in their power, to give us some further information and enlightenment on a question which occupied the almost exclusive attention of the country during the last Parliamentary recess; which has received considerable attention in the other House of Parliament during the present session; which, so far as we can see, will again excite a great deal of interest and discussion during the next Parliamentary recess, and which also must, at some probably not very distant time, form the principal subject for the consideration of the country when next it may be called upon to elect another Parliament.

It is possible that His Majesty's Government may consider that discussions have been raised in the other House of Parliament which have been unnecessary or inconvenient; but it certainly cannot be said that we who, in this House, entertain strong opinions upon the fiscal question, have been unduly inquisitive or obtrusive in putting them forward. We have had one debate in this House, which was raised on the Motion of the noble Earl opposite, Lord Crewe, which, although it was confined to a limited portion of the question, did enable us to have a fairly full discussion on the whole subject. But since that time we in this House have been content to be silent spectators of the further development of the position of the Government and their supporters, which has resulted in intermittent and somewhat desultory discussions which have taken place in the other House. But quite recently, so recently as last week, some members of the Government took certain steps, and made speeches, in connection with the reconstruction of the Liberal Unionist Association which seem, in our opinion, to indicate a new departure on the part of some members of the Government, or at least some advance in a direction which had been already indicated, which we think fairly calls for some consideration on the part of your Lordships' House.

Before I refer to those proceedings and speeches I should like for a very few moments to remind your Lordships of some of the proceedings which have taken place in the other House with regard to this question. I am not going to refer to speeches in the other House. That would not be in order; and although the rule is not very strictly observed in this House, it is not necessary, I think, for my present purpose that I should attempt to infringe it. But I do not believe there is any rule which precludes us in this House from taking notice of the proceedings in the other House of Parliament as they are recorded in their Votes and Minutes. There have been in the House of Commons during the present session three discussions on the fiscal question—the first one initiated on an Amendment moved by one of the leading members of the Opposition, and the other two raised by private members of the Opposition on such occasions as were available to them by the forms of the House. The first observation I desire to make on those discussions is that, in the divisions which have followed the debates, His Majesty's Government has, on every occasion, been supported by majorities very much smaller than their normal majority; and it is a matter of notoriety that those majorities would have been much smaller, if they had not disappeared altogether, but for the support which the Government received from a section of their free-trade supporters who had felt able to interpret the declarations of the Government, and of some members of the Government, in the sense that the Government was not committed to anything more than the policy which was expounded last autumn at Sheffield, that they were not only uncommitted, but as a Government opposed to anything in the nature of a policy of protection or preferential treatment of the Colonies based on the taxation of food. The first point, therefore, I desire your Lordships to note is that, notwithstanding the support of this section of their Party, so great has been the divergence of opinion in their own Party that they have on this question received a very much smaller amount of support from their Party than they are accustomed to look for upon any other question.

The Duke of Devonshire.

There are some curious incidents which have occurred during the course of those discussions in the other House. In the first debate, one of great length, from which the Prime Minister was unfortunately absent, the declarations of the members of the Government who took part in it, and even of the members of the Cabinet who took part were, if not absolutely contradictory, yet of such a character as to lead to the inevitable conclusion that there existed within the Government two sections of opinion—one favourably disposed towards a policy of preferential treatment of the Colonies, the other opposed to it, or at least distrustful of it. On the next occasion, on the discussion that was raised by Mr. Pirie, an Amendment was placed on the Paper which was understood to have been drafted with the approval of the Government and to express the views of the Government. With your Lordships' permission I will read that Amendment—

"That this House approves the explicit declaration of His Majesty's Ministers that their policy of fiscal reform does not include either a general system of protection or preference based on the taxation of food."

But after it had been placed on the Paper that Amendment disappeared, and the Government were unable to accept the expression of the confidence of the House of Commons which was contained in it, based upon their own declarations. I should like to ask the Government whether they can give us any explanation, which I do not think was given at the time, or has since been given, of the circumstances under which that Amendment disappeared. Was it that on further reflection they deemed that it did not accurately represent their own position, or was it that they discovered that an expression of confidence based on those grounds would not command the necessary amount of support from their own followers? I feel that that transaction throws a good deal of light upon the divided condition of opinion, either of the Government or, at all events, of those who support the Government.

On the next occasion, on the Motion moved by Mr. Black, the Government found it so impossible to frame any Amendment which would represent their own views, or which would be accepted by their own Party, that, after more than one attempt, I think, they were obliged to resort to the course of refusing to allow the House to express any opinion whatever upon the Motion, and to move a kind of "previous Question," in a form, I think, almost unprecedented, of a vote of confidence—a totally irrelevant vote of confidence—moved by one of their own Members, which, after it had the desired effect of setting aside the Motion which was really before the House, was laid aside and has never been heard of since. I do not desire to comment further upon these proceedings — I will not call them manœuvres — but I think they do indicate a condition of uncertainty and doubt in the minds of the Government, and of those who support them, upon a question which, it is true, may not be included in their own policy, but which is a question as fully, if not more fully, before the country than their own policy itself. And I do not think it will be denied that the condition of uncertainty and doubt is confusing and perplexing to the minds of the people of this country in their consideration of the most important subject which they will shortly be called upon to decide; and in this perplexed and confused condition of opinion it is almost impossible that they can arrive at any just or any permanent conclusion.

From these proceedings one thing, at all events, has become perfectly clear, and that is that the Government must know well, and every one of us must know, that there exists at present in the House of Commons a section of their own Party which is sufficient in numbers to have turned the scale against them, and to have put an end to their existence as a Government, which would have made it impossible for them to propose either their own or any other fiscal policy in this or any other session. I say it must be perfectly clear to all of us, and to none more clearly than to the Government itself, that there is that sufficient number of their present followers who would have withdrawn their support from them but for the belief, which they have been able still to entertain, that the Government is not committed, and is, in fact, opposed to any policy which goes beyond the policy which was expounded at Sheffield, and which is known as that of freedom of negotiation and of retaliation, and who are opposed to anything in the nature of the policy of preference based upon the taxation of food. I do not suppose for a single moment that the Government desires to retain office by means of the support of any section of their Party which is founded on a misconception of the real nature of their policy; and I cannot doubt that they will be glad of the opportunity, which, I think, my Motion gives them, of clearly and distinctly showing whether any such misconception as to the nature and drift of their policy really does exist.

In these circumstances it has been thought necessary to reconstruct the Liberal Unionist Association. I am not going to trouble your Lordships with the affairs of the Liberal Unionist Party or of the Liberal Unionist Association, which has up to now represented it. I do not think the history of that Party or of that association is altogether devoid of interest; but that is not the point which is before us to-day; and I will not trouble your Lordships with any discussion of the difficulties or dissensions which have occurred within the ranks of the Liberal Unionist Party. What does concern us is the proceedings which have recently taken place, which amount to the constitution of a new political organisation, which professes to be founded upon a more democratic basis than that of the organisation which preceded it, and which also openly avows its intention of taking a more active part in general politics than its predecessor, politics not specially connected with the question of the government of Ireland, with Home Rule, or with the Union. Certain members of the Government have been invited to join that association, and have joined it, and to take office in that association, and have accepted that invitation. And I submit to your Lordships that the proceedings of such an organisation, created, as it has been, for a special purpose, and with reference to special questions, have an interest for Parliament which is different from and far greater than the interest which can attach to any proceedings of an organisation already existing, although it may have been conducted on similar lines. I assume, and I think we must all assume, that my noble friends the Foreign Secretary and the First Lord of the Admiralty, who have taken office in this new association, were aware of the proceedings which were going to inaugurate its existence. I think there is internal evidence that they were so aware of them. I have seen a copy of the agenda originally prepared for the first meeting of the new council. After the election of its officers the first business of the council was the submission to the council of a number of resolutions purporting to have been sent up by a large number of local Liberal Unionist associations. There have been certain revelations as to the mode in which those resolutions were obtained, but that is not a question into which I wish to enter to-day. After the submission of these resolutions the next business was to have been the following resolution, to be proposed to the council—

> "That this council believes that a system of mutual preference between the United Kingdom and the Colonies will be beneficial to British commerce and industry, and will tend to consolidate the Empire, and approves of the policy of fiscal reform which has been laid before the country by Mr. Chamberlain."

I should like to ask my noble friends whether, before accepting office in this association, they were made aware of this proposed resolution, and whether it was due to any representations on their part that that resolution was not moved. For that was not the resolution that was moved; the resolution which was substituted for it was the following—

> "That this council, believing that the time has come for a complete reform of our fiscal system, approves of the demand made by the Prime Minister for increased powers to deal with hostile tariffs and the practice of dumping, and further expresses its earnest hope that the ties of sympathy which already unite the British Empire may be strengthened by a commercial union with the Colonies based on preferential arrangements between them and the mother country."

I should like to hear from my noble friends whether it was due to any action on their part that a resolution was dropped which committed the association and the council so directly to a policy labelled with the name of Mr. Chamberlain, as the first resolution did; in the next place, whether the withdrawal of the first and the substitution of the second resolution was due in any degree to their influence; and I should like to hear from them in what respect, in their opinion, the two resolutions differ in substance one from the other, except that from the second resolution was dropped the name of the author of the policy.

This resolution was moved and was adopted, I presume, with the assent and concurrence of my noble friends. It is not a mere resolution of sympathy with a preferential policy; it is a resolution expressing an earnest hope, which I presume my noble friends share, that the ties uniting the British Empire may be strengthened by commercial union with the Colonies based on preferential arrangements. I submit there is a wide and broad distinction between a formal resolution passed by an important political association which at that very moment had been joined by two important members of the Government and a mere casual expression of sympathy with a policy which may easily escape any orator when carried away by the applause

The Duke of Devonshire.

of an enthusiastic audience. Therefore, I attach a great deal more importance to the formal resolutions moved and adopted with the assent and concurrence of His Majesty's Ministers at the business meeting of the conference in the morning than to the eloquent expressions and messages of sympathy which may have fallen from their lips at the meeting in the evening at the Albert Hall.

But I do not think we can altogether ignore the significance of the expressions of sympathy which were communicated to that meeting, on his own part and on the part of the Prime Minister, by my noble friend Lord Lansdowne. Speaking in this House on 19th February on behalf of the Government, my noble friend referred to a declaration which had already been made in the other House by the Home Secretary, and he quoted this declaration and said he adhered to it. The declaration he quoted was this—

> "I have pointed out that preference is not a part of the policy of the Government at all; I have said that the Government are opposed—"

Mark the words, my Lords——

> "are opposed to any duty on raw material or food."

But my noble friend, not content with quoting the declaration of the Home Secretary, went on on his own account to say categorically—

> "We as a Government—and we cannot speak except as a Government—are opposed to duties on raw materials and foodstuffs. Why is it we are told that our policy leads down to the Birmingham abyss? I say that instead of leading to Birmingham—it leads if anything in the opposite direction—as far as it goes our policy is inconsistent with the policy of colonial preference."

I am glad to hear behind me a cheer in recognition of this declaration; but I cannot reconcile the expression of sympathy which my noble friend gave to the policy of preference on his own part and on the part of the Prime Minister with this explicit declaration which he made on his responsibility in this House. I admit that my noble friend has not yet got beyond sympathy. Sympathy has been to the Government almost as blessed a word as Mesopotamia itself; it has found a place in almost all of their speeches, and now it finds its way into their resolutions. But when they express their sympathy it is fair to ask them what it is they sympathise with. Are they in sympathy with the idea of fiscal union, or is it with preference founded on the taxation of food which the leader and prophet of this movement has assured us is the only means by which the idea of fiscal union can be attained?

There is an old French proverb, "*Qui veut la fin veut les moyens.*" I think there is a good deal of truth in it, and I think it is a truth which His Majesty's Government do not altogether realise; and unless they are able to define—and the definition they have not yet attempted—whether it is the end or the means or the object with which they express their sympathy, I venture to think that the introduction of the word sympathy into a political resolution purporting to set forth a policy is as irrelevant as would be the introduction of the word into a commercial prospectus. I hope they will be able to-night to give us some clearer definition of the meaning they attach to this word, and meantime I venture to suggest the sense which it seems to me it alone can bear. It appears to me, as I take it, that these members of the Government who express their sympathy with the policy of colonial preference can entertain, in their own minds, no objection to that policy on principle, and that the only doubt that restrains them is the practicability of putting it into force at the present time. It is only fair to the Prime Minister to say that I do not think that he has ever concealed that this is his own view. I do not recall a single word in which the Prime Minister has ever expressed the smallest objection in principle to a policy of colonial preference, or the taxation of food which is necessary to secure it, other than that it is not at the present moment a practical policy the people of this country are likely to adopt. That means, I conclude, that, in the opinion of the Prime Minister and of his Government, they would not be likely at another election to get a majority in the country in favour of the taxation of food, and they are doubtful whether they would get a majority for it even in their own Party.

But, supposing, as the result of the next campaign, Mr. Chamberlain is able to convince the Government that a majority in the country in favour of preference and food taxation is attainable, and that, at all events, it would be adopted by a majority of their own Party, then I ask whether the impracticability vanishes, whether their sympathy thereupon will be translated into active support. I think, my Lords, these tactics in regard to this portion of the fiscal policy which are being adopted by His Majesty's Government are not of a very heroic character. Mr. Chamberlain is sent into the country either as a missionary or as an advance guard. I think he has been described in both terms. If he takes the risk, the Government propose to take the credit and profit of his success. If Mr. Chamberlain fails, then the Government will have committed themselves to nothing but sympathy. If he succeeds it can easily be shown that that success was largely due to the sympathy given by the Government. But I am afraid the Government are giving Mr. Chamberlain something more than sympathy, and that they are indirectly giving him aid which they shrink from openly tending to him.

What is going on all over the country is that the seats of Unionist free-traders and the claims of Unionist free-trade candidates are being openly attacked or covertly undermined by the efforts of the Tariff Reform League, which are now being, I suppose, aided and seconded by the assistance of the newly constituted Liberal Unionist Council. These attacks are never discountenanced by leaders of the Party, and the assailants of these Members can point to the sympathy professed by the Government with their object. On the other hand, where a candidate professes the most deep adherence to the full scheme of tariff reform, then he receives the full benediction of the Government. If a free-trade Unionist unfortunately ventures to give expression to his free-trade principles by giving a vote for a free-trade candidate against a supporter of the Government, then he is denounced as a traitor to his Party. My Lords, I say I do not think these tactics deserve to succeed. I do not think they will succeed. I believe the course taken is more likely to mislead the Government than to guide them to the formation of a true judgment on the state of public opinion in the country or, indeed, in their own Party. I believe they are imperilling any prospects of the success of their own policy which it may ever have possessed, by allowing it to be identified or inextricably mixed up and confused with a policy which is not their own, but which through their hesitation and their indecision is slowly and gradually, but certainly, being identified with their policy.

I am afraid that in these observations I may not have succeeded in altogether explaining to my noble friends the points on which I desire to obtain some fuller information; but I will, in conclusion, address two or three plain Questions to them, Questions which I think are plain and susceptible of a plain and definite answer. I ask my noble friend the Foreign Secretary whether he adheres to the declaration which he made to this House on 19th February. I ask him whether, notwithstanding his expression of sympathy for the policy which he said was inconsistent with the policy of the Government, he still opposes preference based on the taxation of food. I ask him whether, in his opinion, that policy is still inconsistent with the policy of the Government so far as it goes. I ask whether his opposition is based on principle, or only on his opinion as to its present impracticability. Finally, I would like to ask him whether he will undertake to discourage the pressure which is being placed upon his own friends to adopt that policy which is not the policy of the Government, until he and the Government themselves are convinced that it is a policy which is not only a practicable, but also a sound policy.

*The SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of Lansdowne): My Lords, so large a portion of the noble Duke's observations had reference to myself, that I think it would be convenient to your Lordships if I should intervene at this early stage of the debate, in order to refer briefly to some of the remarks which fell from him. There is one portion only of the noble Duke's speech with which I will ask him to excuse me from dealing. He dwelt at some length at the commencement of his speech upon various proceedings which took place not long ago in the House of

Commons. I do not know whether it is entirely usual for your Lordships to review what takes place in the other House of Parliament. But putting aside altogether the question of order, I would much prefer not to attempt the elucidation of those proceedings, because I frankly own that, not having been a Member of that House myself, I am in some difficulty in following the intricacies of what takes place in that Assembly. The noble Duke has, however, had a very long and a very distinguished career in the House of Commons; and I cannot help thinking that it must have been within his experience that the Party Whips usually contrive, if they possibly can, to arrange that the issue presented to the House should be presented in such a shape as to bring about the most favourable expression possible to the Government of the day; and I have no doubt the Party Whips in this case did not depart from what is, I suppose, the accepted tradition in similar circumstances.

The noble Duke has made reference to the attitude and declarations of certain members of the Government, and has asked Questions with regard to that attitude and those declarations. Let me say a word with regard to those declarations—because, if I was able to follow the noble Duke, I think the only declarations which he singled out for criticism are certain statements which have been made by myself in your Lordships' presence on various occasions, and one made more lately at a meeting in the Albert Hall. My statement in the Albert Hall was not intended to go, and I believe it did not go, beyond the statement which I had already made in this House, nor was it intended to go, nor did it, I believe, go, beyond the statements which had been made by the Prime Minister at Sheffield, at Bristol, and, I think, at other places. In that speech I expressed my concurrence in, and my intention to support, the accepted policy of His Majesty's Government—the policy usually referred to as the policy of negotiation and retaliation; and I expressed my concurrence with the general object and aspirations of those who desire to bring about closer relations between the mother country and the Colonies. The noble Duke would have seen, if he had read my speech carefully, that I took some pains to explain to my audience the gravity of the steps involved in that attempt to bring about closer relations with the Colonies, and that I stated explicitly that in my belief we must know a great deal more about the attitude of our people at home, and still more of the attitude of the great Colonies, before we could safely commit ourselves to any policy of the kind.

The noble Duke asks me whether I can reconcile the statement which I made upon that occasion with the statement which I made to your Lordships' House on 19th February. That statement is distinctly present to my mind. I then ventured to tell the noble Duke that in my view it was scarcely reasonable of him to call in question the accepted policy of His Majesty's Government, because if that policy—I mean the policy of making commercial arrangements with foreign countries—was pushed to the furthest point possible it would have the effect of throwing difficulties in the way of that other policy of special commercial arrangements with the Colonies which filled him with so much apprehension. It was a debating point and I thought it was worth making, and I believe it to be absolutely true in logic. Surely it is incontestable that if the policy of retaliation and negotiation were carried out successfully—so successfully as to cover the whole ground with a great system of commercial treaties between the United Kingdom and foreign nations—you would have less room than you otherwise would have for special arrangements with the Colonies. That seems to me to be incontrovertible; and I imagine that if such a thing were to happen the only course open to you, if you desired to make special terms with your Colonies, would be to negotiate commercial treaties with them just as you had negotiated them with foreign countries. That seems to me something nearly approaching to a truism, and I do not know why the noble Duke should have taken exception to it. I cannot get rid altogether of the feeling that if on that particular platform I had announced that in my belief two and two make four, the noble Duke would have discovered some faint trace of heresy in that proposition.

Then the noble Duke asks me whether I still adhere to another statement which I made in this House, I believe on the same occasion. I said that we, as a Government, were opposed to preferential arrangements with the Colonies based on the taxation of food. To that statement I adhere. Proposals of that kind are not included, and never have been included, in the programme of His Majesty's Government; and it is only on what we are prepared as a Government to put before the country that we have, as a Government, any right to speak. When we get beyond that we pass into the region of conjecture and prophecy into which, it seems to me, we cannot profitably travel.

With regard to the attitude of the incriminated Ministers, what is the charge against us? The charge against us is that we accepted office in the reconstituted Liberal Unionist Association, that we took part in the meetings of that association, and that we did so in spite of the fact that the majority of the members of that association are probably in favour of a policy which goes a good deal further than the policy which as a Government we have accepted. I ask your Lordships to consider what the position of the Unionist members of the Government was when this reconstitution of the association took place. We were, and had been for many years, members of the Liberal Unionist Party; and I am sure that I am representing the views of my friends and colleagues who belong to that Party when I say that we look back on its history with no little pride, and that we certainly could not without deep reflection and without a very bitter pang have separated ourselves from it. My Lords, the Liberal Unionist Association, as far as we are aware, holds the same views as we do upon most of the matters with which it is concerned. I admit that upon this one question of fiscal policy the majority probably goes further than we do. But the fiscal question is not the only question before the country. I conceive that there was no reason whatever why we, on account of the mere fact that a good many of our friends desire to go faster and further than we do, should separate ourselves from the Party to which we have so long belonged; and if we were to remain members of the Party, we had to consider whether we should do so as members of its rank and file, or whether we should maintain the old connection between the official members of the Party and those who were not official. I confess it seems to me that, if we were to remain in the Party, it was our business to have the courage of our opinions and to take in the Party a position corresponding with that hitherto filled by its official leaders.

But the gravamen of the complaint is that the association was at that time reconstructed upon a new basis. The reconstruction of the association was, in my belief, absolutely inevitable. I remember once listening for a considerable time to a statement in which the noble Duke exexplained to his audience the recent history and present position of the association. The noble Duke is one of the clearest exponents of a case that I have ever had the good fortune to listen to, but I am bound to say that at the end of his observations I found great difficulty in discovering whether the Liberal Unionist Association had any organisation at all, or, if it had any, what the nature of that organisation was. At any rate, it seemed clear to us, that the time had come when it was absolutely necessary that the association should be brought into closer contact with the Party in the country and reorganised on a more popular basis. The reorganisation took place; and at the first meeting at which that reorganisation was discussed, the meeting of 4th February, it was clearly laid down by Mr. Chamberlain and in the resolutions handed in from the country that the main object of the reconstitution was to maintain the Liberal Unionist Association. What we had to consider was whether the association was to be maintained or whether, as I believe the noble Duke desired, steps should be taken to dissolve it altogether. We believed, and I remain of that opinion, that we were right in thinking that efforts should be made to keep it in existence. The noble Duke, deeply to our regret, found it impossible to remain with us; and when he determined to leave us he must have realised that it was inevitable that the statesman who, next to himself, had taken the most prominent part in the affairs of the

Party for many years past would take his place at our head.

Now I come to the proceedings of the 14th of this month. The noble Duke has referred to the fact that upon that day two different resolutions were discussed, one at the morning meeting and one at the evening meeting at the Albert Hall, and he has commented with much minuteness on the text of these resolutions. The first resolution is that which gives him most offence. Let me in the first place deal with a comment which the noble Duke made upon it in passing. He noticed that the resolution which was actually put, moved by Dr. Sinclair, of Manchester, and expressing an earnest hope that the tie of sympathy which already united the British Empire might be strengthened by commercial union with the Colonies based on preferential arrangements, was not the resolution which appeared originally in the earlier edition of the agenda paper. I believe that is perfectly true, but neither the original resolution nor this resolution were drafted by the central body. They were resolutions that came up from branches of the association in the country. I say frankly that the resolution actually adopted was chosen on the ground that it was of a complexion which rendered it more acceptable to the whole of those who were present than the somewhat more strongly worded resolution which engaged the attention of the noble Duke. Both that resolution and the resolution passed in the evening no doubt indicate a strong desire on the part of those who supported them for some arrangements of a preferential kind between the mother country and the Colonies.

The noble Duke apparently was ready to accept under protest the word "sympathy" in this connection, but the word "hope" seemed to him much more shocking and dangerous. I confess I am not able to discern the precise difference between the two expressions, but even if we assume that hope carries us further than sympathy, what was there in these resolutions to oblige us to dissociate ourselves from the Party to which we belonged? Is not this entirely a new doctrine that the noble Duke is advancing? I mean the doctrine that the leaders of a Party have no business to take any part in the proceedings of their followers if those proceedings carry them beyond the officially accepted programme of the Government. I believe that, if the noble Duke will look into the history of these matters, he will find that no such doctrine has ever been accepted by any Party with which we are familiar in this country. I have here a series of resolutions which in past years have been put forward at the conferences of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations, the Party organisation of the Conservative Government. The Prime Minister has usually been at the head of it. Lord Salisbury was at the head of it; he attended its meetings on several occasions, and the present Prime Minister has done the same.

I find that in 1887, 1891, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1898, 1900, 1902, and 1903 resolutions were carried at these annual meetings inviting the Government to take up the question of promoting a mutually favourable Customs arrangement between the Colonies and the home country, in favour of the preferential reduction by the Colonies of fiscal duties on home goods, the commercial federation of the Empire, and so on. No one ever supposed for a moment that there was anything irregular in the Prime Minister remaining at the head of such an association, although those particular proposals were not taken up, and at the time were, if I remember right, considered impossible of adoption by the Prime Minister and the Government of the day.

Then the noble Duke goes on to ask us a Question. He asks us to state to what extent the Government purpose to support the policy of preferential tariffs, including the imposition of import duties on food. My answer is that we do not support that policy. We have, on the contrary, pledged ourselves as a Government not to support it. But for that which lies beyond, for the unborn Governments, which may be drawn from that side of the House or from this, how is it possible that we can give any pledges? We do not know what the next Government will be or what the position of these great questions will be. We do not know what the attitude of the people of this country will be or, what is still more important, what the attitude of the great Colonies will be with regard to those questions. The noble Duke considers that, because we are not prepared now, immediately, to pronounce a final and irrevocable decision on these immense Imperial questions, we are to be accused of indecision, and that our attitude is certainly, I think he said, far from heroic?

I confess I do not see anything pusillanimous in a refusal to be hurried into a decision on questions so momentous. This is a tremendous problem. If I may use a homely simile, we are asked to ride at a fence a fall over which might break every bone in the body of the Empire, yet you accuse us of indecision and hesitation because we express a desire to know what there is on the other side. You ask us to draw a hard and fast line. You tell us that virtue is to be found on one side and vice on the other, and that unless we take up a position on your side of the line we deserve the condemnation of all right-minded men. I venture humbly to protest against that doctrine. I protest against the doctrine that, no matter what terms our great Colonies may propose to us, we are to treat this question in advance as a *chose jugeé*. I object altogether to the idea that when they stretch out their hands to us across the seas and ask us so draw closer to them we should refer them to some early Victorian treatise upon political economy and tell them that their proposal is cut of order. Our attitude is a much humbler one than that of the noble Duke and those who think with him. It is a humble and a cautious attitude; but I can assure the noble Duke that it has not that Machiavellian character which he endeavoured to impute to it.

We do not desire to be rushed to a premature decision either by the Tariff Reform League or by the noble Duke and his friends. We have before us the example of other nations who have drawn the constituent parts of their realms more closely together under arrangements of this kind and who have thriven under them. We know that our Colonies earnestly desire that this question should be further examined. We know that these proposals have moved the people of this country as few questions have moved them within our recollection. Therefore we decline to closure the discussion or to withdraw our names from our own Party organisations simply because those organisations desire that these proposals should receive the attention and the examination to which they are entitled. I shall, I hope, never say a word—I hope I have not said a word to-night—which is disrespectful towards the noble Duke who has introduced this subject. I can assure him that no day in my political life was more painful than that on which I ceased to acknowledge him as my leader. I am willing to accept his judgment, I am willing to be corrected by him, if he thinks correction deserved. But I do honestly believe that the tests and standards which he asks us to apply to our political life are new tests and standards, and that the restrictions which they involve will be intolerable to those who believe, as we do, that free discussion and independent thought are the very life and breath of our political existence in this country.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: My Lords, if the question which is before us were not so serious it would be a subject of perpetual delight to a dispassionate observer to watch the gyrations of His Majesty's Government in the presence of the anxious inquiry of the country as to what their policy may be. I venture to think that whatever doubt they may feel with regard to it will not have been removed by the speech of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who has plunged us into deeper darkness than before as to what that policy may be, but has at any rate given one correct description of it as cautious and as humble. He said the Government are not so unwise when approaching a big fence as not to take some reckoning of what may be on the other side. The Government are approaching a general election, and they are extremely anxious, if they can, to face that general election perfectly free on both sides—either to adopt the policy of Mr. Chamberlain, if it should succeed, or to repudiate it if it should fail.

The noble Marquess has attempted to prove that in becoming a vice-president of the reconstituted Liberal Unionist Federation he has done nothing unusual, nothing abnormal, but has, on the contrary, followed the true traditions of sympathetic partisans and refused to desert the association at a moment when his services might be required. I will not pour upon the Conservative Association, or whatever it may be called, all the contempt and contumely which the noble Marquess poured upon it in reading the long disregarded resolutions which that assembly has annually passed. He said that for years past they have been endeavouring to urge upon the inattentive eaders the question of tariff reform, and yet that never prevented those leaders from attending in the evening and haranguing them on the popular questions of the day. Why, then, said the noble Marquess, should not we go to an assembly which has just passed a resolution of which we entirely disapprove, which is opposed to our most public and repeated declarations, and cheer them up in the evening and give them the benefit of our countenance and eloquence?

I will point out to the noble Marquess what does not seem to have occurred to him, and if it has occurred to him he has at once suppressed the hideous thought that there are two very great differences between the position of these annual and customary meetings of the Conservative Association and the meeting of the Liberal Unionist Association which he attended in the capacity of vice-president. One difference is that the Liberal Unionist Association had just undergone a violent upheaval and disruption, and had lost its president and its head. Why? Because of a difference on the fiscal question, which tore that association from top to bottom. But there is a greater difference between the two cases. What has never happened at these meetings of the Conservative associations, and what I believed would have broken up the Party if it had happened, is that the Minister who spoke in the evening should have expressed unabated sympathy with the resolution passed in the morning. That is where the cardinal difference exists between the two cases.

The noble Marquess has not thrown any fresh light on the policy of the Government, because we already knew that it was humble and that it was cautious. He has, as I have said, infused a new element of darkness into what was murky before. He has repeated that the Government's policy of retaliation is in direct opposition to Mr. Chamberlain's policy of Imperial preference. I may note in passing that even as to the Government policy of retaliation the noble Marquess has not hesitated in a debate this session on the coasting trade to make some very withering remarks, so that even of the policy of retaliation he is by no means sure in his own mind. But he has pointed out that the policy of retaliation is entirely opposed to Mr. Chamberlain's policy of preference. Why, then, may we ask, if there is that direct opposition, should the noble Marquess have thought it necessary to attend the meeting and give his benediction to the resolution which has been read out to the House? The association had simply been destroyed in order to give effect to this policy. It was reconstituted to democratise it, but it was also reconstituted to further the fiscal policy of Mr. Chamberlain. Yet, though the noble Marquess has truly said that the policy of the Conservative Government, so far as we can obtain a glimpse of it, is wholly opposed to the policy of Mr. Chamberlain, no sooner has the association been reconstituted, no sooner have they passed a resolution in support of Imperial preference, than the noble Marquess and his colleague the First Lord of the Admiralty find it convenient to become the only two vice-presidents of the reconstituted association, and go and give it their public benediction in the evening. If that be so, the policy of the Government is more confused than ever. The noble Marquess gives a doubtful approval of retaliation, except in the case of the coasting trade; but he is wholly opposed to the policy of Imperial preference. Yet he takes the earliest public opportunity of giving it the most unequivocal support he can.

Let us come to the democratisation of the association. Here let me observe on the extraordinary number of coincidences which have occurred in connection with this fiscal question during the past year. If the late Professor Morgan were still alive—and I daresay there are distinguished mathematicians who still take an interest in the doctrine of coincidences—he would find fruitful matter for thought in the number of coincidences which have accompanied the development of the fiscal policy of His Majesty's Government. The series began with the coincidence of the repeal of the shilling duty on corn, promptly followed by the speech of 15th May in which the new policy was promulgated. Then there was the coincidence that, whereas the treatment of Canada by Germany had remained unnoticed for four years, simultaneously with the promulgation of the new policy it was thought necessary to notice that treatment. Now we have this further extraordinary coincidence—that when the noble Duke finds it necessary to retire from the presidency of the Liberal Unionist Association it is found that that association requires democratising. In the eloquent words of Mr. Chamberlain, it has been transformed from an oligarchy into a republic. There have been a good many kinds of republics. There was the republic which was established under the first Napoleon on the 18th of Brumaire, the constitution of which almost exactly resembles the democratic constitution of the Liberal Unionist Association. There was the First Consul, the Second Consul, and the Third Consul. I hope the noble Lords the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the First Lord of the Admiralty will not mind my reminding them that there was no alarming amount of individual liberty under that Government, and that, whilst the name of the First Consul remains permanently identified with its policy, the names of the Second and Third Consuls have been absolutely forgotten except by careful students of history. That may give them some cause for reflection.

But we already see the process of democratisation in full force. The noble Marquess took up the resolution which caused the noble Duke so much uneasiness—the first unamended resolution—and when questioned about it by the noble Duke said, "Yes, no doubt we thought the other one preferable, but there was no inspiration about this resolution. It only came up casually from one of our provincial centres." And at once a bright vision of liberty accorded under the new rules of the association proceeded to spread itself before our eyes. But I suspect that there is a little interference with these provincial centres from headquarters, and they are not entirely left to their unguided genius. I do not know whether Lord Belper is in the House. If he were in the House he could furnish us with a very interesting document which came from the headquarters of the Liberal Unionist Association, and which went to the branch at Nottingham and pointed out to that branch that, though they had by a tangible majority refused to send any representatives to the federation to be held in London, it might be well if the minority—behold the democratic order of the new constitution—sent up at least a dozen representatives to the central body. Therefore I should not be exceedingly surprised to learn that even this resolution, which came like water from the rock, springing apparently from the fertile mind of a provincial association, had been to some extent inspired by the central office in London like that communication to Nottingham.

Let me here pause for one moment to say that the noble Marquess seems to think that there is nothing strange, in spite of the differences which appear to exist between him and the majority of the Liberal Unionist Association, in his going to attend their meeting and becoming their official, because, as he says, fiscal reform is only one of the many questions before the country, and it is the custom to discuss all the main questions of the day at their meetings. Well, I might call attention to what passed at the meeting, but I will give him a very exact analogy of what might have happened in the year 1885. If in that year Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, who were then in the Cabinet andwho were supposed to be not unfavourably inclined towards Irish aspirations in a modified form, had thought fit to become vice-presidents of the Irish Home Rule Association, what a hullabaloo there would have been. I can see almost every noble Lord on the Benches opposite who was then alive springing to his feet in a fury to denounce this ambiguous action on the part of two of the Ministers of the Crown, though as a matter of fact Home Rule was only one of several questions of policy at that moment before the country, and by no means the most prominent. I offer that analogy for the consideration of the noble Marquess when he is next about to become vice-president of some political association

But the morning and the evening proceedings of this remarkable association, this democratised association, do deserve a little more attention than they have received at the hands either of the noble Duke or the noble Marquess. In the morning we had a really drastic resolution, a resolution approving of Imperial preference. We had other resolutions, one of which, I think, was rather remarkable, which urged—and that ought to be an answer to the distrust of the noble Duke—which urged that support should be given to all Liberal Unionist candidates without regard to fiscal considerations. It is a resolution which I have no doubt will give great comfort to Sir John Dickson-Poynder and other Members of the House of Commons who have been openly attacked in their seats under the inspiration of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. Altogether the proceedings were so interesting and remarkable that one gentleman went so far as to say that he still hoped that he might remain a member of the Liberal Unionist Association although he was a convinced free-trader. But at all events what happened was this. A preferential tariff resolution was passed in the morning, and all this doubtful and possibly ambiguous business was got out of sight before the noble Marquess appeared in the evening. I am not sure whether the noble Earl accompanied the noble Marquess.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (The Earl of SELBORNE): Yes.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: Oh, he did. Well, the noble Earl is the head of a militant branch of the Government, but I think that on that occasion he adopted a safer course than the noble Marquess and made no speech. In the evening we had most harmless and beneficent resolutions. There was a resolution against the dropping of the Aliens Bill by His Majesty's Government, which appeared in some way or another to have been the fault of His Majesty's Opposition. We had also the usual resolution about the Anglo-French Agreement, which the noble Marquess declared was an excellent bargain and which at any rate received the approval of that vast assembly. And then we had the speech of the president of the association, cast in the old slap-dash style which he has too much neglected of late, banging the Opposition about and giving great refreshment to all his hearers. Then came the speech of the noble Marquess. I hope the noble Marquess will not be offended, but will consider it a compliment in this hot weather if I say that his speech appears to have exercised a somewhat refrigerating influence on the assembly to which it was addressed. It is true that he came to announce the unabated sympathy of Mr. Balfour with the resolutions which had been passed, but it is also true that the main mass of his speech was couched in a tone of such extreme good sense with regard to the resolution which had been passed in the morning that I honestly think there is hardly a word of it which those on this side of the House who distrust Mr. Chamberlain's policy from the Imperial point of view could not heartily have adopted; and I am given to understand, and can well believe it from reading the speech, that the exercitation of the noble Marquess caused a somewhat depressing effect on the audience.

Now how are we to take all these proceedings in their entirety? Do they give the impression of straightforward dealing with the country upon a matter of high national importance? Are the Government dealing fairly with the country at this moment in extending sympathy to Mr. Chamberlain's proposal although they profess to be altogether opposed to it? The noble Marquess says, "After all, this is only one item of the programme." But I would ask him to remember this. The British are essentially a commercial nation, and to consider the fiscal policy of this country as merely an item in a vast number of subjects which have to be considered by the nation at large is very seriously to misapprehend both the feelings of the nation and the policy itself. Is it credible, would it not be incredible had it not existed, that His Majesty's Government should keep the country on tenter-hooks as to what their future fiscal condition is to be, with unabated sympathy towards Mr. Chamberlain's policy on the one hand, with deep affection for retaliation, which is opposed to it, on the other and by this cautious and humble policy leaving the mind of the country absolutely blank as to what the fiscal condition of this country may be after the next general election?

That is the point which I earnestly press upon His Majesty's Government. It is not a question of minor importance; it is a question of the very breath of the nostrils of this country. Do you suppose that this irresolute and undecided attitude has not already had its effect on the commerce of this country? If you ask men of weight from any of the great commercial centres of the country you will hear but one tale of the prejudicial effect which your indecision is exercising upon their prosperity and their commerce. I really think that is a matter which His Majesty's Government cannot treat in the jaunty manner in which it has been treated this evening and on too many previous occasions. There is another side to it too, and to that I attach not less importance than to the consideration of what the future policy of His Majesty's Government may be. It does seem to me that these proceedings call for not merely the gravest suspicion, the most unceasing vigilance, but the closest union among all those who, with whatever opinions they may be ticketed, hold that free trade is essential to the prosperity of the country.

I confess I am somewhat disquieted, when I see the considerable skill, the variegated manœuvres, with which the policies of Mr. Chamberlain and His Majesty's Government are carried on, as if in concert, to see that there does not appear to be on this side enough of union, enough of cordial co-operation, enough of withdrawal of opposition in the constituencies, and that that dangerous condition of want of cohesion may lead, in the opinion of some wise judges, to a disaster which the Opposition, excited by their by-elections, do not seem to apprehend. *The Times*, the devoted organ of the Government, at a very early period of these transactions gave us a warning, which we should not have neglected, that the Prime Minister and Mr. Chamberlain were playing their game like two skilful whist players, each of whom well understood what the other was about. It is against that policy, which has been followed by the action of the noble Marquess and the noble Earl, that I desire to enter my most emphatic protest, because I believe that the country does not understand it, that it is one which is causing disaster now and which may cause ruin in the future, and that, at any rate, it is setting an example of political conduct which will long be deplored in the annals of this country, and which will reflect no credit on the names that are associated with it.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: My Lords, I waited some time before rising because it seemed to me that the remarks of the noble Earl who has just sat down merited some reply on behalf of His Majesty's Government. I do not desire to occupy the time of the House for many minutes, but there are some considerations which occur to me which I think I should be wanting in my duty if I did not humbly and respectfully put before this Assembly. This is no mere matter of a dispute between two sections of the Liberal Unionist Party. A good deal, not unnaturally, of the speech of the noble Duke, and, in consequence, of the reply of the noble Marquess, was taken up with the discussion of these matters and of the transactions in the Albert Hall last week, with which I frankly say I have no personal concern. But, my Lords, those of us who, like myself, are intellectually convinced that free-trade is the best policy for the commerce of this country, cannot be expected to be satisfied with the present position of affairs; and I think the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs scarcely did justice in his reply to that part of the speech of the noble Duke which recounted the history of this matter and the declarations which we have received from time to time from His Majesty's Government.

I think I shall carry all your Lordships with me when I say that no man in our recollection has led this House with greater acceptance than my noble friend the noble Marquess, and no one, I venture to say, has so rapidly increased his influence amongst us as the noble Marquess has done since he assumed that responsible place. But, my Lords, I ask him, and I ask the House, whether in his dealing with what is known as the incident of the Wharton Resolution he quite did himself or the House justice. The noble Marquess said that he could not follow all the intricacies of what had gone on in another place because, as I understood him, he had never had the honour of a seat in that House. I am in the same position. I do not profess to be an authority on the details of the procedure of that illustrious Assembly, but I venture to think that the main issues of that matter were quite plain, and the reason I do not understand them is not that I have never had a seat in that House, but because I was not a member of His Majesty's Government at the time they occurred.

The Resolution put down in the name of Mr. Wharton was a perfectly plain, straightforward, and simple Resolution. It was—

> "That this House approves the explicit declaration of His Majesty's Ministers that their policy of fiscal reform does not include either a general system of protection or preference based on the taxation of food."

We have had those statements made over and over again. They have been made to-night by the noble Marquess; and if it is the case, as I know it must be the case, that they mean what they say, why is the House of Commons, on the initiative of one of their most loyal and trusted supporters, not to pass a Resolution in that sense? I should like to ask two plain questions. I want to know whether it is the case that the Resolution was withdrawn because it did not express the opinions of the whole of His Majesty's Government, or whether it is not the case that it was withdrawn because a certain number of the supporters of His Majesty's Government intimated that they would not consent to it, and that if it had been persevered with the Government would have been placed in a minority.

I hear a great deal from time to time of the disloyalty of those Unionist Members who do not come to the House of Commons to support His Majesty's Government. Many of those with whose opinions I am closely connected have been singled out for this form of obloquy. If what I have said is true, why is it to be laid to the charge of a free-trade Unionist that he is disloyal in not voting for a policy which is against his conscientious convictions, if those who threaten to put this same Government in a minority for another reason are not also to be regarded as disloyal to the cause which they have been returned to support? I pass from that topic to what is really the subject of the noble Duke's notice—namely, to call attention to certain declarations of certain members of His Majesty's Government in regard to fiscal policy. I need not recapitulate the history which the noble Duke gave us further than to say this, that I entirely associate myself with the noble Duke in his acceptance of the declarations made in this House on 19th February, as at that time perfectly satisfactory to us. But, my Lord, we have since had these proceedings at the Albert Hall, and the announcement from the lips of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the unabated sympathy of the Prime Minister with the resolution then passed, which covered a good deal, in fact, of the policy known as tariff reform.

It has, I think, escaped notice in this debate that this is the first time that there has been any public expression of unabated sympathy on the part of the Prime Minister with the whole policy, as I understand it, of tariff reform. At the time that the Prime Minister spoke at Sheffield we had never heard anything about the average 10 per cent. duty. That appeared for the first time in the speech of the ex-Colonial Secretary in Glasgow; and the question I should like to ask is this, whether the expression of unabated sympathy conveyed by the noble Marquess on behalf of the Prime Minister to the meeting in the Albert Hall was or was not intended to express sympathy with the policy of the average 10 per cent. duty? That is a very plain and a very simple question, and I do not think it is unfair on the part of those who, like myself, greatly dislike that policy and are determined to oppose it, to ask simply and plainly if we can be told whether the Prime Minister sympathises with it or whether he does not.

I should like to ask also how far this sympathy is intended to mean practical aid. Is it a policy of neutrality which is announced, or is it a policy of benevolent neutrality, or what is the precise meaning of the word "sympathy," and is it or is it not to be translated into action at some future time, say after the next general election. It is admitted that at present the Government is not only not committed to the policy of tariff reform, but we have been told to-night that it is actually opposed to it, that the policy of the Government is inconsistent with it. I ask, what, then, is the barrier which the Government offer to those like myself upon which we can really rely—to those of us who find we cannot accept this policy of preference, who are against its adoption, but who are afraid that in the fulness of time a vote which is now given or will be given at the next election for the Government will be translated to mean, and understood to mean, a vote in favour of the wider policy which is also before the country. In other words, is the opposition of the Government to this policy a real opposition? And if it is a real opposition, how, in the ordinary use of language, is it possible for members of the Government to express sympathy with that which they intend to oppose.

I ask if votes are given to the Government on the faith of their speeches, is there not a danger that those votes will be counted as supporting the policy of Mr. Chamberlain? Is there not a danger that those who support Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Chamberlain himself, will be led into a belief that his policy has a much wider support than I believe it really has? The noble Marquess spoke at the Albert Hall, as the noble Earl has said, in a strain which almost any of us might have accepted. He said of the policy—

> "We are dealing with communities which have reached robust manhood, communities to which we have given freedom and liberty with open hands, and we must be able to tell them exactly what it is that we propose—exactly what sacrifices, if any, we ask of them."

and he went on to say—

> "We must be able to explain exactly what it is that we intend to the people of this country."

It is exactly my complaint of the method in which this question has been raised that that is not what we are asked to do by Mr. Chamberlain. We are asked by him to commit ourselves to the policy before we know what it is; we are asked to commit ourselves to it in principle; we are asked to say we will go in for Imperial preference before we know what sacrifices are demanded, either from the Colonies or from the people of this country. The Colonial Secretary said the other day, with regard to colonial preference—

> "I appeal to my friends and to my opponents not to close the door upon it. They ask us not to support it. Let me beg of them not to commit themselves against it. I have said distinctly, on several occasions, that I think the policy of colonial preference and its details require further discussion—anxious, deliberate discussion—before it is embarked upon."

The noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty and the noble Marquess cheer that sentence. They cheer it under the impression that it was Mr. Chamberlain's, but it was Mr. Lyttelton's. I associate myself with it entirely, because it is in direct antithesis to the demand which is made upon us by Mr. Chamberlain, to the demand which was made upon us by Mr. Chamberlain while I was yet in the Government, that the whole principle of colonial preference was to be given away by giving a preference of a 1s. duty last year to Canada. The whole principle would thus have been in effect abandoned.

I agree with the noble Marquess as to the gravity of the step. I claim most strongly to be as good a friend of the Imperial connection as exists in your Lordships' House or anywhere out of it. It is because I am a friend of that connection, it is because I dread the danger to it on account of the way this question has been rushed, that I give my unqualified opposition to the policy outlined by Mr. Chamberlain. It is always assumed by those who support this policy that it will be a bond of union. It is precisely because I distrust that assumption, precisely because I do not believe it to be true, that I give this policy my profound opposition. If I thought it would lead to closer union I would be only too glad to consider it. But, my Lords, I am afraid that these great free communities will not—I am sure they will not—give up their freedom, and I am apprehensive that in the process of bargaining for this amount of duty or that amount of duty upon a specific article, we shall run a greater risk of friction than if we depend upon the sentimental tie which has served us so well in the past. I am told that the United States of America and the German Empire are examples which we should imitate. In both these cases there is a complete commercial free trade between the constituent parts of that great republic and of the empire. There is one taxing authority for the whole of them, and if you could in the nature of things follow that example to the full, no one would be more cordial in support of it than myself. It is because I know that at the present time we cannot do that, that I think it is unfair to quote those two great countries as examples which we should imitate. It is because it is impossible to give up the freedom which each of our communities have to settle their own fiscal system, that I dread the danger of difficulty and of friction. Sometimes it is asked, are you not prepared to make some sacrifices for this great ideal? Yes, my Lords, I am prepared to make sacrifices; but I think it is not only fair, but, as I have said, absolutely necessary that we should have at any rate some idea put forward by the responsible authority of what these sacrifices are to be, what the demands made upon us are to be, and precisely what return we are to get for it, before in principle we commit ourselves to this great step.

The noble Marquess says it is a stirring ideal, and he expresses sympathy with it. I suggest to him and to this House that that is a dangerous attitude for a man in the responsible position that he is in to take, because he will be expected to carry that sympathy into practical action, and we know from him not only that he does not at present see his way to do that, but that the Government are going to oppose it. Therefore, I think it is likely to lead to difficulties if he expresses sympathy in this more or less vague way, and has no idea of how it is afterwards to be carried into action. Look at this vague talk that we hear about a corn duty. Is it to be a shilling, or eighteenpence, or two shillings, or half-a-crown? What is it to be, and what are we to get in return for it? One of the difficulties of the method in which this question has been raised is that we have never had in an authoritative form any collection, either of the resolutions or speeches, or so-called offers, which have been made from the other side of the sea. I say if these things exist, let us see them collected and presented to Parliament on the authority of a Government Department, so that we may know how far they take us and how far we may rely upon them. I object to committing this country to a tax on corn, meat, dairy produce, or on any staple article until I have some assurance as to the extent to which it is likely to go. From that position we are not prepared to depart until some definite proposal is made to us.

I see in the ordinary channels of information that there is a 10 per cent. duty proposed upon manufactured iron. I do not know that anybody has as yet ever suggested more than 2s. upon wheat, and part of that is to go back in the form of a preference to Canada. I do not know whether the President of the Board of Agriculture realises that 2s. a quarter is not even 10 per cent. upon the value of wheat; and what will the agriculturist think of it when he finds that the maker of iron is to be better treated with his 10 per cent. than the producer of wheat? But that does not prevent vague appeals being made at the time of a by-election. I read a letter in the newspapers yesterday from Mr Chamberlain to the candidate for the Oswestry Division, in which there occurs this paragraph—

"Farmers can make little profit, and although the labourers are better off than they were fifty years ago"—that is an admission worth having—"they have not progressed as much as the workers in other trades, and they are constantly being driven into the towns for want of well-paid employment on the land."

And the letter suggests that if they vote for Mr. Bridgeman these things will be remedied. I want to know whether by this reform the President of the Board of Agriculture sees his way to confer any real benefit on the agricultural population, whose interest he has at heart? If we are asked to commit ourselves in violence of all the traditions of fiscal policy of the last half century, then the least that can be done is to make the demand that is to be made upon us as distinct and as certain as it is possible for language to make it.

I want to say one word as to my personal position. We are told that this issue is above and beyond all other issues. My Lords, I have been a Conservative all my life. I agree with those with whom I have been associated on matters affecting the government of Ireland, religious education, and the establishment of the Church; I believe myself to be as good an Imperialist as any of them; and I hope that before this debate closes I will receive some assurance from the Leader of the Conservative Party in this House as to what is the proper policy for me and those who think with me to pursue. I do not know whether I should appeal to the noble Marquess the Lord President of the Council for advice as to what I am to do to remain a free-trade member of the Conservative Party; or whether I should appeal to the noble Marquess sitting next to him, who by hereditary right and, if I may say so, by personal character and position, will be gladly welcomed by many Conservatives as their Leader in this House; or whether the noble Earl the President of the Board of Agriculture will undertake to advise me. Last, but not least, there is the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack, for whose lifelong devotion to the Party no one has a greater admiration than I have.

I want to continue a loyal member of the Conservative Party, but I cannot accept this new policy. I believe it would be disastrous, as I have indicated to your Lordships, to the best interests and even to the unity of the Empire; and I ask my Conservative friends to say distinctly whether or not they intend to allow the next election to be made a national *plébiscite* on this new policy. You say you do not, and I am bound to, and I do, believe you most fully. But if that is your view, then these declarations of sympathy—whether unabated or not—ought to cease. If you do mean to make the next election a *plébiscite* on this new policy, then it is upon you, and not upon me and those who think with me, that the ruin of the Unionist Party and of the causes with which it is associated will rest. I wish to impress upon those upon that Bench not only the profound regret with which I find myself differing from them, but, whatever it may cost me, my profound determination to oppose to the uttermost a policy which I believe to be disastrous to the best interests of the Empire.

*THE EARL OF SELBORNE: My Lords, I think His Majesty's Government are entitled to a reply in the debate raised by the noble Duke, and as no member of the Front Opposition Bench has risen, I presume they are going to treat this as a disputation—I use that word without any offence—between old friends and are not going to intervene. I must ask your Lordships' indulgence if for a brief moment I allude to what I may call the personal aspect of this case so far as it concerns me. I have been censured from more than one quarter to-night, because I am a vice-president of the reconstituted Liberal Unionist Association. I have now for sixteen years held office in that association, and I hope I always shall. I can conceive no policy, no resolution that the majority of that Party might adopt, which would cause me to leave that body so long as their *raison d'être* was determined opposition to Home Rule, and so long as opposition to Home Rule was the only test of membership of that body.

The difference of opinion between the noble Duke and some of us as regards our position on the Liberal Unionist Association is really this. The noble Duke and many of his friends think that the fiscal question is now more important than the Home Rule question. They are perfectly entitled to their view, but they cannot complain if the great majority of the Liberal Unionist Party, who do not take that view, decline to accept their advice as to the attitude they ought to adopt. And, my Lords, I do not think it is very difficult for one who has been born into politics in the middle of the Home Rule strife to show your Lordships why the great bulk of the Liberal Unionist Party in this country, to whatever particular shade of fiscal opinion they may adhere, differ absolutely from the noble Duke in thinking that the fiscal question is a more important question than that of Home Rule. Whatever mistake might be made in formulating tariffs for this country, the same authority that made it might remedy that mistake. It has been done over and over again in this and in other countries. But once an independent Parliament has been established in Dublin, then, I say, my Lords, without hesitation, it is not the Imperial Parliament that could repeal that local Parliament. It could only be repealed by the sword.

I respectfully but entirely demur to the noble Duke's differentiation between the Liberal Unionist Association as reconstituted and the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations or another body of which the noble Earl on the Cross Benches has from time to time heard—the National Liberal Federation. I deny *in toto* that there is any distinction whatever. Why should I—forgive the personality—holding these views on the duties of a Liberal Unionist, and with my connection with the Liberal Unionist Association, dissociate myself from that association or refuse to take office in it? Why should I cast the dust of that association off my shoes any more than the noble Earl on the Cross Benches, who, when Prime Minister, inherited all the resolutions of the Newcastle programme——

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: No.

*THE EARL OF SELBORNE: With a very large percentage of which I believe the noble Earl did not agree. And, my Lords, we know, projecting our eyes into the future, that if a Liberal Government were returned to power after the next general election the National Liberal Federation is committed to Home Rule for Ireland. But we also know, through their recent speeches, that some of the most distinguished members of the future Liberal Cabinet have abjured the doctrine of Home Rule. And am I to be told that the freedom and liberty of political conscience and opinion which has been enjoyed in every Cabinet of which our history has record, which were enjoyed in the last Liberal Cabinet and will be enjoyed in the next, are alone to be denied to members of His Majesty's present Government? When the noble Earl on the Cross Benches was seeking for a parallel to his travesty of the position of the reconstituted Liberal Unionist Association, when he imagined what would have been said of the loyalty of Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke if they had joined a Home Rule Association while they were members of Mr. Gladstone's Government, he forgot another parallel, and perhaps a closer one, not to the actual facts, but to the travesty of the facts which he presented to your Lordships. He forgot that a few years ago the unity and mutual co-operation of the Liberal Party was largely assisted by the inauguration of a body called the Liberal League, which I have always understood was not on the best of terms with the National Liberal Federation. The noble Earl asked me what the genesis of the resolution was which was passed at the meeting of the Liberal Unionist Association. I do not know. I only saw the resolutions after they were printed on the paper sent up from the local branches; but I do recollect that the particular resolution which was singled out was sent up by the Liberal Unionist Association of Crewe—an interesting fact which I thought the noble Lord opposite (the Earl of Crewe) might like to know.

Having dealt with what seems to me the personal aspect of this case and the *status* of the Liberal Unionist Association, I turn to the gist of the speech of my noble friend who has just sat down. I think he will not contradict me when I say that when I use the words "noble friend" to him they are no formal or meaningless words; and any regret which he feels at the difference of opinion which has come between him and many of his political friends on this fiscal question is more than shared by me. But, my Lords, what is the real gist of the accusation— an accusation of a very damning kind, if all the words used by the critics of the Government would bear the weight that their users put upon them—that is made against us? We have propounded a policy which has been described to-night as one of negotiation and retaliation; it is that policy to which we adhere, and it is that policy to which we intend to adhere to the full during the whole of the life of the present Government. Did noble Lords opposite doubt that? They did not. Then what are we asked? We are asked what is going to be the future policy. I reply respectfully, but without any hesitation, that to ask us what is going to be the policy of an unborn Government in some future time is a question that has never yet been asked by Parliamentary critics of an existing Government, and which no existing Government would ever be so foolish as to answer.

The extraordinary part of the matter is this, that, to judge by the speeches of my noble friends even when they are asking this question, they at least are confidently assured that this Government are not going to be returned to power again. Therefore, they are asking a question not as to what will be done by the successors of the present Government, but by a future Government of which we do not know who will be Prime Minister, or what will be the component parts. I say, therefore, it is not reasonable, it is not constitutional, it is without precedent to try and press us to commit ourselves as to our opinions in an unborn and unforeseen future. I would ask my noble friends the same question as they have asked me. If we have shown any sympathy, which I think is a word they admit, on this question of colonial preference, why is it? It is because to us the possibility of a closer unity of the Empire is the greatest of political ideals. My noble friend who spoke last shares that ideal, but he believes that the particular road of preference will lead not towards the realisation of that ideal, but away from it. He is perfectly consistent in his view, but why should he complain of us if we are unable to share that perfect certainty which pervades his mind? What we say is that toward this ideal we will close no roads in advance if we can help it. Is my noble friend prepared to say that in no circumstances whatever, whatever offers or suggestions might come from the Colonies, would he consider preference as a road to that greater unity? I do not believe he is.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I beg the noble Earl's pardon for interrupting him; but an offer has come from the Colonies, I understand?

*THE EARL OF SELBORNE: What offers have come from the Colonies the noble Earl knows just as well as I do. He knows that the Colonies have, great groups of them, given us certain preference already. He also knows quite well that I was not speaking of past transactions. I was asking him and my other noble friends whether it was reasonable to ask us to say, what I do not believe the noble Lord himself would say, that in no circumstances, whatever offers might come from the Colonies, would we consider the question of preference.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: The point I endeavoured to make was this. I quoted extracts from a speech of the present Colonial Secretary, asking us not to make up our minds against the policy at present; but I said that was not the demand of the late Colonial Secretary. Mr. Chamberlain's demand is that we shall make up our minds in advance to accept the policy of preference before we know anything, or practically anything, of the offer or what it is to lead to.

*THE EARL OF SELBORNE: I have not Mr. Chamberlain's speeches with me, but I do say, without hesitation, that that is not the general impression that those speeches have made upon my mind, and I do not think, if the noble Lord would re-read them, that he would be able to adhere to that description as a really just one of Mr. Chamberlain's attitude towards us and himself on this question. And I would remind my noble friend of what Mr. Chamberlain said only the other day at the Albert Hall. It is quite true that the words which my noble friend the Foreign Secretary cheered when read by Lord Balfour were the words of the present Colonial Secretary, and when I joined in cheering them I knew that fact; but my noble friend the Foreign Secretary had in his mind these words which Mr. Chamberlain used on the same occasion—

> "I do not under-estimate the difficulties in our way. Difficulties exist in order that statesmen may overcome them. We do not ask them"—I believe the reference is to the Government and the country—"for a hurried decision. We do not ask for premature action. We desire in this great matter that we should carry with us the goodwill of all that is best in the nation."

I do not think that can fairly be described as endeavouring to bind the country in advance, or to proceed precipitately to the realisation of the project.

*LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: I hope the noble Earl will excuse me again interrupting him. I think I can supply him hereafter with the quotation to which I referred; but the particular matter which was uppermost in my mind was this, that long before our separation I asked repeatedly before committing myself for or against the policy of preference for information on this very point, and it was studiously withheld.

*THE EARL OF SELBORNE: I think my noble friend and I are rather at cross purposes. I do not wish to misunderstand him; but what I maintain, as strongly as he maintains, or as strongly as my noble friend the Foreign Secretary or Mr.

Lyttelton maintain, is that this question involves the gravest issues for the whole Empire, and that no part of the Empire can be rushed into it, but that the country—meaning both the people of the United Kingdom and of the Colonies—should know exactly what they are going to give and what they are going to receive. I do not think Mr. Chamberlain has ever said that he will ask the Empire or any part of it to accept without discussion and mutual assurances any scheme he or anyone else might propose. Before I sit down I should like to answer the direct Question put to me by my noble friend. He asked to how much of the policy did the sympathy expressed by the Prime Minister refer. My answer is that the sympathy referred only to closer union between the different parts of the Empire, and to maintaining and developing commercial intercourse between the mother country and her dependencies.

Now, my Lords, I have only one further word in conclusion. My noble friend rebuked me in advance for being actuated in this matter by an ideal, and I understood him to say that no expression should be given to an ideal in a matter so serious unless a practical solution had been found in regard to it. It seems to me that that is a barren and sterile theory, for if it was adopted I do not know any great political movement that would have been evolved, much less realised. I cannot accept that as a standard which those should adopt who believe in this ideal of greater union and do not wish to close any possible channel towards that unity. I realise, I think quite as fully as he does, the great responsibility that rests on those who advocate this ideal, but it seems to me that a responsibility also rests on those who, while not repudiating the ideal—who, while sharing in the ideal, might seem to lead the Colonies to suppose that their preconceived ideas on other subjects would make it necessary for them to turn a deaf ear to any proposal in that direction that the Colonies might make. I do not believe that is really the attitude of my noble friend, and I think it is a great pity that he should give that impression.

LORD STANMORE: Will not the noble Earl give some answer to the Question with regard to the attitude of the Government towards their loyal supporters who are free-traders?

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN: My Lords, I am most desirous, in the few words that I shall address to your Lordships, to bring back the discussion to the point from which we started with the speech of my noble friend the Duke of Devonshire. We have rather wandered from the question into inquiries whether this or that part of the policy was correct, or whether it was wise, but the original question was: What is the policy? It is to that that we were anxious to direct attention, and I ask how far, if at all, we have made progress in ascertaining what that policy is. I should like to say, in the first instance, that the Leader of the House is in error if he thinks that any censure was being passed upon him for the course he has taken. Such an idea is entirely foreign to my mind; but what I wish to know is what deduction we may draw from the action he has taken; what impression the country is likely to derive from that action; what was contemplated when that action was, as I suppose it was, sanctioned by the Government; what deduction was to be drawn by candidates at by-elections from that action; and what deduction was to be drawn from that action by those who are already in possession of seats, but whose seats were being attacked, partly because it is not thoroughly understood what the position of the Government is?

Some progress perhaps we have made. We have had strong declarations again from the Government that they are opposed to the taxation of food and to a colonial preference based on the taxation of food. But there are candidates who are threatened in their seats and against whom already other candidates are being put forward because they are opposed to that same preference to which His Majesty's Government are opposed. The noble Duke asked the noble Marquess what was the attitude of the Government towards the two sides of the Party. The noble Marquess did not touch that in his answer. Mr. Balfour has had the same question put to him, it has pointedly been put to him by a sitting Member who was threatened in his seat. What is the attitude of the Government towards those who support the Sheffield policy, but who would not support anything that savoured of further development? No reply was elicited. Being without a reply, the public, candidates, and sitting Members must judge by the actions of members of the Government and not by the words of any Resolution. At a moment when the fiscal question has split the Liberal Unionist Association, as to a certain extent it has split the Unionist Party, we watch the action of Ministers closely. The analogy as to the National Conservative Association, or any other association, falls to the ground, because the circumstances are so entirely different at the present moment. What has taken place? The function was the celebration of the triumph of Mr. Chamberlain over the free-traders in the association. Would not ordinary men take that view of the situation and say, "Mr. Chamberlain is our general and under his banner we march." I would ask the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he does not think there is some analogy in their taking office in this Association at the present juncture, under the presidency of Mr. Chamberlain—whether there is not some analogy between that and officers on full pay joining the Committee of the Navy League. That Committee wishes to support the Admiralty but they desire to go much further. They wish to put a little more energy into the Admiralty; and I think my noble friend would be surprised if officers on full pay were to join the Committee of the Navy League and say, "The First Lord of the Admiralty himself sends unabated sympathy with your efforts." It is a curious thing that the question whether Mr. Balfour is a free-trader or is not is one of the most frequent topics of conversation is every class of society and wherever men meet together.

But here we come to a point that differentiates this case from those as to which my noble friend asks is it customary to press for information as to what is passing in the breasts of the Government. The curious thing is we are told a great deal about one part of their policy but a greater part is withheld. It is because there is danger in the intimate connection between those measures which the Government have adopted and those which are to follow that not only men who are busy with politics, but the nation at large, want to know what the views of those who ought to guide the country are as to the development of their policy.

Mr. Balfour has told the country that he intends to lead, but on this question he refuses to lead. That is the complaint of many of his followers and loyal supporters. People say he is shepherding his flock, and no doubt he does it admirably. Mr. Balfour says we are not entitled to know more. But the country is suffering from want of knowledge, and Lord Rosebery was perfectly justified when he said that this state of uncertainty was having a baneful effect on the commerce of the country. It is damaging the House of Commons. It is letting down the dignity of the House of Commons. I am sorry to say also — I say it with profound regret—it is damaging, on the whole, the Prime Minister himself. Supporters of the Government are entirely in the dark as to the attitude of their Leader upon the question on which the next election will turn. Every candidate in every constituency is put at a disadvantage. Candidates may pledge themselves to this 10 per cent., and may afterwards find the Prime Minister saying, "No, I am against this 10 per cent. I never said I would support it. You cannot find a statement to that effect anywhere in all my utterances." Other candidates may say they were so confident of this unabated sympathy on the part of the Prime Minister as to pledge themselves to colonial preference and to taxation of food; yet when the address to the electors is finally determined upon, it may be found that this does not form part of the official programme. There is now a state of greater doubt and uncertainty than I can ever remember during the whole of my political life.

As between Home Rule and protection, I think the disruption of the Empire by Home Rule would be the greater calamity; but unless there is vigorous opposition, protection is infinitely more likely to arrive in the near future than Home Rule. It is more insidious than Home Rule. I believe, whatever the views may be of any Party in the State, the nation will continue to be as strongly opposed to Home Rule as they were in 1885–86. At that time we were told that Mr. Gladstone had thrown his weight into the scale for Home Rule, and that we could not resist it. We did resist it, and I can assure my noble friend that, with reference to any fear that this country will ever consent to Home Rule, there is very little necessity for any organisation at the present time. It is good Party warfare to drag this red herring across the path, but it does not frighten me in the least degree. We have to deal now with protection, and we will deal again with Home Rule when the time comes. Mr. Chamberlain's expression, "No preference, no Empire," was most unfortunate. The country was not prepared to stand declarations of that kind; and I am glad to think that even those who are in favour of colonial preference have now come to much saner views upon that. At that time we were told, at the point of the bayonet—Accept this or your Empire will go. Now we are told that we must not close the door to the examination of this subject. I would not close the door on the examination of any subject that might lead to the consolidation of the Empire. The present Colonial Secretary spoke of the finer tempered links that join us to the Colonies, community of language, community of ancestry, and community of literature, and he has said that besides these it would be well to have commercial union. What a difference there is between this language and that which was used by Mr. Chamberlain! I have made my observations not with the slightest intention of animadverting on the noble Lords, but only because of my anxiety to press for the removal of this cloud of uncertainty, not from us who sit on these Benches, but from the community at large, from the constituencies which will have to decide the question, and from those candidates who will otherwise have to go to the election on an unintelligible conundrum.

*EARL SPENCER: My Lords, as the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty rather twitted me, or those sitting on this Bench, with not having spoken on this question, I desire to say a few words. I associate myself with every word said by my noble friend Lord Rosebery, and should be perfectly happy to leave the whole matter in his hands after the admirable speech he has made. The noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty put this question as one that could be legitimately left as an open question. I venture to differ from him. There are questions which no doubt may be left open in a Cabinet; but there are questions of such enormous political and national importance that they cannot be kept open, and the decision of the Government upon them must be given. The noble Earl asked what would have happened if members of the Cabinets of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Rosebery had differed on Home Rule and some Members had spoken in one sense and some in another in Parliament or in the country. I will reply to this and I say that the Government would immediately have broken up. The present Cabinet if they differ materially upon the question now raised ought not to be considered as homogeneous, and as a Cabinet agreed on the great questions of the day.

On the question of associations I entirely differ from the view taken by the two noble Lords opposite who are members of the Cabinet. I see the broadest possible distinction between a political association which has been in existence a great many years, and every year has passed various resolutions which the Government of the day may differ from or not, and an association just formed for the promotion of a particular policy, and which immediately propounds resolutions with regard to it. The noble Lords at the Albert Hall, as has been said, gave their blessing and benediction to this new society, knowing the principles which it had just laid down in particular resolutions passed at the morning meeting. You cannot dissociate this new association from Mr. Chamberlain and his views. They are practically the views of a protectionist, and the country will certainly regard the two noble Lords who have taken office in the association over which Mr. Chamberlain presides, as supporters of those views which he so boldly, energetically, and ably presents to the country. The Government, through the noble Marquess and through the Prime

Minister, shows the greatest possible sympathy with the views and proposals of Mr. Chamberlain, and even speaks of the very high ideal held out. Surely, when they express this great sympathy we may suppose that if the constituencies are converted, at that moment they will come forward and heartily support this policy of preference, with which they say they do not at present agree. We have heard a great deal of what has been said by Mr. Chamberlain. My noble friend the Chairman of Committees quoted a letter he wrote to a candidate at a by-election, and I would like to speak further on that point. Mr. Chamberlain wrote strongly supporting the candidate who advocated his views, and argued that free trade had done immense harm to farmers, who should therefore support his policy. What has happened since? The so-called Tariff Commission have issued their first proposal which recommends a 10 per cent. duty on iron and steel—the very thing which will do harm to the farmer, making his industry far more expensive because it will seriously effect the implements which he uses.

In many other respects we have seen Mr. Chamberlain propounding extraordinary doctrines. He boasts of the 200 Members of the House of Commons who support him, and of the enthusiasm with which his views are received at meetings in the country. He also speaks in a remarkable manner of his old colleagues, and uses terms towards them which are far from complimentary. We have heard a great deal from him on the subject of preference, but I cannot touch on that question to-night. I shall merely try to endorse what has been said so ably by many others, and ask the noble Marquess and those who work with him whether they do desire to support actively the general political policy of the Liberal Unionist Association or not. I can hardly believe that after their connection with the great meeting referred to, and with what took place before, they can be wholly opposed to the views of the association. We have a right to ask, Parliament has a right to ask, and the country has a right to ask what they intend to do. How are the electors to be guided? Are they to consider His Majesty's Government opposed to preference and the taxation of food? These are questions of the greatest importance, and I think the debate which has taken place will show in what a state of doubt, uncertainty, and vacillation His Majesty's Government is on this great and national question.

The subject then dropped.

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Amendments reported (according to order), and Bill to be read 3ª on Monday next.

REGISTRATION OF CLUBS (IRELAND) BILL.

Read 3ª (according to order), with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

RAILWAYS (PRIVATE SIDINGS) BILL.

Read 3ª (according to order), with the Amendment, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

WILD BIRDS PROTECTION ACTS AMENDMENT (ST. KILDA) BILL.

Read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 157.)

NEW BILL.

OFFICIAL SECRETS BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the Official Secrets Act, 1889, with respect to the consent of the Attorney-General to the institution of prosecutions under that Act—Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1ª; and to be printed. (No. 158.)

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Eight o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 22nd July, 1904.

The House met at Twelve of the Clock.

ROYAL COMMISSION.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The House went; and, being returned—

Mr. SPEAKER reported the Royal Assent to—

Hall-Marking of Foreign Plate Act, 1904.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (Swansea) Act, 1904.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Act, 1904.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (Birmingham) Act, 1904.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (Cardiff) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 4) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 5) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 6) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 7) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 8) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 12) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 14) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Order Confirmation (No. 15) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation (Gas) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Act, 1904.

Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Orders Confirmation (No. 4) Act, 1904.

Commons Regulation (Merrow) Provisional Order Act, 1904.

Commons Regulation (Oxshott) Provisional Order Act, 1904.

Land Drainage Provisional Order Confirmation Act, 1904.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands Supplemental (Ireland) Act, 1904.

Pier and Harbour Order Confirmation (No. 1) Act, 1904.

Electric Lighting Orders Confirmation (No. 5) Act, 1904.

Canal Rates and Charges (Regent's Canal) Order Confirmation Act, 1904.

Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Order Confirmation Act, 1904.

North British Railway (General Powers) Order Confirmation Act, 1904.

Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Act, 1904.

Leith Burgh Order Confirmation Act, 1904.

Airdrie Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Act, 1904.

Wishaw Corporation Order Confirmation Act, 1904.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Act, 1904.

Govan Corporation Order Confirmation Act, 1904.

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Act, 1904.

Glasgow and South-Western Railway Order Confirmation Act, 1904.

Donegal Railway Act, 1904.

Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Act, 1904.

South-Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time) Act, 1904.

Bexhill Water and Gas Act, 1904.

Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Act, 1904.

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Act, 1904.

Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power Act, 1904.

Manchester Ship Canal (Finance) Act, 1904.

Preston Corporation Water Act, 1904.

Shipley Urban District Council Act, 1904.

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Act, 1904.

Great Northern Railway Act, 1904.

Matlock and District Gas Act, 1904.

Ticehurst and District Water and Gas Act, 1904.

London and North Western Railway Act, 1904.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Act, 1904.

Brymbo Water Act, 1904.

Great Central and Midland Railway Companies Act, 1904.

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Act, 1904.

Southend-on-Sea Gas Act, 1904.

St. Mary Woolnoth Church Act, 1904.

Minehead Urban District Council Act, 1904.

Clyde Valley Electrical Power Act, 1904.

Birkdale Improvement Act, 1904.

South Suburban Gas Act, 1904.

Southport and Lytham Tramroad Act, 1904.

City of London (Central Criminal Court-House) Act, 1904.

Filey Improvement Act, 1904.

Maidenhead Bridge Act, 1904.

Great Central Railway Act, 1904.

London County Council (Money) Act, 1904.

Plymouth Corporation Act, 1904.

Wolverhampton Corporation Act, 1904.

Liverpool and Wigan Churches Act, 1904.

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Act, 1904.

Richard Jaeger's Patent Act, 1904.

Doncaster Corporation Act, 1904.

Skipton Water and Improvement Act, 1904.

Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways Act, 1904.

Llanelly Harbour Act, 1904.

Tynemouth Corporation Act, 1904.

Great Eastern Railway (General Powers) Act, 1904.

North-Western Electricity and Power Gas Act, 1904.

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Act, 1904.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bills, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable thereto have been complied with, viz.:—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill [Lords]; Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That the Bills be read a second time upon Monday next.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon Monday next.

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table.

Bill to be read the third time upon Monday next.

King's College Hospital Bill [Lords]; Manchester Ship Canal Bill [Lords]; Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill [Lords]; Leeds Corporation (Waterworks) Railway Bill [Lords]; De Trafford Estate Bill [Lords]; Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads (re-committed) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Bill [Lords] (by Order). As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill. As amended, considered; to be read the third time upon Monday next.

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation. Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the Newburgh and North Fife Railway, ordered to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the Newburgh and North Fife Railway," presented accordingly; and ordered to be considered upon Monday next.

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Finsbury; Gateshead; Kilmarnock; Lasswade; Lincolnshire; Lostock Hall; Martin Dales; Salisbury; Spennymoor; Tiverton on Avon; Wallsend; Whitby; Worthing; and Wrexham; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petition from Fylde, for alteration; to lie upon the Table.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897.

Petition from Edmonton, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (OXFORD).

Copy presented, of Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, on 4th March, 1904, amending Statutes II., III., IV., V., VI., and VII., of the Statutes of the College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 247.]

WINTER ASSIZES ACTS, 1876 AND 1877.

Copy presented, of Seven Orders in Council of 15th July, 1904, relating to the ensuing Winter Assizes [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Copies presented, of Orders in Council of 15th July, 1904, entitled, respectively, The China and Corea (Shipping Registry) Order in Council, 1904, and The China and Corea (Consular and Marriage Fees) Order in Council, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

EXTRADITION ACT, 1870.

Copy presented, of Order in Council of 15th July, 1904, entitled, The Straits Settlement Fugitive Offenders Order, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SEA FISHERIES.

Copy presented of Annual Report of Proceedings under the Acts relating to Sea Fisheries for the year 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SALMON AND FRESHWATER FISHERIES.

Copy presented, of Annual Report of Proceedings under the Salmon and Fresh Water Fisheries Acts, etc., for the year 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVAL WORKS.

Copy presented, of Statement showing the total estimated cost of each Work, the estimated expenditure thereon during 1903-4 and 1904-5, and the expected date of completion [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 3) BILL [LORDS].

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 21st July; *Mr. Bonar Law*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 274.]

TRAMWAYS AND LIGHT RAILWAYS (STREET AND ROAD).

Return ordered, "of Street and Road Tramways and Light Railways authorised by Act or Order, showing the amount of Capital authorised, paid up, and expended; the length of line authorised, and the length open for the public conveyance of passengers down to the 31st day of December, 1903, in respect of Companies, and the 31st March, 1904, in respect of Local Authorities; the gross Receipts, working Expenditure, net Receipts, and application of net Receipts; the number of passengers conveyed, quantity of Electrical Energy used, and the number of miles run by Cars during the year ended on the foregoing dates respectively; together with the number of Horses, Engines, and Cars at those dates (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 324, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Alien Immigration.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the First Lord of the Treasury if, with reference to the representations made to him on behalf of several trades unions as to the increasing numbers of working men who are out of employment, his attention has been called to the arrival of 38,557 aliens in the United Kingdom in the last six months not *en route* to any other country, and that over 27,000 came from German, Russian, and Scandinavian ports, and that upwards of 70 per cent. were Russians and Poles for settlement in Whitechapel and the Tower Hamlets; and if he proposes to take any action in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) There seems no reason to believe that the number of aliens described as "not *en route* to any other country" at all represents the number who come to this country for settlement. The number, if experience is to be trusted, who actually settle is decidedly less. I have no evidence as to the percentage who are Russians and Poles. My hon. friend is acquainted with the history of the attempt made in the course of the session by the Government to deal with the problem of alien immigration. It is greatly to be regretted that the course adopted by some Members of the Grand Committee to which the Bill was referred has rendered its passage impossible during the present session of Parliament.

Dogs Vivisected at University College during 1903.

DR. SHIPMAN (Northampton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many dogs were vivisected in University College during the year 1903.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) As I informed the hon. Member on the 4th of May last,† I have no material from which I can answer this Question.

Cancer in Dogs.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that the Report of the Director of the Cancer Research Fund shows that during last year 247 specimens of cancer derived from dogs were examined; will he state whether these dogs had been previously inoculated with cancer; and, if so, were such inoculations included in the annual Returns of Experiments on Living Animals.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) The Report, to which I understand the hon. Member to refer, does not state that 247 specimens of cancer in dogs have been examined. I am informed that the 247 specimens consist chiefly of growths and other pathological conditions occurring naturally. The remainder of the specimens were the result of inoculation experiments, and these are included in the annual Return of Experiments on Living Animals for the year ending 31st December, 1903.

The Army—Cost of Re-armament Scheme, Etc.

MR. GODDARD (Ipswich): To ask the Secretary of State for War what will be the estimated increase in Estimates in each of the ensuing two years, under the rearmament scheme; what will be the increased charge for interest for money borrowed under the Military Works Acts for the same period; and what is the increase of charge for stores needed to keep up the standard recommended by the Mowatt Committee as compared with the average annual charge for the same purpose in the years preceding the appointment of that Committee.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxiv., 375.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) I hope that I shall be able to propose the re-armament of the artillery upon the basis which I have already suggested to the House, viz., the completion in three years, which will involve an additional payment in the next two years of £1,250,000 in each case. I trust that the House will support me if I find it necessary to ask them to vote a large addition to Estimates which will be involved by the adoption of this course. I prefer, however, not to make a positive statement until the Estimates of next year are ready for submission. It is estimated that the increased amount required for Military Works Act annuities as compared with 1904-5 will be—

1905–6 . . .	£182,000
1906–7 . . .	£371,000

No increased charge will be required in connection with the Mowatt stores, but as a considerable stock of surplus stores and clothing existed from the war in South Africa, it was unnecessary to make the normal provision for upkeep in the Estimates 1904–5. There will, therefore, probably be an increased provision as compared with 1904–5 of—

1905–6 . . .	£373,000
1906–7 . . .	£649,000

The New Army Scheme and the Indian Drafts.

MR. McCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is intended, under the new Army Scheme, to furnish the required drafts for India from the proposed new depots; and if he can state the conditions to be imposed as to age and length of training before the recruits can be sent abroad.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The reply to the first part of the Question is in the affirmative. As regards the second part of the Question, the minimum age for Indian drafts will be twenty and the length of training six months.

The Militia.

DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will consider the advisability of stopping the contributions of 19,000 men annually from the Militia to the Regular Army, by preventing Militia soldiers from joining the Line regiments until they have served three years in the Militia, with the view to bringing the latter force quickly up to its standard strength.

DR. THOMPSON: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, with a view of making the Militia efficient and maintaining it at its proper strength, he will prolong its training period to six weeks, as recommended by the late Royal Commission.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The whole question of the efficiency of the Militia is under consideration, and under these circumstances I am not prepared to give any reply to detailed inquiries of the nature indicated in these Questions. As a matter of fact it is not possible to prevent Militia soldiers from joining Line regiments if they so desire, and if it were possible the enforcement of such a rule as that proposed by the hon. Member would, under existing circumstances, prove most detrimental to the recruiting of the Regular Army.

Recruiting for Irish Militia Regiments.

DR. THOMPSON: To ask the Secretary of State for War is he aware that recruiting for several Irish Militia regiments has been stopped; and, if so, if he will explain why this course has been adopted in the case of the Mid-Ulster, Sligo, Londonderry, and Donegal Artillery regiments.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) Recruiting was stopped in 1903 in the case of certain Irish Militia regiments in anticipation of a scheme for the reorganisation of those Militia units which are weak in number and difficult to recruit. I see no reason to alter the decision arrived at by my predecessor.

Congested Districts (Scotland) Bill.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will state when the Government propose to proceed with the Congested Districts (Scotland) Bill.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) I can make no statement at present as to the prospects of this Bill.

Humane Slaughtering of Animals.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): To ask the Civil Lord of the Admiralty whether the Committee appointed by the Admiralty to consider the humane slaughtering of animals for human food has yet submitted its Report; and, if so, when will it be in the hands of Members.

(*Answered by Mr. Arthur Lee.*) Yes, Sir. This Committee has submitted its Report, which I hope will be in the hands of Members to-day.

Recall of Lord Dundonald.

MR. MARKHAM (Nottinghamshire, Mansfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War will he say on what date he communicated with Lord Dundonald, recalling this officer from Canada, and by virtue of what powers, under the Army Regulations, he can enforce this order.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The Sessional Papers of the Dominion Parliament containing the correspondence between various members of the Colonial Government and Major-General the Earl of Dundonald were received at the War Office on the 9th instant, and were considered by the Army Council. Various questions as to Lord Dundonald's position as a half-pay officer had to be examined. On the 18th July the Secretary of State decided, in view of all the facts, that it was expedient that Lord Dundonald should be recalled and asked for an explanation, and that his attention should be called to the paragraph of the King's Regulations forbidding officers from speaking publicly or attending public meetings. A telegram was in consequence approved and ordered to be despatched early on the 19th instant. Under Section 175 (1) of the Army Act officers of the Regular Forces on the Active List, within the meaning of any Royal Warrant for regulating the pay and promotion of the Regular Forces, are subject to military law; and under the Royal Warrant for Pay, 1900, the Active List includes officers who are on temporary half-pay. Lord Dundonald is, therefore, subject to military law, and accordingly must obey any lawful order.

Proposed Reduction of Postal Rates to the Continent.

SIR THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will consider the advisability of communicating with the representatives of the Postal Union with a view to secure a reduction in the rate of postage between the United Kingdom and the Continent.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The rates of postage applicable to correspondence passing between countries of the Postal Union are to be discussed at the next Postal Union Congress, intended to be held in the ensuing spring; and in the meantime I do not think it advisable to make any move in the direction suggested.

Consular Service Examination—Omission of Modern History.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will explain why the subject of modern history has been omitted from the recent programme of regulations for entrance into the Consular Service.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) Modern history has never formed a subject of examination for the Consular Service and, however useful as an element in a liberal education, it is not one of the subjects a knowledge of which is essential to the discharge of the duties which Consular officers are called upon to perform.

Insanitary Condition of Sandy, Bedfordshire

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): To ask the President of the Local Government Board if he has received the special report which he promised to have made into the insanitary condition of Sandy, Biggleswade, Bedfordshire; what is the result with regard to the frequent cases of dangerous infectious diseases; and what means does he propose to take to have a remedy applied by the local authority.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) I have asked for a special report from the medical officer of health as to the occurrence of erysipelas and diphtheria in this district during the present year, but I have not at present received it. I will not lose sight of the matter.

Government Orders and Sheffield Firms.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: To ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to a resolution of the Sheffield Federated Trades Council on 8th July, 1904, drawing attention to scarcity of employment now existing among all classes of workmen employed in the heavy industries of the city and its consequent distress, and to the expenditure in Sheffield upon special plant and machinery in order to meet the requirements of the Admiralty and War Office, to the neglect largely of private trade, and to the fact that workmen have been trained to execute this work, and requesting His Majesty's Government to place a fair share of orders with Sheffield manufacturers; and, if so, will he say what action he proposes to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) My attention has been drawn to the resolution in question. There is no intention of departing from the policy of allocating a share of the orders to the trade, but in the allocation of such orders the principle of going to open tender cannot be interfered with, and questions of locality cannot be taken into consideration.

Reservists available on 1st October, 1899.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the number of Reservists available on 1st October, 1899, for Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Engineers, Army Service Corps, Army Ordnance Corps, and Medical Staff.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The figures are as follows:—

Cavalry . . .	6,567
Artillery . . .	11,007
Engineers . . .	3,220
Infantry . . .	50,581
Foot Guards . .	5,584
Army Service Corps .	2,690
Army Ordnance Corps	231
Medical Staff Corps .	1,009

The Crown Agents and Ceylon.

MASTER OF ELIBANK (Edinburgh, Midlothian): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to two specific instances in which the Crown Agents are alleged not to have sufficiently safeguarded the interests of Ceylon in regard to files and ship plates supplied to that Colony; and whether he has called upon or will call upon the Crown Agents for explanation.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) My attention has been called to the allegations to which the hon. Member specially refers, though no complaint has reached me from the Ceylon Government. It was stated that the Crown Agents supplied files for the Colombo Harbour works at a discount of 55 per cent., whereas they could have got the same files direct from the manufacturers at a discount of 62½ to 65 per cent., and also that they supplied to the Ceylon Government, in November, 1903, ship plates at £9 5s. per ton when the market rate was from £6 2s. 6d. to £6 5s. The statements came under the notice of the Crown Agents, and they informed me at the time to the following effect. No comparison can be made in the discount without knowing the qualities, as files vary in discount according to quality. Files of two different qualities have been purchased through Messrs. Blakemore, of Birmingham, for the Ceylon Government in recent years; in one case they were hand cut of full weight, good shape, and hardness, with a clear ring, and the cutting perfectly true, the discount on which was at the rate of 55 per cent.; in the other case "Patent Sand Blast Files" were supplied as demanded, at a discount of 62½ per cent., but these are machine cut, less durable, and of an inferior quality to hand cut. No ship plates were supplied by the Crown Agents to Ceylon in November, 1903, the last supply having been made in May, 1903, at a price of £5 12s. 6d. per ton, and not £9 5s. as alleged. These supplies were not procured through Messrs. Blakemore.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

The Case of the "Malacca."

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): May I ask those members of the Government who are present whether there is any information to be given to the House as to the case of the "Malacca?"

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Sir A. ACLAND-HOOD (Somersetshire, Wellington): I called at Downing Street on my way down at ten minutes to 12, and there was no further information.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Nothing beyond what appears in the morning papers?

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD: Nothing beyond.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Can the hon. and gallant Gentleman confirm the statement in the morning papers?

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD: No, Sir; I am not in a position to do that.

FINANCE BILL.

As amended, considered.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) said he had placed upon the Paper in the Committee stage a clause the effect of which would be to end this tax on December 31st. Section 3 of the Finance Act of 1901 made the coal tax a permanent tax, and the object and effect of the clause he was now moving was to make it a temporary tax running for a year only. Its effect would be that it would have to come up next year again in the form of a Resolution in Committee of Ways and Means and would be open to full discussion on that stage as well on the Committee stage. The Commission might by that time have reported on any new circumstances and facts that might have transpired in the preceding twelve months. He had deliberately adopted this more conciliatory course because of what occurred in Committee. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in his speech had spoken of having an open mind on this question, and had practically promised to reconsider his refusal to abolish this tax affecting an enormously important industry in many parts of the country, if any new facts justifying such a course could be cited. He had felt that he was, under the circumstances, well advised in raising this question on the Report stage in this most conciliatory way. He looked on his proposal as a very moderate one indeed, and he hoped the Government would give it the consideration which he claimed that it deserved. It might be invidious to allude to the war taxes of 1902, to the corn duty, which was not only reconsidered but was actually repealed. He would not, therefore, attempt to trace any analogy or draw any inference from that action. He was, he knew, precluded from going into the merits of the coal duty, but he did most earnestly urge upon the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer the advisability of meeting public opinion in this matter. His position would certainly be vastly stronger and better in every way if he accepted this Amendment. His speech the other night was a practical admission that the basis upon which this tax was originally imposed in 1901 was not permanent but was open to revision. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol in his Budgets of 1901–2–3 talked a great deal about widening the basis of taxation and about the difficulty and impracticability of imposing taxes of this kind, which involved very complicated commercial considerations in connection with trades in which there were contracts spreading over long periods without placing them on a permanent footing. The right hon. Gentleman also justified his action by claiming that in such cases it was unreasonable to impose the duty for one year only. He did not wish, however, to raise any recriminatory points, or to cast reflections upon anyone. He would simply submit that it was undesirable in the interest of constitutional government and of sound finance that taxes such as these should be excluded from the Resolution stage of the House, and that they ought to come up for reconsideration every year. This coal duty specially called for treatment of that kind. It ought not to be treated as a permanent corner stone of our system of taxation, to go on generation after generation; it should be considered year by year in the light of all the interests concerned.

A clause. [Amendment of Section 3 of Finance Act, 1901].

"Section three of the Finance Act, 1901, shall read as if the words 'until the first day of August, nineteen hundred and five,' were inserted after the words ' nineteen hundred and one ' in line two of the Section."—(*Mr. Channing*).

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) said there were other Amendments on the Paper which raised the whole question, and this particular one was but a small point, and he had therefore decided to reply at once, in the hope that they might come to an early decision on it. The hon. Member in a perfectly conciliatory speech had based his arguments on a speech he delivered in the early hours of Wednesday morning He could not accept the inference which the hon. Gentlemen drew from the speech referred to. All he had said was that he should keep an open mind to consider new facts which might be disclosed by the Report of the Royal Commission on the Coal Supplies, and it was not fair to press that to the extent of suggesting that he differed from the statement of his predecessor when he proposed the tax. He did not pretend that the coal trade was as prosperous now as when the duty was imposed, for at that time it was admittedly in enjoyment of exceptional prosperity; it was characterised by high prices and high rates of wages. As they all knew, the coal trade was subject to very great fluctuations, and the fat years had to bear their share of the burden of the lean. In order to arrive at a fair opinion as to the condition of the trade they must take a number of years and strike an average. The hon. Member because he undertook to preserve an open mind, now asked him to make the duty annual instead of permanent. He thought that that was hardly a reasonable request. What was necessary from the constitutional point of view was that a sufficient portion of the revenue should come annually of necessity under review in order that Parliament should grant the Ways and Means necessary for the service of the year. This review was amply provided for in present circumstances by the number of annual taxes that were brought under review. There was thus no danger to constitutional rights owing to the fact that certain taxes were enacted in a permanent form. Under the circumstances, therefore, he was unable to accede to the request of the hon. Member.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said the Chancellor of the Exchequer at all events gave the impression during the recent debate that he had an open mind on the matter of the coal tax, and that he would wait until the issue of the Report of the Royal Commission before definitely deciding whether or not the tax should be a permanent tax. But the point really before the House on the present occasion was whether this tax, admittedly put on as a war tax and intended as a temporary tax, ought not to be brought annually under review.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the hon Member could not find any authority in the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol for the statement that the tax was intended to be temporary.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said the tax was at any rate put on for the purposes of the war, but the expenditure of the Government had been so great that the war taxes were now practically permanent. In former days the expenses of the State used to be voted by separate Bills, and a far larger proportion of the taxes were voted annually than was now the case, but in consequence of disputes with the House of Lords all the taxes were put together in one Finance Bill. With the exception of the tea duty, practically all the taxes now came within the category of permanent taxes. He did not think that that was a right system. It was only fair that these matters should be reviewed year by year, particularly in the case of a tax so complicated in its nature as the coal tax, which had led to such disputes as to upon whom the burden fell and how far it was damaging the interests of the trade. He therefore heartily supported the Motion.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) said the Amendment, although it did not bring into discussion the merits of the coal tax itself, raised a point of considerable financial importance. The tax was imposed as a a war tax, and one of its chief claims to support was that it fell on a trade which had especially benefited by the war. The result of the withdrawal of such taxes from the consideration of the House, except by such out-of-the-way methods as that adopted on the present occasion, was the diminution of the control of Parliament over the taxation of the country. It was a part of the policy of the present Government to minimise the power of the House of Commons. It was the fact that such taxes as this were permanent instead of annual that enabled the Government to postpone the consideration of the Finance Bill to the present period of the session, and for that reason he should support the Amendment.

Mr. BRYNMOR JONES (Swansea District) thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer had hardly met the point raised by the mover of the Amendment. If the words were inserted the coal tax would come to an end on 1st August next year unless the Government took certain steps before that date, and the desire of his hon. friend was that when the Budget Resolutions were put down next year there should be one dealing with the coal duty, which would give the House a favourable opportunity for discussing the whole matter. The right hon. Gentleman had exhibited an excellent spirit in dealing with this question, and he appealed to him to recognise the reasonableness of the Amendment.

Mr. TREVELYAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Elland) said that if the right hon Gentleman could have accepted this Amendment it would have expedited the Report of the Bill, because it would have been a real concession to the very strong objection to the tax on that side of the House. It would have been an admission that the arguments put forward in the recent debate had had some effect, and that there was some prospect of the tax being reconsidered next year. Whether or not certain taxes were imposed as war taxes was not of much importance, inasmuch as they had all been retained, and some of them even increased. But the coal tax was clearly one that ought to be annually reconsidered. Nobody maintained that it did any good. It protected nobody but the foreigner; it seriously injured the coal and shipping industries. If the new Army scheme realised its author's expectations there would be a possibility of considerable reductions of taxation next year, and it would be only a reasonable concession to say that this tax should be one of the first to be reconsidered.

Mr. SAMUAL EVANS (Glamorganshire, Mid.) said that apart from the consideration that the House ought to have an opportunity of considering year by year taxes of this kind, he thought the character of the coal tax was such that it ought not to be a permanent tax. The predecessor of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer clearly did not hold the view that it was a permanent tax in the ordinary sense of the term, because in dealing with the subject he stated that if the tax was to be permanent it might be well to consider whether some changes should not be made in order to bring the duty more into relation to the value of the coal. Many districts had been very hardly hit by the tax, and certainly there had never been a tax which created so much dissatisfaction in the minds of everybody connected with the trade concerned. The effect upon the trade from year to year required to be considered, Consular Reports ought to be watched, and it was necessary that there should be the fullest possible investigation into the matter. In fact, the nature of the tax was such that it of all taxes deserved to be put into the category of annual taxes, and he hoped the House would press for that to be done.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 87; Noes, 147. (Division List No. 269.)

AYES.

Allen, Charles P.
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Boland, John
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Causton, Richard Knight
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Dobbie, Joseph
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt E. C (S. Andrw'sBghs
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)

Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herb. John
Guest, Hon Ivor Churchill
Hammond, John
Hardie,J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol,E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jones,DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, V. P. (Cavan, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leese,SirJosephF.(Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
Mooney, John J.
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nolan, Col. J. P. (Galway, N.)
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon,N
O'Malley, William
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pirie, Duncan V.
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Priestley, Arthur
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Russell, T. W.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spencer,Rt.Hn.C.R.(Northants
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Channing and Mr. Thomas Bayley.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hon.SirH.
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, Jon George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour,Rt.Hon.A.J.(Manch'r)
Balfour,RtHn.GeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bond, Edward
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Campbell,Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell,J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Chamberlain,RtHn.J.A.(Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colomb,Rt. Hon.Sir John C R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Davenport, William Bromley
Dickson, Charles Scott
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster,Philip S.(Warwick,S.W.
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon,MajEvans-(T'rH'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Heath, Arthur Howard Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Helder, Augustus
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N. R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Long,Col.CharlesW.(Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hn.Walter (Bristol,S.
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver,SirLewis(Edinburgh,W
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maxwell,RtHn.SirH.E.(Wigt'n
Maxwell,W.J.H(Dumfriesshire
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh,N.)
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Murray,RtHn.A.Graham(Bute
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Peel, Hn.Wm.RobertWellesley
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Reid, James (Greenock)
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel,Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thompson,DrEC(Monagh'n,N.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.SirC.E.H(Sheffield
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.

Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Welby, Sir Charles G. E. (Notts.
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W. H. (Yorks.)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

*MR. JOSEPH WALTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley) said it was most unfortunate that the last discussion on the coal tax upon this clause should have been taken after the House had been sitting continuously for seventeen-and-a-half hours. During that sitting he ventured to point out to the Prime Minister that it was a physical impossibility for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give constant attendance during the continuance of that debate, or to deal adequately under the circumstances with this most important question affecting 5,000,000 of the population of the United Kingdom, because there was no industry in the United Kingdom comparable in importance to the coal industry. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was absent —and he did not blame him—when he ventured to address the House the day before yesterday. He then stated that under all the circumstances, representing as he did one of the largest mining constituences of the United Kingdom with over 11,000 coal miners in it, he would take this opportunity of raising this question. He understood that there was an impression abroad that he was personally financially interested in this question. He desired, therefore, to say that the collieries in which he was interested personally entirely confined their trade to inland consumption, and consequently in regard to this tax he had practically no direct financial interest. He had, however, an interest in the 11,000 coal miners in the Barnsley Division of Yorkshire, and it was on their behalf that he rose to move this clause. He was glad to hear from the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other day that he was keeping an open ear for any new evidence in regard to this important matter, and the right hon. Gentleman said he had not closed the door to the review of any new facts as to the operation of the coal tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had since put a somewhat different construction upon those words from that which many hon. Members understood them to bear, but he did not disguise the fact that he had an open mind and that he was prepared to keep an open ear for new evidence. It was difficult in the course of the long sitting they had the other day for the Chancellor of the Exchequer either to keep an open eye or an open ear, and it was equally difficult for the majority of the Members present during that sitting to do so, for he noticed that during the discussion of the coal tax on that occasion one-half the Members were asleep.

The figures on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer based his statement the other day included 16,000,000 tons of bunker coal and coal exported abroad to the extent of 5,000,000 tons which was not subject to the coal tax. He put it to the right hon. Gentleman that what he ought to consider was the coal which was subject to the tax. In 1901, there was sent abroad 43,329,000 tons; in 1903, 41,660,000 tons, showing an actual decrease of no less than 1,668,000 tons, and this notwithstanding the fact that there was a special demand from the United States of America owing to a great strike there. From 1890 to 1900, under normal conditions, the annual increase in the export of coal was 1,500,000 tons; from 1900 to 1903 that increase was absolutely checked, and that, in his opinion, was unanswerable proof of the fact that even in regard to quantities this tax was operating injuriously. He would give some figures in support of that contention. The increase in coal production in Germany in 1903 as compared with 1902 was 9½ per cent., in France 17 per cent., and in the United Kingdom only 1½ per cent., showing how much more rapidly the output of coal was increasing in those countries as compared with this. Another proof that the coal tax had limited the quantity of exported coal was this. The exports had increased between 1900 and 1903, but instead of 1,500,000 tons annually as in the previous ten years the increase was only 1·12 per cent. In regard to bunker coal, on which no export tax was levied, the increase was 5,000,000 tons or 43 per cent., showing how trade expanded by leaps and bounds when it was left free, whereas when it was "cribbed, cabined, and confined" by this protective tax of 1s. per ton in favour of every other foreign nation as against our own trade it was hindered.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, by grouping certain countries together, had arrived at some statistical results. He himself preferred his own grouping, and he would take the case of Holland, Belgium, and France and compare the years 1901 and 1903 in relation to British exports of coal. Our exports to Holland, Belgium, and France decreased by 1,500,000 tons, but in the same period the exports of other foreign countries to Holland, Belgium, and France increased by 2,750,000 tons. They not only took the 1,500,000 tons that we lost, but they still further increased their trade by 1,250,000 tons. He did not think that anyone in this country who had any interest whatever in the coal trade, as miner, coal owner, coal exporter, or shipowner could possibly be satisfied to see foreign nations increasing their trade at this most rapid rate, while at the same time British trade was actually declining. A meeting was held at Newcastle in October last at which a statement was made as to the power of foreign competition by a great statesman, the ex-Colonial Secretary. He said—

> "You miners are only waiting to be eaten up. If you look you will see the production of coal in Germany, France, and America has been increasing with gigantic speed, and it is as sure as anything that in a comparatively few years they will want no more of your coal, and that they will probably be exporters of coal here. What is your stand-by?"

Well, it was certainly not the present tariff-reforming British Government that was their stand-by, so far as the coal trade was concerned, because instead of doing all they could to stimulate and assist the coal-mining industry, which employed 850,000 men, who with their wives and families represented a population of no less than 4,000,000 deriving their living out of this industry—so far from doing all they could to promote the prosperity of this great industry they imposed upon it a tax of £2,000,000 a year, which, in fact, was a protective tax in favour of every coal-producing country in the world against their own country. Could anything be more suicidal, or more amazing, on the part of a Government which professed that at the present moment their greatest interest was to promote the prosperity and expansion of British trade. This was a question of the highest importance, because this tax violated the principle of the equal incidence of taxation. No corresponding tax was levied on any other great industry of the country. In the coal trade they paid every other rate and tax that was levied equally with every other industry, and they did more, and he desired to especially draw the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to this point. The right hon. Gentleman had a Commission inquiring into the incidence of income-tax. It was levied so far as the coal trade was concerned on the average of the preceding five years, and at the present time, when a majority of the collieries being worked in this country were losing money, the income-tax was assessed on the average of the last five years, which brought in the high price years of 1900 and 1901. In the majority of cases coal-owners were paying large sums of money in respect of income-tax, when, instead of getting any income, they were actually losing money. Incomes derived from other industries paid income-tax on an average of three years, and there were some industries in respect of which the income-tax assessment was levied on the results of the preceding year only. He thought it was only right that this should be brought under the special notice of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was sure the right hon. Gentleman would not object to his placing before him in the way he was doing to-day certain facts and arguments which tended to show that this tax was operating most injuriously on the coal-mining industry of this country.

He objected to the tax also because it was applied only to a small portion of the coal-mining industry. If a tax on coal was justifiable it ought to be placed on the whole coal output of the nation. He would give a concrete case. There was a colliery in the Barnsley division exporting 240,000 tons of coal a year. It was a thin and expensive seam, and at the present moment the owners were losing money, while they were paying £12,000 a year in respect of this coal tax beyond what they ought to be made to pay. That would make all the difference on the question whether the pit would be closed in the near future in all probability, or kept working and continuing employment to a thousand men working that particular seam. At another colliery not two miles away, which did not export any coal, the owners were wholly free from this charge of £12,000 a year, which in the other case was a huge and intolerable burden. If the tax was justifiable at all, he submitted that it ought to be placed on the whole output. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer must continue the tax he would suggest that it should be 2d. per ton on the whole coal output of the country, 1d. to be charged to the royalty owner, and the other 1d. to the mine-owner. In that way the injury would be very much minimised. They were told that the royalty owners were receiving £6,000,000 per annum in royalty rents, taking the average at 6d. per ton. In a great majority of cases the royalty rents under existing leases were worked on a sliding scale, and rose or fell with the price of coal. Consequently in recent times the royalty owners had been receiving more than £6,000,000 a year, without any risk of capital on their part whatever. He should like the right hon. Gentleman to give his attention to this particular point.

It had been contended that there was no proof that the tax was injurious to trade, because forsooth the exports had not been very materially reduced. But that was not the question. The question was, Is it or is it not a fact that by reason of this coal tax we receive one shilling per ton less at the pit's mouth than we would do if this tax did not exist? Our coal was exported in competition with that of France, Germany, and Belgium, and the price was fixed by what these countries would accept. He knew from personal knowledge that this was an absolutely true and irrefutable statement. He did not wish to use strong words, but it simply meant that by imposing this tax the Government was confiscating £2,000,000 a year of the earnings of the coal miners, owners, exporters, and shippers, who were carrying on the export trade of this country. That was a flagrant injustice. He would remind the Chancellor of the Exchequer that whereas in 1900 the coal trade was prosperous and prices high, there had been an average fall in the value of coal shipped by Scotland and the north-east coast of England of no less than five shillings per ton. Though the tax of one shilling per ton could be borne when it was first imposed because it only meant that amount of reduction in profits, to-day in the case of many collieries it meant a question as to whether they should be kept working or closed. He knew a case of a colliery in Northumberland employing 2,500 men, and he would give the Chancellor of the Exchequer the exact result of the working of that colliery in the first two months of this year. That colliery exported 103,000 tons in two months, which was at the rate of 600,000 a year. The net result of their working for those two months was a loss of £1,700. They had to pay 1s. per ton coal tax on 70,000 tons, and but for that tax the result would have been a profit of £1,800. He thought that, in view of the enormous importance of this question, the time of the House was well occupied in having all these facts and figures laid before the Chancellor of the Exchequer and before the country.

He was perfectly well aware that the coal tax was unfortunately rather popular in the country. As long as human nature was human nature, people did not object much to anything that they thought would bring some financial gain to themselves. What he meant was that the general body of coal consumers in this country imagined that if they could only curtail coal exports and put a few million tons of coal extra into the home market prices would fall. That undoubtedly was the case. This coal tax would not have been maintained so long as it had been but for this operation of human nature. He could only appeal to the general mass of the people of this country and to all coal consumers that they should endeavour to consider this question on broad sound principles of justice and fair play all round as between the coal industry and their own industry. He advocated that this tax should be levied all over the country, but if that was refused then it should be made an *ad valorem* tax. He knew that his hon. friends who represented Welsh constituencies objected to an *ad valorem* tax, because the coal in Wales was much more valuable than the coal in other parts of the country. But what he submitted was that it was absurd to levy the same export duty on coal which was worth 6s. per ton as on coal which was worth 12s. per ton. The only true principle in regard to this subject was that there should be an *ad valorem* duty on the pit-mouth prices and not on those f.o.b. Collieries were situated in various localities, some on the seaboard and others inland. In the former case the cost of transport might amount to 6d. per ton, while in regard to the latter it might be 2s. 7d. per ton placing the coal f.o.b. The effect of that was that it paid the colliery owner better to sell his coal in the former case at 5s. 11d. per ton than at 6s. 10d. per ton, because if he sold at 5s. 11d. per ton he had no coal tax to pay, and if he sold at the normal price of 6s. 10d. per ton, and paid the tax, he would only receive 5s. 10d. A colliery exporter with 6d. per ton carriage, putting coal f.o.b. selling at the price of 5s. 11d., paid no tax, and got 5s. 5d. clear at the pit's mouth for small coal. But another colliery owner producing the same quality of coal, paying carriage at the rate of 2s. 7d. to the port of shipment and selling at the rate of 6s. 1d. per ton f.o.b. would only have a balance of 3s. 6d., out of which he would have to pay 1s. per ton of coal tax, leaving for wages, and every other charge, 2s. 6d. as compared with 5s. 5d. in the other case. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer must feel that this tax, as at present levied, was unequal in its incidence, and that facts like these should receive from him all the consideration which they deserved.

They had been told that by the imposition of this tax they would conserve the valuable coal resources of the country, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not feel equal to deal with this question definitely and finally pending the receipt of the Report of the Royal Commission on Coal Supplies. But it was an open secret that the Royal Commission had already ascertained that we had, in the matter of coal resources, six times the quantity of coal in these islands than was imagined a hundred years ago. The Chancellor of the Exchequer must have been impressed with this question of coal exhaustion, otherwise he would not attach so much importance to the Report of the Royal Commission. He did not believe that that Report would be of any great value on any other point. The members of the Commission had not such great knowledge of the commercial position of the coal trade as many Members in the House; and therefore to delay the repeal of this iniquitous and unjust tax pending the receipt of the Report of the Royal Commission was not justifiable. They were told that one great reason for imposing this coal tax was the necessity to conserve our most valuable coal resources. But what had been the effect of the tax? So far, the effect of the tax had been exactly the opposite. Before the tax was imposed colliery owners, who were not altogether stupid, had worked the cheaper working seams along with the more expensive seams. They naturally, after spending capital in sinking pits, desired to make the life of their undertaking as long as possible, and therefore they worked the cheapest seams along with the more expensive seams, so as to prolong that life. These were the lines on which the mining industry was being conducted; but when coal fell to 5s. a ton the colliery owners were driven to cease working the thin seams and to work only the valuable seams. Everyone who believed that, after all, the ownership and working of the black diamond in this country was our mainstay as regarded our prosperity, ought to do something to check the extinction of the most valuable coal seams in the country. He could say from his own personal experience, as being largely interested in the mining industry, that they had been driven to take that course and cease working the thin and common cheap seams.

Another view had been placed before the Committee the day before yesterday, with very great power and eloquence by the representatives of the coal miners. He was sure the House and the country were proud to have men of their ability, eloquence, and capacity as Members of that House. They gave the House information as to the practical effect, so far as it had gone, of the operation of the coal tax on the wages of the miners. Now, 80 per cent. of the cost of coal went in wages. At the time the coal tax was imposed, in Northumberland the wages were 61½ per cent. above the standard of 1879. At the present time that had been reduced to 18¾ per cent. above the 1879 standard. What had been the case in the non-exporting districts? In Northumberland 69 per cent. of the total advances gained in wages had been lost between 1900 and 1903; but in the non-exporting districts only 25 per cent. had been lost. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be bound to admit that this huge difference must be accounted for somehow; and he ventured to say that a very substantial portion of that had been due to the fact of the imposition of a 1s. duty per ton on export coal causing the colliery owners to receive 1s. per ton less for their coal than they would otherwise have got. He did not for a moment say that the largest part of that reduction had been due to the coal tax, but a very substantial part of it had been due to the coal tax. For, of course, when coal had fallen to 5s. per ton in value, naturally the sliding scale of wages which had operated so beneficially in Northumberland was affected. He might say that in his own district an arrangement was come to before the rise in the price of coal extending right through the years of the high price of coal, when the miners received much less than they were entitled to. But the miners stuck to their bargain and never ceased to work, but carried out their arrangement in a way that deserved every consideration at the hands of the Government and the country.

It was well known that a big coal strike affected every other industry. At the time when the coal tax was imposed, though some of the hot-headed men were desirous to bring about a general strike, which would have been a lamentable misfortune and a cause of loss to the whole country, the enormous majority of the miners believed in constitutional agitation for the removal of the tax so manifestly unjust to them. It was in their interest that this debate was proceeding. On all these grounds, he ventured to submit to the House that the miners were entitled to receive justice at the hands of the Government and the country so that a more equitable incidence of taxation should be brought into play. In regard to Scotland, the same argument was perfectly true. The wages in Scotland since 1900 had fallen no less than 60 per cent. Could any one contend for one moment that coal miners ought not to receive very substantially higher wages than the ordinary workers in the country who performed their duties under much better conditions? He had always considered that the coal miners were, beyond any other workmen in the country, the men who were at the foundation of the commercial prosperity of the nation. The whole trade of the country was dependent on the coal trade, and there was no class of workmen who ought to receive more consideration at the hands of that House and the country than the miners. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1901 said that if he believed that the coal tax would be paid by the miners he would not impose it. Well, he welcomed the appointment of the right hon. Gentleman to his present high position at a not very advanced age, and he hoped that he would adopt the same policy as his distinguished predecessor. If the right hon. Gentleman had been in office he would have agreed that those statements had been substantiated; that this tax had resulted in a great reduction in miners' wages. This tax ought to have been remitted in the previous year, when there was £10,500,000 to remit. It was unjust, when remitting that amount, that four-fifths of it should have gone in remitting direct taxation and only one-fifth in indirect taxation. But because justice was not done in the past it was no reason why it should not be done now. He appealed to the Chancellor to give the information he (Mr. Walton) had given to the House his most careful consideration, because he was perfectly certain that if at the eleventh hour the Chancellor accepted the clause he proposed he would be doing an act of justice which would redound to his credit. He begged to move.

A clause [Reduction of Coal Duty]—

"On and after the first day of August, nineteen hundred and four, one penny shall be substituted for one shilling as the duty on coal under Section 3 of The Finance Act, 1901."—(*Mr. Joseph Walton.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

*SIR WILLIAM HOLLAND (Yorkshire, W. R., Rotherham) said he represented a constituency who were keenly interested in this tax. Some thousands of miners in that constituency were either out of work or working very short hours. But they need not be in that unfortunate position were it not for the coal tax. Within the last few days one of the largest collieries in his constituency had been shut down for the ostensible purpose of making extensive improvements and alterations to machinery, but these improvements would not have taken place at the present time were it not for the fact that trade was particularly bad and very largely due to this tax. He did not say that the depression in the coal trade was entirely due everywhere to this tax, but in the home markets there was at the present time a diminished demand for coal, and that fact made the collieries much more dependent than when times were good upon the export trade. Any legislation, therefore, which hampered the export trade was a very much greater grievance than would otherwise be the case. It was contended that the average exports had not fallen off, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not deny that these exports would have greatly increased had it not been for the gratuitous injury done to the coal trade by the continued imposition of this tax. Under present circumstances it was untenable. It was put on at a time when the coal trade was booming, but now those engaged in the trade had a very different tale to tell. As the circumstances of the trade had greatly altered there was a sufficient reason for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to reconsider the imposition of this tax.

They constantly heard complaints of hostile tariffs abroad. The foreigner was entitled in his fiscal legislation to please himself and impose whatever kind of legislation he thought would be likely to benefit his own industries; but in this case the injury done to the coal trade was not the work of a foreign Government but of our own, and there was, he thought, sufficient reason for the deep and lasting resentment which was felt in the colliery districts at the continuance of this tax. If the coal trade asked for no favour for itself it was entitled at least to object to any favours being distributed by the British Government to its competitors abroad. Contrasting the conduct of the British Government in this matter with the conduct of foreign Governments, it would be found that Germany had obtained important contracts in the French market by reason of the facilities she gave as regarded transit both by land and water. It would be well if the British Government could take a leaf out of the German book in that respect. They saw the German Government doing all it could to help the trade of their country by improving the waterways and in many other directions, while the British Government were simultaneously taking very effective steps, not to help but to hinder so important a trade as the coal trade. How could they reasonably expect the coal trade to hold its own in competition with the coal trade of other countries when such different treatment was being meted out to it? The imposition of a coal tax on the British coal trade was more injurious than the imposition by a foreign country of an import duty, and the reason was this. If France or Germany or Italy imposed an increased import duty on goods going into their respective countries that hostile action only affected their own country, but this coal tax affected the coal which was exported from this country to all foreign countries, and therefore trade with every one of those countries was injuriously affected by the tax. A short time since he attended a miners' demonstration in the Barnsley Division, which was attended by some 70,000 miners, at which this tax was vigorously and unanimously condemned from every platform. That showed how strong was the feeling among those immediately concerned, and he trusted the Chancellor of the Exehequer would do something to meet their views.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.) said he did not profess to be a specially accredited representative of the miners' interest in that House, but he did claim to represent a number of miners in his own constituency, and he wished to present the case of the miners of Gloucestershire and Somersetshire. There fields were comparatively small. There were perhaps only seventy-one or seventy-two mines, in which about 13,000 people were employed and, whereas in other parts of England the output and number of men employed in the mines had increased, the output of these mines had actually decreased by 122,000 tons, and the men employed in getting coal had decreased by 400. There was, too, a great difference in the character of the working of the mines, the seams in Gloucestershire and Somersetshire being exceedingly thin and very difficult to work, resulting, of course, in an increased cost. The coal obtained was exceedingly inferior and commanded only a very low price. The consequence was that the area of sale was considerably restricted, and the slightest increase of cost resulting from a tax had a very baneful effect, an effect considerably greater than in the case of prosperous mines. When an industry was prosperous and paid good dividends a reduction of the dividend from 10 per cent. to 8 per cent., while disagreeable, was not necessarily ruinous, but if they reduced the dividend from 2 per cent. to zero the effect was at once disastrous. The same might be said of wages. A 10 per cent. reduction when they were high, while disagreeable, could be borne, but a similar reduction on a low wage came very hard on the unfortunate miner. Well, in those particular fields both profits and wages were low. What was the cause of it? It was not until some time after the actual imposition of the tax that it was found possible to say what the effects of it were likely to be. They did not export coal from that district. They had to sell it in the home market and although the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other night told them there had been an increased export from the Channel ports it had not affected them in that way because they had no export trade. But they had felt the effects of the tax in another direction. The effect of the underselling of the export coal by the cheaper German coals in consequence of the tax had been to drive those export coals into other markets which had been found at the expense of the district to which he referred. The result had been an absolute decrease of output and of employment.

There was a sect of people who called themselves Christian Scientists. He believed they enjoyed the name because their religion was neither scientific nor Christian. In the same way this proposal might be called scientific taxation, but so far as his constituents were concerned the effect was neither scientific not beneficial. He did not propose that afternoon to examine in detail the questions which made that tax a vicious one, but there were two facts which he thought deserved consideration. The tax was imposed for two objects — to produce revenue and to check the output. The Prime Minister, speaking in 1901, told them that no responsible statesman would by taxation endeavour to restrict output, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer clearly indicated that the object in his mind was to restrict the output of coal in this country. He said "A check on the increase of coal exports would not be an unmixed evil to the trade of this country," and in answer to an interposition by the hon. Member for South Shields he said that if the export trade of this country to the Continent was 8,000,000 tons of coal a year, "so much the worse for this country." As to revenue, he was bound to say that the money raised by means of this duty might have been much better raised by way of income-tax on realised profits rather than upon coals before the profit was realised. He ventured to say that this was an ill-omened tax. Since its imposition every succeeding Chancellor of the Exchequer had found himself embarrassed as to where to get his revenue, and the first Chancellor of the Exchequer left office within six months of proposing it. His successor also disappeared within six months, and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer should consider whether he had not better abandon this fatal inheritance in order to save his own political life.

Mr. MOUNT (Berkshire, Newbury) was also unable to claim any close acquaintance with the mining industry. But in his opinion the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to have regard to, not the immediate incidence but the ultimate burden of the tax; and if it could be shown that the general tendency of the export trade in coal since the tax was imposed had been in the direction of progress and not of retrogression, then some further arguments than those which had been adduced must be forthcoming before his right hon. friend was induced to abandon the duty. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon was last year able to show that the export trade in coal had shown remarkable vitality. In 1902 it showed an increase of 2,200,000 tons over 1900, and in 1903 there was a further increase over the preceding year of 3,376,000. He remembered in the course of the debates last year attention was drawn to the fact that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was lucky, inasmuch as he was benefited by the strike in the United States. But that strike came to an end in the early months of last year, and yet the increase of exports had gone on. Again, in the north-eastern ports, the exports had gone up by 1,122,000 tons, and those for the Welsh ports by 437,000 tons. This rate of increase was fully maintained in the first six months of the present year. The figures show an increase of 1,541,000 tons.

*MR. JOSEPH WALTON said the hon. Member included in his figures coal under six shillings a ton, which was not taxable, and bunker coal. If the statistics were confined to taxable coal it would be found that there had been an actual decrease in the exports from the north-eastern ports.

MR. MOUNT thought the question they had to consider was whether the total export had increased or diminished since the tax was imposed. The mine-owner got his profit and the miner his wages in respect of bunker coal just as they did in respect of other classes of coal. One of the contentions of the opponents of the tax was that it was unfair to single out a particular industry, and still more a particular branch of that industry, for taxation. On the face of it there was a good deal to be said for that contention. One would naturally have expected if there had been a certain progress in the export trade in coal to have found a correspondingly greater increase in the rate of production of coal not affected by the tax. As a matter of fact that was what they did not find. The increase in the total output of 1903 over 1902 was 3,239,000 tons, or less than the increase in the amount sent abroad, which was 3,376,000 tons. In the whole period since 1900 the increase in exports was 5,572,000, while the increase in total output was 5,153,000, so that the portion of the coal trade not affected by the tax had slightly decreased. He agreed with what had been said by the hon. Member for Barnsley as to the way figures could be used, but the figures which he had just given to the House showed, in his opinion, the necessity of waiting for a longer period before they could definitely say that a case had been made out for the abolition of this tax upon coal.

MR. SAMUEL EVANS said the speech which the hon. Member for Newbury had just delivered was a very interesting one, but it appeared to him that the hon. Member had been a little fallacious in his figures dealing with the quantities of coal exported from this country. In order to deal fairly with the effect of this tax upon the export trade they had to look at the figures for taxable coal, excluding all coal below 6s. per ton and bunker coal. If they found an increase in that class of coal which was not taxed and they did not find a corresponding increase in that class of coal which was taxed it was unfair to take the two together as an argument in favour of the tax. He desired to give the House one figure for the whole country. In dealing with the effect of the tax upon the export trade they must look only at the figures relating to taxable coal. In 1901 the tonnage of taxable coal exported was 43,329,703; in 1902 it fell to 41,622,000, and last year it remained at practically the same figure. Those figures, he thought, spoke very strongly against the tax, because they showed that there was not an increase but a diminution in the quantity of taxable coal exported, whereas in regard to non-taxable coal there had been an increase in various directions.

He desired to draw attention to the case of one or two particular districts. One of the vices of the tax was that it did not apply to the country as a whole, but affected only certain districts. If there was a case for the tax at all, the tax ought to have been imposed on all coal, whether for home consumption or for exportation.

That had not been done, and the operation of the tax had fallen hard upon the north-east district and upon South Wales. That showed that this tax was a vicious one. The origin of this tax was based upon the great prosperity of the coal trade in 1900 and the year before that date, and had it not been for the abnormal prosperity of the coal trade during those years this tax would not have been imposed. That being the origin of the tax, it would have been much fairer if the tax had been placed upon all the coal raised. He would deal with Cardiff and Swansea particularly. The Chancellor of the Exchequer if he condescended to go into the details would see that the western portion of the South Wales district had been very much affected by this coal tax, Cardiff not so much as other parts perhaps. It had already been pointed out that Cardiff had a monopoly of the best steam coal in the world, and it was not so badly hit as the Swansea district. There was some coal in the Swansea district which was exported to a considerable extent; but the coal exported from Swansea (including Neath, Port Talbot, and other places) was not of the same class as the Cardiff coal. It was very soft coal, comparatively speaking, and when worked through and through produced on the average about 35 per cent. of large and about 65 per cent. of small. The market for Swansea coal had been chiefly in France, Belgium, and Holland, and that market had been carried on on the principle of the through and through market, that was that the large coal was not separated from the small. Upon the through and through principle a reasonable price was very often obtained in France and adjacent countries. What had been the result of this tax in the Swansea district? Inasmuch as a tax of 1s. per ton had been put upon this class of coal it had been found impossible to carry on the through and through trade, and now screening was necessary, which gave 30 per cent. of large coal as against 70 per cent. of small. Consequently it did not pay their customers in France to take this large percentage of small coal when they had to pay a tax of 1s. per ton on the whole of the coal. The result was that the market for the large coal had been restricted, and a tremendous amount of small coal was left unprofitably on the hands of the producer. As a rule that small coal could be sold at prices varying from 6s. 3d. to 6s. 9d. per ton, but if that coal was exported they would have to pay a tax of 1s. per ton. The result was that if 6s. 6d. was the price, the producer here had to pay 1s. on it, and thus was only able to get 5s. 6d. after deducting the duty. Therefore, instead of having the natural commercial price operating on the price of coal they had a fictitious artificial price put upon it, and that coal had to be sold at 6s. The effect of this tax had been largely to upset that trade, and coal which should have been sold at a higher price had to be sold at 6s. and less, in order to escape the tax. The profit of 3d. or 6d. on such coal might make all the difference between maintaining a profitable colliery and causing it to be shut up.

This tax injured local trade and the miners had had to suffer. They had not enjoyed that increase in trade which they had a right to expect in competition with foreign countries. They were seeing for the first time what used to be their markets abroad occupied by foreign competitors. They had evidence of collieries having been closed up; of exports that had declined owing to the loss of large contracts which South Wales people would have got but for the imposition of this tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he was not satisfied that local trade had been injuriously affected, but he would remind the right hon. Gentleman that those who gave evidence before the Royal Commission all declared that the tax prejudicially affected the coal trade in their districts. He had received a letter showing the immediate effect of this tax in Swansea, how injuriously it had operated and how it had redounded to the advantage of their foreign competitors. The letter stated that—

> "Immediately the tax of 1s. per ton was imposed, the Westphalian Syndicate, aided by an agent thoroughly versed in the Welsh trade, and who had formerly represented for many years a South Wales exporting firm, set about in earnest to displace our coal in the North French and Bay ports, and after the pre-Budget contracts were terminated we were compelled, under most unequal conditions, to compete against this importation of German coal. Saddled as we were by this impost of 1s. we found that we were supplanted in all quarters—the difference in nine cases out of ten in favour of the Germans being

Mr. Samuel Evans.

exactly represented by the amount of the tax. To cite an isolated case, the Lazare Weiller Copper Works at Havre, which took their supplies exclusively from this district up to September, 1901, turned their attention to German through coal on account of the advantage in price, and since that date they have not taken one pound of our coal. The loss of this works alone represents a tonnage of at least 70,000 tons. I might enumerate *ad infinitum*, but it can be said, without fear of contradiction, that the hold which the Westphalian Syndicate has obtained in the North French and Bay ports is a serious set-back to the trade of our port."

The writer further stated—

"I have just completed a trip in France extending over two months. I have failed to sell a pound of through coal. It was impossible to oust the Germans from our former preserves, the shilling duty barring the way."

That was chapter and verse. Evidence of that kind had been given before the Royal Commission. Although taking ports generally there had been an increase, the exports of coal from the Swansea district showed a diminution of 100,000 tons. Therefore the argument in favour of Swansea being the victim of this tax was a very strong one. In 1901 the exports of coal from Germany to France were 1,564,000 tons; in 1902, 1,718,000 tons; and in 1903 2,065,000 tons. That represented the trade which Germany had captured from South Wales.

He would now give the figures of the progressive increase in the German exports of coal, coke, and fuel by sea, which were very appropriate, bearing in mind the decreases which had taken place in the exports from our own ports. These figures were, 1901, 5,710 tons; 1902, 242,893; and 1903, 630,499 tons. A comparison of the ports to which our coal used to go would show clearly how Germany had collared our markets. He would quote the shipments of German coal to five typical ports—

	1901	1902	1903
Caen - - -	None	8,614	50,000
Bayonne -	None	35,670	60,000
Rouen - -	None	10,090	94,390
Marseilles - -	None	28,222	115,241
Nantes - -	None	57,000	133,000

Those were five ports to which our coal used to go in large quantities. He had shown that whilst the exports of coal from the Swansea district had decreased, the German exports to each of the places he had quoted had increased considerably. The Chancellor of the Exchequer quoted the other day a report made by the Consul at Nantes in favour of his view that the coal duty was paid by the customer and not by the seller. He should like to give to the House a few figures showing the export trade to the town of Nantes. Since the imposition of the tax the import of British coal to Nantes had decreased as follows—

	Tons
1900 - - - -	1,521,966
1901 - - - -	1,459,250
1902 - - - -	1,130,048
1903 - - - -	1,098,196

It was clear from these facts that this tax was unfair to those particular districts he had mentioned. The Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to consider this matter much more seriously in view of the particular districts affected—not merely taking a general view of the whole trade—and the time had come, or would come very soon, they hoped, for the repeal of the duty altogether. If that could not be done, the next best thing would be to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make some difference in the amount of duty, which ought to be raised upon coal in proportion to its quality and value. He had already, on a previous Amendment, quoted from a speech by the right hon. Member for Croydon when Chancellor of the Exchequer to the effect that if this tax were to be made a permanent tax, regard ought to be had to the question whether it would not be fair to make a difference between the good and the inferior classes of coal. He thought it had now been shown beyond question that the industry in the Swansea district had been affected very badly by the tax, and would be affected still more in the future.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) said they had good evidence that the export of coal from this country had been checked. Since the tax was put on the trade, its original elasticity had been broken, and it no longer continued to expand as it had done in previous years. That was what they contended was one of the great evils of the tax. It tended to check and maim the trade of this country, and it had done that in a very significant way in every coal district throughout the land. Among the miners there had been a very strong feeling against the imposition of that tax. When it was first proposed he was surprised to find in a Midland county like Derbyshire that the feeling was as great as in other parts of the country which were exporting centres. But the coal-mining industry in this country was a solid industry, the workmen were solid in all matters connected with their trade. They took an intelligent interest in it, and they saw more than any of the Members who favoured the tax that this impost put on a section of the trade would in the end be a serious injury to the whole trade. It was a vicious tax in the beginning because it selected one particular trade of the country for attack. The exceptional prosperity of that trade at the time was a very bad reason for putting a tax on it. They found now that the effect of the tax had extended to the whole of the coal districts of England, for in the exporting districts the coal was still being brought to the surface, but, instead of being exported, it came into the home market and so affected the general trade throughout the country. In consequence there had been a fall in the wages of the workers, so that there was a general diminution of prosperity, not only in the exporting districts, but throughout the coal-producing areas of the country. The hon. Member for Mid-Glamorganshire had referred to the export of coal to certain French ports. There were some sixteen ports on the littoral of France which used to take coal from this country. They sent their vessels there continually before this tax was imposed, and they had practically a monopoly of that trade. That state of things enabled those ships to be profitably employed because there were only four out of those sixteen ports in which the Germans competed. What was the state of affairs now? By this tax the whole of the South Wales trade to those ports had been destroyed and the Germans had built up a trade there in consequence. They could not have a more striking instance of the injurious effect of a tax than that.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he observed that it was not his own financial methods to which hon. Members opposite objected. But he thought there was no tax which had been imposed by his hon. friend the Member for Bristol or continued by his right hon. friend the Member for Croydon which had not been objected to by the critics on the other side of the House. How would the revenue of the country be derived if those critics had their way? [AN HON. MEMBER: Put a penny on the income-tax.] The hon. Member had answered the question, and that was the explanation. For every tax they took off they would put a penny on the income-tax. He would not say whether that would be just or fair to the income-tax payer. As to the coal tax, he did not know that he could add very much to what he had already said. Some time ago he received an influential deputation representing the trade in all its branches, and he made to them an answer in considerable detail. The other day they spent four hours and a half in discussing this tax, and it was strongly and earnestly opposed by the miners' representatives in that House. It was greatly to the credit of those hon. Gentleman and to the House of Commons that after so prolonged a sitting they were able to discuss this question with so much freshness and clearness. The contention of hon. Gentlemen opposite was that if the markets were to be kept the price of coal must be lowered. But it was clear that, if the foreigner was paying the tax and he must be allowed to have his coal cheaper, there was some contradiction in the argument that the tax fell on the home producer and the home worker. There was not much value in dealing with a particular source of supply. The sound view was to treat the trade as a whole, and in this case the facts were not so unsatisfactory as hon. Members believed. The export of coal had continued to increase. Our trade had been larger than ever before. But as prices fell it must be clear that a greater proportion of the coal must be below the 6s. limit. It was not fair to compare the coal above 6s. now with the export of coal above 6s. in the year when the tax was imposed and to assume that all the coal within the dutiable limit in the first period was still within the dutiable limit now.

It was said that he had no right to include bunker coal in his statement. Why not? At the time when the tax was imposed it was stated that it would become the interest of shipowners to take a larger amount of bunker coal than they had done in previous years. Formerly a ship which now took coal for a round voyage took coal only for the outward voyage and refilled her bunkers at her destination. Now the vessel gave the greater part of her space to bunkers and carried coal for the whole run of the voyage. Thus the quantity of coal was transferred automatically from the heading of "exports" to the heading of "bunkers." The returns were vitiated to that extent for the purposes of comparison by this change. The export of bunkers had increased between 1900 and 1903 by over 5,000,000 tons, or 43 per cent. The increase of tonnage clearing outwards had increased by 11·5 per cent., and the increase of bunkers had been 31·5 per cent. greater than the increase of tonnage cleared out. Roughly, therefore, it might be taken that the portion of coal which before the tax was imposed appeared as export now appeared as bunkers. To exclude the bunkers from the effect of the tax on exports would therefore be misleading.

There was no doubt that German competition had developed enormously. It was due in part to the care and skill with which the Germans prepared their coal for the market, and in part to the development of water communication between Germany and certain markets which had taken place in recent years. But had Germany in this question of coal shot so far ahead of us? Our excess of exports over imports in 1903 was greater than that of 1900 by more than 5,000,000 tons, and than that of 1902 by more than 3,000,000 tons. The German excess of 1903 was greater than that of 1900 by 3,500,000 tons, and than that of 1902 by 1,400,000 tons. In certain kinds of coal we now had to face a severer competition than we had been accustomed to in the past; but in spite of that our exports had actually increased by a greater amount than the exports of our most formidable competitors. [Cries of "What is the ratio?"] He expected that question. He had been a student of the fiscal controversy, though he had not taken a large part in it; and he noticed that whenever a fiscal reformer quoted a percentage increase of our trade he was told that it was a fallacious thing to do; the percentage increase in our enormous trade must be less than that on the smaller trade of our competitors. He would drop percentages, therefore. Our excess of exports over imports in 1903 was 63,500,000 tons, and that of Germany was 13,500,000 tons. By the aid of later figures he was now able to make some comparisons between the first five months of this year and the first five months of 1902 and 1903. In the first five months of 1904 we exported 2,288,000 tons of coal to Germany, or 40,000 tons more than in the same period of 1903, and 150,000 tons more than that of 1902. To Holland we exported 357,000 tons in the first five months of 1904, or nearly 100,000 tons more than in the same period of 1903, and 64,000 tons more than that of 1902. To Belgium the export had also increased. To France—our "vanishing market"—our exports had decreased from 2,948,000 tons in the first five months of 1902 to 2,907,000 tons in the same period of 1903, and increased again to 2,915,000 tons in that of the present year. These were rather striking figures. They ought to make hon. Gentlemen pause before asserting that the coal tax alone was responsible for everything that went wrong with the coal trade.

MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil) said that to ascertain the effect of the duty it was necessary to make comparisons with years before the duty came into operation.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the argument put forward was that our markets were vanishing markets, but as a rule vanishing markets did not get bigger as years went by. If he was able to show that they were now selling more coal than they were selling before the tax was imposed he thought he was showing that our markets were not vanishing.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) asked the right hon. Gentleman if he could tell the House how the increase since the tax was imposed compared with the average rate of increase for the years before the tax was imposed.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was sorry that he was not able to furnish the hon. Member with those figures. The percentage of our exports to the total production of coal was greater last year than in any previous year. In 1890 the percentage was 21·29; in 1895, 22·62; in 1900, 25·94; in 1902, 26·6; and in 1903, 27·7. If the tax had been fatal to our industry one would not expect to see that part of the industry which was affected by the tax show a greater ratio of growth than that part of the industry which was not affected. But he did not close his mind to the new material which the Government would shortly have. That should have most serious consideration, and the Government must, of course, watch the effect of this tax on so great an industry with particular care.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil) said that this tax was wrong in principle and vicious in incidence. The export trade had only been maintained by the wages of the miners being reduced to the extent of the burden of the tax, which should never have been resorted to unless every other method of taxation had been exhausted. He would not labour the general argument beyond saying that if t was indispensable that £2,000,000 a year should be extracted by this coal tax for the national finances then it ought to be applied as a general tax of one penny or twopence per ton upon all coal raised and upon royalties and profits, and it should not be imposed, as the present tax was imposed, upon the wages of the working colliers. The right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had put forward a strong argument in support of the tax by the assertion that the general export of coal had not decreased since this tax was applied. Assuming that to be the case it was only stating half the truth. The point of view which he wished to impress upon the House and upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that the export trade was only being maintained by the wages of the colliers being reduced to the extent of the burden of this tax and that was a very serious matter. Upon this subject it was just as well to take the opinion of men on the spot, and in order to show how this tax hampered the operations of British coal exporters he would remind the House that Consul Johnson last year reported from Amsterdam that the total importation of British coal again showed a decrease as compared with the year 1902, and he said that the exertions made by the Westphalian Syndicate to monopolise the Dutch market and to create an export trade for German coal had been unremitting and very successful. He further stated that if this duty was only lowered by 6d. per ton the German coal would not be able to compete with English coal. In these days when we heard so much about dumping we should be careful not to give the foreigner any undue advantage over the home competitor.

He desired in this connection to deal with the coalfields of Scotland. There was pending just now a very serious dispute in the coal trade which could be traced almost directly to the operation of the export duty on coal. The inspector for the East of Scotland had called attention to the fact that trade had been depressed, that employment had not been regular, that wages had been reduced, and that certain mines were in danger of being closed. The exports of coal from Scotland for the first three months of this year, according to the figures supplied by the Chancellor of Exchequer, as compared with the opening three months of 1903, showed a decrease of 64,000 tons. There was no doubt that that was largely due to the operation of the shilling duty. Apart from that, the working of the tax had had a direct bearing on the wages of the Scottish miners, and a reflex bearing on the wages of miners all over the kingdom which only those who had studied the matter were able to understand. In reply to a Question put by his hon. friend and colleague in the representation of Merthyr Tydvil, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the quantity of coal exported of value exceeding 5s. and not exceeding 6s. per ton was 944,413 tons; and that the coal exported exceeding 7s. in value and not exceeding 8s. was 707,897 tons. He asked the Committee to observe that under 5s. and over 7s. per ton the exports of coal ran in the neighbourhood of 1,000,000 tons for these three months, but the exports between 6s. and 7s. per ton were only 88,597 tons. What was the explanation? There was no duty paid on coal which did not exceed 6s. per ton value, and the exporter of coal found it cheaper to accept 5s. 11d. per ton for coal exported than it would be to accept 6s. 6d., because in the one case he escaped duty, and in the other he would have to pay it. It so happened that 6s. 6d. was just about the normal export price paid for Scotch coal, and so the working of the duty, so far as the Scotch coal trade was concerned, had been the direct cause of bringing the export price of coal down 1s. per ton below what the actual working of the market would justify. He was sure this argument would carry weight with the House, as the whole of the Scotch coal trade was on the eve of one of those crises which men of all Parties united in deploring. For a number of years there had been an agreement for the regulation of wages, and the minimum wage agreed upon had been 5s. 6d. per day. In view of the conditions of a miner's life no one would say that that was an exorbitant wage. But the average number of days worked of late had been only four and a half per week, so that the present earnings of the Scotch miners were less than 25s. per week. Employers now found that, largely through the operation of this tax, they were unable to continue paying even 25s. per week and that they must abandon the minimum agreed upon. Therefore the direct outcome of the operation of this tax, so far as the Scotch collier was concerned, was to precipitate what would probably prove to be a long and bitter trade dispute, impoverishing between 60,000 and 70,000 families, and dislocating the entire trade of one of our great coal exporting districts.

He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would consider the fresh evidence which had been adduced in the course of this debate, or which might come to him throught other channels, and he would come to the conclusion that a tax which had the effects he had indicated was not one that should be continued, or which could be defended. He believed the tax was wrong in principle and injurious in its application. It was imposed as a war tax, and, the war being over, it should now disappear. If one class of people were less imbued with the war fever than another they were the miners of the country. He owed his seat to the fact that the miners in the constituency which he represented were so opposed to the war policy that they rejected a candidate who was in favour of it, and returned him because he was opposed to the war. It was doubly hard that men who did not believe in the war should be specially penalised in paying for the war and its consequences. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would at the earliest possible moment remove the tax.

*SIR THOMAS WRIGHTSON (St. Pancras, E.) said this was a tax on only a portion of the coal-mining industry. He believed the coal-owners were prepared to be taxed at a time when trade was prosperous, but the people of the exporting districts felt aggrieved that they should be selected to bear the whole tax. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol introduced the tax one of the chief reasons he gave for it was that it would prevent the undue exportation of coal, and retain the coal measures of the country for the purpose of our industries at home in future years. The right hon. Gentleman was entirely erroneous in that for instead of a decrease in the quantity exported there had been a considerable increase. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer when he received a deputation representing the coal trade gave as a chief argument in favour of retaining the tax that the exports had largely increased. The right hon. Gentleman argued from this fact that the trade was prosperous. There was more to consider in this question than quantity. Profits were now much less than at the time the tax was imposed, and many collieries were now losing money. The fact that exports had increased in volume could not be taken as evidence of prosperity. Everyone knew that if they did not, whether in manufacturing or mining, work up to their full capacity they were not working at the cheapest rates, and the fact was that prices had been falling ever since the tax was put on. He did not by any means attribute that entirely to the tax, but as soon as a coal-owner found that prices were going down the only thing he could do to save a loss was to produce the largest quantity possible, so as to diminish his cost. The increase in quantity exported, instead of showing a growth in the prosperity of the trade, showed exactly the reverse. It proved indisputably that masters and men were doing their utmost to maintain profits and wages by the largely increased quantity. That was the reason why the predictions made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, had proved to be erroneous. He hoped the present Chancellor of the Exchequer would give this matter his most careful consideration.

*Mr. BEAUMONT (Northumberland, Hexham) supported the new clause moved by the hon. Member for the Barnsley Division. The case against the tax, he said, grew stronger every year. The tax was originally proposed when the coal trade was particularly good, and it was thought that it would be a nice source of revenue. He had always maintained that this was an indirect way of taxing coal-owners more heavily than other classes, being a sort of graduated income-tax. If a graduated income-tax was proposed, it would not be on his side of the House that it would be opposed, as had been shown in recent debates. It had been proved over and over again that since the tax was imposed it had had an injurious effect on all connected with coal-mining operations. Coal-owners' profits had been reduced, the wages of miners had been lowered, and shipping had been seriously affected. Competition with foreign coal producers was now much keener than formerly, and that made it very difficult for this country to regain the position it had held. In view of what had taken place in regard to tariff reform proposals, they could not but look upon this as a protective tax, and from that point of view he regarded the continuance of it with great suspicion. It gave a bounty to the foreigner. It was argued by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, and especially by the President of the Board of Trade, at the time the tax was imposed that it would restrict the export of coal and enable us to husband our resources for our own purposes. It had always struck him that that was an absurd argument. Even although the export of coal were to be restricted by this tax by a few hundred thousand tons a year, it could not be seriously contended that this diminution would greatly prolong the life of the coal fields. As a matter of fact, it had not had the effect of restricting exports, because the Chancellor of the Exchequer now defended the tax on the grounds that in 1903 we exported more coal than in any previous year, so that the argument which was used when the tax was first proposed fell to the ground. From every point of view this was a most mischievous tax, and, as it had not fulfilled the expectations which were held out, the case against it was unanswerable. If the tax could not be abolished this year he was glad the Chancellor of the Exchequer had an open mind on the subject. He felt confident that if the present Government stuck to office much longer their mind would become more open still. The Government would not be able to resist the outcry from all classes concerned against the tax, and if only in view of expediency, when face to face with a general election, they would have very soon to withdraw the tax.

Mr. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) associated himself with what had already been said as to the hardship this tax imposed on Northumberland and Durham and the northern coalfields generally. He derived some encouragement from what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said as to the modifying of the tax, or the removing of it altogether. This tax introduced a principle which was altogether novel and it would require strong arguments on the part of the Government to maintain it. He knew of no export duty which had been imposed either by this or any other country in modern times except in respect of an absolute monopoly. Although the steam coal of South Wales might justify the tax on that ground the coal from the Northumberland and Durham coalfields had to meet keen competition and could not afford to pay an export duty. What he wanted to draw attention to was the deplorable fact—they could not complain of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—that the members of the Government were not usually present to hear the arguments advanced from the comparatively humble Members of the House against this tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had advanced the plausible argument that since the tax was imposed the exports had gone up. Undoubtedly there had been an increase in the export of bunker and non-bunker coal, but what had been the ratio? The ratio of increase even had not been maintained. For the ten years 1890–1900 the average rate of increase was 1,500,000 tons per annum. The ratio of increase since the tax was imposed was only 138,000 tons. Yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer played with figures, and told them that the exports of coal had been increasing since the imposition of the tax. The figures given by the right hon. Gentleman were illusory, while figures like those he had quoted showed that there had been a decrease in the ratio.

He also complained that the tax pressed very heavily upon a certain limited section of the coal trade. Of the total amount of revenue received from the tax, which was about £2,300,000, no less than £583,000, or between one-fifth and one-fourth, was collected from Northumberland. Surely that was not an equitable basis of taxation? The First Lord of the Treasury in dealing with the corn tax said that the great objection to it was that it pressed with exceptional hardness upon farmers and that, therefore, was what strongly moved him in removing the tax. Surely he might use that as a parallel and say to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "Here is a tax that falls on one limited section of the coal-exporting districts of England, and presses to the extent of a fourth or a fifth on the people of Northumberland." The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that he would be disposed to consider the tax. If they showed the right hon. Gentleman that the ratio increase in the export of coal had fallen off, and that the tax pressed on a limited area of the country, they surely had been able to establish two of the most fatal objections to any kind of taxation.

What was the average realised price of coal? We had been obliged through the competition of foreign countries to reduce the price of our export coal. About eight-tenths of the Northumberland coal was exported. In 1901, before the imposition of the tax, the average realised price of this coal was 11s. 2d. per ton. This year the average realised price was only 6s. 3d. per ton. Wages, as well as prices, had been injuriously affected. In 1900 the wages paid to the miners were 61 per cent. above the standard of 1879; they were now only 18 and a fraction above that standard. Northumbrian coal went to all parts of the world, but a very large proportion of it went to Holland, France, and Belgium. The gravamen of their complaint was that by the imposition of this tax the Government had increased the geographical area over which German coal-owners were able to send their coal and compete successfully with the coal-owners of this country. It was obvious that this 1s. duty increased the area of successful competition. He found, for instance, that from the port of Blyth the export of coal to Germany, Holland, and Belgium, which was the area of competition, fell from 700,000 tons in 1902 to 500,000 tons in 1903; and he was informed by people of great authority that that decreased exportation was entirely due to the incidence of this tax, and to the increase of successful competition in Germany, Holland, and Belgium. It was not for the Opposition to suggest an alternative to the coal tax, but his hon. friend the Member for Merthyr Tydvil pointed to a tax on mining royalties as an alternative. If the facts and the reasons which had been adduced were inimical to the principle of this tax, and showed that it was inequitable in its operation, that it was slowly, but none the less seriously, affecting the coal trade in the North of England, and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer professed an open mind on this question, then the right hon. Gentleman, he hoped, would see his way to remove this tax, which brought in a small proportion of revenue, and which was felt as a serious grievance by an industry which was little able to bear this burden.

MR. COMPTON RICKETT (Scarborough) said he wished to touch on one or two points which might have been overlooked. The unfairness of the tax had been already referred to, but at the back of that apparent unfairness lay the idea that we should retain in this country as much as possible of the steam coal of Wales, more particularly for war purposes. If that coal was exported in too great quantities the Admiralty might feel the want of it on some future occasion. But he would point out that it was unfair to tax one set of coal proprietors and one group of minerals for the good of the whole country. The logical thing would be to secure a portion of the coal district in South Wales for national purposes, and retain it as a reserve for the use of the Admiralty. The incidence of this tax was very partial; in favour of one part of the trade and against another part of it. A great deal of coal in South Wales was sent 10,000 miles away, and the tax, the freight, and cost of the coal often brought up the selling price to 40s. or 45s. per ton delivered to the ports of India and South America. A tax of 1s. per ton meant a very different percentage on coal from Northumberland, Durham, and Scotland, which was sent across the narrow seas and delivered in Hamburg. Therefore, the coal trade in the North-east of England and of Scotland felt the tax to a much greater extent than the trade in South Wales. The coal in the North-east of England was by no means special, but came nearer in quality to that of the North of Europe than did that of South Wales. That was a monopoly, unique in the world, smokeless, giving the largest amount of steam power, and occupying the smallest amount of cubic space. It had to be remembered that when the great boom in coal died away freights fell, and the lowering of the freights enabled the coal-owners in the North of England and Yorkshire to maintain their foreign trade for some months beyond the general fall in price. But when freights reached a point which became unprofitable, shipowners laid up their ships, and the export trade fell off. Consequently, the price of coal was lowered all round. The effect had been to throw more coal into the home market, and the coal-owners of Yorkshire and Derbyshire began to feel the stress. As the price approached the line of exemption it fell rapidly below it. This, reducing the average selling price, tended to depress the miners' wages. He was not pretending for one moment that the export trade wholly determined the price of coal. The price of coal was regulated to a large extent by the iron market. When the iron trade was active a larger amount of coal was engrossed by it, but when the iron trade fell off a larger quantity of coal was set free for export. He was quite sure that it would have been a wiser thing to have put 1d. on the whole trade, instead of selecting one branch of the trade for heavy taxation.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN appealed to the House to bring the discussion to a close.

MR. FENWICK said he would not take up the time of the House for more than a couple of minutes. He admitted, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the coal exports and the number of persons employed in the trade were greater last year than in the previous year. The implication of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that they, therefore, could not be so badly off as they pretended to be. But he would like to remind the right hon. Gentleman that he admitted in his speech the other night that, so far as the north-eastern ports were concerned, there was practically no increase. That meant that with the natural increase of population there was an increase in the number employed in the mines, and there was practically a stagnant industry. Although the export trade had been greater last year than the year before, the average rate of progress had not been maintained since the imposition of the tax. For ten years prior to the imposition of the tax, the average annual rate of increase of exports, as a whole, was over 1,500,000 tons; but since the imposition of the tax that rate of development had been very seriously checked. During the three years which had elapsed since the imposition of the tax the average annual increase, instead of being 1,500,000 tons was only 120,000 tons. If the average rate of increase of exports was not maintained, and if there was an increase in the number of persons employed, they were bound to find themselves in the end in a very much worse position than they were previously.

SIR CHARLES MCLAREN (Leicestershire, Bosworth) said he hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he had the opportunity of introducing the Budget next year, would, after taking counsel with those who understood the coal and export trade, see his way to dispense with this tax. A great many ingenious figures, no doubt prepared for him, had been used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but with those who knew the trade and the grievances under which they suffered, these figures carried very little weight. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the apparent decrease in the exports of small coal was not real, because bunker coal was taken to a large extent for the coal that was formerly exported. If that were so, it was striking at the advantage which the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to derive from this tax, and in the second place, it was striking at the recognised advantage to the shipping trade. Before the tax was imposed, an amount of coal was exported in slow ships to Port Said and other coaling stations where merchant ships refilled their bunkers. Now, instead of filling up their cargo space, they took coal to keep them going throughout the whole voyage, and consequently the merchants who had these depots abroad were diminishing their stocks. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that our exports were increasing, which was true; but the right hon. Gentleman forgot that the development of our collieries was also increasing. Every year hundreds of thousands of pounds were being expended in developing new sinkings, and the coal produced from these new collieries went abroad. If they were to reckon percentages, regard must be had to the increased means they had of sending out coal from the best collieries, and to the fact that more would have been exported but for the coal tax. It was true that the exports from the Welsh and the Tyne ports had increased, but there was no increase at all from the Humber ports. That meant that the collieries of Yorkshire, Leicestershire, and Derbyshire had been arrested in their normal increase of output. Owing to the long railway carriage to the seaboard, these collieries were unable to compete with those close to the sea. That reacted on all classes of coal; and if the right hon. Gentleman went down to Lancashire and Yorkshire he would find many men idle, all because the coal tax had throttled the coal trade. This was a working-man's question.

It had been put forward by the right hon. Gentleman that the State ought to assist the trade of the country, but here was a tax on a manufactured article, which was depriving a large number of the most industrious class in the community of their trade, and which was giving an advantage to German and Belgium miners. He would give a concrete example. Some years ago a firm with which he was connected sold 20,000 tons of coal to a French railway; the next year they sold 40,000 tons; and the year before the tax was imposed 60,000 tons. That was good trade. It was a trade which took them years to work up. But the next year, after the coal tax was imposed, they found it impossible to compete with the German coal-owners, who were able to sell their coal at a franc per ton less than the British. There was no chance of getting that trade back again as long as the coal tax was imposed. This was a far more important discussion than any question of tariffs or protective duties. A suggestion had been thrown out that the tax might be put on in a less injurious manner than at present. He agreed with that. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer put a tax of 2d. per ton on coal all round, that would hardly be felt, and would certainly be free from the unfairness which had been so ably described by his hon. friends whose particular counties were closely affected by the existing tax. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would take care that this blot on our fiscal system would be remedied next year.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 142; Noes, 197. (Division List No. 270.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.
Allen, Charles P.
Ambrose, Robert
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Benn, John Williams
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark
Cremer William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. EC(SAndrw'sBghs.
Emmott, Alfred
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmund
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Harcourt, RtHnSirW(Monm'th
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hn. Charles H.
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C.E.H. (Bristol, E.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Jacoby, James Alfred
Jones, DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
Leese, SirJoseph F. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Lloyd-George, David.
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M‘Hugh, Patrick A.
M‘Kean, John
M‘Kenna, Reginald
M‘Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Mooney, John J.
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
O'Brien, Kendal(TipperaryMid.
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N.
O‘Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Plummer, Sir Walter R.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Redmond, John E. (Waterford
Rickett, J. Compton
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Schwann, Charles E.
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David.
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spencer, RtHn. C. R. (Northants
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, JohnLawson(Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Wason, JohnCathcart (Orkney)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George(York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Young, Samuel

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, AugustusHenry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. SirH.
Bailey, James (Walworth
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A.J. (Manch'r.
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bathurst, Hn. Allen Benjamin
Beckett, Ernest William
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur

Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Campbell, Rt.Hn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell,J.H.M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, RtHnJ.A(Worc.)
Chamberlayne, T.(S'thampton)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down North)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Cross, Herb. Shepherd(Bolton)
Crossley. Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Cust, Henry John C.
Davenport, William Bromley
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, SirFredDixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Doxford, Sir William Theodore
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edw. Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S. W.)
Gardner, Ernest
Gore, Hon. S.F.Ormsby
Goschen, Hon. George Joachim
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Grenfell, William Henry
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath,Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.
Helder, Augustus
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James H. Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jessel,. Capt. Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T.(Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson,JohnGrant(Yorks.N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol,S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, R. J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(EdinburghW
Manners, Lord Cecil
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,Rt.Hn.SirH.E.(Wigt'n
Maxwell, W.J. H.(Dumfriesshh.)
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Rt. Hn. Sir Frederick G
Mitchell, William (Burnley)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William
Morrell, George Herbert
Morrison, James Archibald
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Murray, RtHnA.Graham(Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)
Peel, Hn. Wm.RobertWellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pilkington, Colonel Richard
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, Hon.M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos.Myles
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H. (Renfrew
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith,RtHnJ Parker(Lanarks.
Smith, Hn. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'd.Univ.
Thompson,Dr.EC(Monaghan,N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.SirC.E.H.(Sheffield
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E.(Taunt'n
Whiteley,H.(Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, Sir W.H.(Yorks.)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

Tellers for the Noes—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

And, it being half-past Five of the clock, and objection being taken to further proceeding, further proceeding on consideration, as amended, stood adjourned.

Bill, as amended, to be further considered upon Monday next.

TELEGRAPH (CONSTRUCTION) BILL.

Order for Second Reading read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn.

COUNTY OF SUFFOLK (RECOMMITTED) BILL [NOT AMENDED].

Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; to be read the third time upon Monday next.

POST OFFICE BILL.

Read a second time, and committed for Monday next without discussion.

THE SEIZURE OF THE "MALACCA."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs) said he wished to ask the Prime Minister whether he had any information to give to the House in reference to the "Malacca."

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR Manchester, E.): I said that if a Question were asked at the adjournment I would answer it; but I am sorry to say I have no information of an official character to give to the House at the present time.

WHITE LABOUR ON THE RAND.

***MR. REGINALD LUCAS** (Portsmouth) said he wished to ask whether, in view of certain statements made the previous night, the Colonial Secretary was able to say if there had been any diminution in the number of white men employed in the Transvaal since the arrival of the Chinese.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I am informed that in round numbers 1,000 Chinese are at present employed at the Rand mines. Before the war at the Comet Mine 133 white men were working as superintendents. The number went down in consequence of the shortage of native labour to thirty-four. Since the arrival of the Chinese, that number has increased to ninety-six, and the number who it is estimated will be employed when the Chinese are thoroughly familiar with their work will be 143.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): The right hon. Gentleman says in regard to the Comet Mine that the number of white men employed is less than before the war, and that it is going up. But, in answer to a Question the other day, did he not say that a larger number of white men, taking the mines all round, are employed now than before the war, and, therefore, must not the Comet Mine be an exception to the case?

***MR. FLAVIN** (Kerry, N.): Will the right hon. Gentleman say, is it true, as reported in one of the evening papers, that the wives of Chinamen are not allowed to wear their pigtails when landing in South Africa?

Question put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at seventeen minutes before Six o'clock, till Monday next.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 25*th July*, 1904.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13).

The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Bournemouth Corporation (Tramways) Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Barnet District Gas and Water Bill; Thames River Steamboat Service Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bills passed, and returned to the Commons.

Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill; Surrey Commercial Dock Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

TORQUAY TRAMWAYS BILL.

Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments.

LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH: My Lords, I have an Amendment which I shall ask your Lordships to insert in this Bill, and I am afraid it will require some few words of explanation. The history of the matter is this. The Corporation of Torquay, being desirous of having tramways in their town, and objecting on the score of amenity to the system of overhead wires, sought for some other system, and, among others, the system of the Dolter Traction Company was brought before them. This appeared to meet the requirements of the case, and a Bill was therefore promoted, with the consent—which, as your Lordships will remember, is an absolute necessity—of the corporation, and one of the terms upon which this consent was given was that the clause which I now move should be inserted in the Bill, the object of it being to protect from electric action the water and gas pipes of which the corporation are the owners. The original clause as first inserted in the Bill had reference only to the water and gas pipes belonging to the corporation, but when the Bill came before the other House the Committee of that House thought it only right and proper—and I must confess that their action appears to embody substantial justice—that if the pipes belonging to the authority in the town were protected by the clause, the pipes belonging to the gas company should be also protected; and on this understanding, which, as far as I can make out, was mutually agreed to by all parties, the clause was inserted in the other House.

When the Bill came before the Committee of your Lordships' House the matter was again discussed; and finally the chairman of that Committee, my noble friend Lord Hawkesbury, in giving the decision of the Committee, said they were agreed, under the special circumstances of the case, without making it a precedent, to allow this clause, and that he would, on behalf of the Committee, report accordingly to the Lord Chairman. My noble friend the Lord Chairman of Committees—and I do not wish for one moment to say a word against the propriety or even the justice of the action he has taken—struck out the clause from the Bill, and the Bill was reported and now comes to be read a third time without the clause in it which was agreed upon by the two Committees. I do not intend in the least to disguise from your Lordships the fact that I have against me some very weighty authority, although I have every confidence that I shall be able to show to your Lordships that there is a difference in this case. The first authority against me is the Committee of the two Houses which sat in 1893 under the presidency of my noble friend opposite, Viscount Cross, and of whose decision I am bound to say I speak with the greatest respect, not only on account of the fact that the noble Viscount was Chairman of the Committee, but also, perhaps, because I was one of the members of it myself. The decision of this Committee was to this effect. They considered that it would be against public policy, inasmuch as it would hamper invention and hamper enterprise in electric tramway undertakings if the promoters were to be subject to any other liability except that of complying with the regulations from time to time laid down and embodied in the model clauses by the Board of Trade.

I feel bound to point out to your Lordships in what way this particular case does not come under the clause which was arranged by that Joint Committee. The important point in this particular case is that the method adopted by the Dolter Company, their method of electric traction, is one which has never yet been tried in this country. It is a new method, and on that account I contend that the Corporation of Torquay were fully justified in asking of the company that they should give a guarantee to them against loss other than that required by the regulations of the Board of Trade, which were not suited to, and not drawn up for, that particular method of traction. It was a natural precaution on their part, and it did not contravene the object which the Joint Committee had, because it did not prevent the Dolter Company from continuing the promotion of their undertaking, and, therefore, the agreement which was then made was no bar to electric enterprise. It did not in the least interfere with their promoting that tramway in the town of Torquay. I have already mentioned that the corporation had the full power of stopping any action at all, of preventing the promotion of the Bill had they so thought fit, and that this safeguard which they insisted upon being put in was one of the very prominent reasons which induced them to give their consent to the undertaking being started at all. I have, I know, another very weighty authority against me. I refer to the action of your Lordships' House in the case of the Beckenham Bill. In that Bill your Lordships were asked to insert a similar clause in protection, I think it was, of the Crystal Palace Gas Company, and in that case, on the advice of the Chairman of Committees, the Earl of Morley, the House came to the conclusion that the clause had better not be inserted. But in that instance the system which it was proposed to work the tramways on was a very well-known one. It was an overhead system, and one that had been before the Board of Trade, and to which the Board of Trade regulations specially referred; and therefore all the arguments which were adduced before the Joint Committee of 1893, and which had led to their recommendation, had full and ample force.

But in this case, as I have pointed out, the system was an entirely new one. There was no evidence that the regulations of the Board of Trade dealt specially with it, and I contend that the Corporation of Torquay were quite justified in making it a condition of their agreement that this clause should be inserted. I have said that I think the action of my noble friend the Acting Chairman of Committees was quite right and proper. As precedents are rather dangerous things, and as in the words of Lord Hawkesbury, which I have quoted, it was evidently the wish of the Committee—in fact, the wish of both Committees—that this should in no way form a precedent for future Bills, it was very right that the decision as to the insertion of this clause should be left to your Lordships' House. I hope, my Lords, that I have successfully demonstrated that the case is one quite different from the cases which have gone before, and that the insertion of this clause need in no way form a precedent for the future. I hope, therefore, your Lordships will see your way to insert the clause which I now move.

Moved, "to insert as a new clause:—'If at any time it be proved that any injury or damage to any mains, pipes, or apparatus of the corporation or of the Torquay Gas Company shall have resulted from the use of electric current on any of the tramways authorised by this Act, nothing in this Act shall relieve the company from liability to make compensation for such injury or damage.'"—(*Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.*)

*Lord HAWKESBURY: My Lords, as chairman of the Committee to which this Bill was referred I should like to say one or two words as to the reasons why we allowed this clause to stand. As my noble friend has explained, it was one of the conditions made by the Corporation of Torquay—who were evidently most anxious to preserve the beauties of that place—when they gave their consent to this Bill being promoted by the Dolter Company, that this clause should be inserted in the Bill, because, as my noble friend Lord Clifford of Chudleigh has so well explained, the Dolter system of surface traction is an entirely new one, and has not hitherto been tried in this country. The invention was made long after the Joint Committee over which the noble Viscount, Lord Cross, presided eleven year ago sat, and therefore there was some doubt as to whether the clauses upon which the Board of Trade regulations were founded would meet the case and provide compensation in the event of damage by electrolysis. That being the case, the Committee entirely agreed with the opinion formed by the Committee of the Lower House, and decided that the clause should stand. I am not sure whether my noble friend Lord Clifford of Chudleigh explained that it was when the Bill was before the Commons Committee that the addition was made to protect the mains of the gas company in the same way that the gas and water mains which were the property of the corporation were protected. The Committee over which I had the honour to preside felt very strongly that though reluctant to go behind formulated clauses, this was an entirely new departure in underground traction, something entirely new in this country, and, therefore, with the expression which now stands in black and white that it should not be considered a precedent, they decided to pass the clause as it stood. I hope that in the circumstances your Lordships will accept the Amendment and reinstate the clause in the Bill.

*THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Lord BALFOUR of BURLEIGH): My Lords, I am obliged to advise the House not to accept the Amendment which has been moved by the noble Lord opposite. I am bound to confess that the Amendment has been placed before the House in a most temperate and reasonable way, but I think I shall be able to show your Lordships that to insert this clause would be destructive of the precedents which have governed this matter for about eleven years, and that my action in refusing to allow the Bill to be read a third time with the clause in it was the only one I could take in conformity with the almost universal course which this House has adopted in regard to the clause in past Bills. The question is no new one, and the practice has been regarded up to now as pretty well established. The whole question of the injurious affection of the electrolytic action upon gas and water pipes was fully considered by the Joint Committee presided over by my noble friend Lord Cross in 1893, and the result of the labours of that Committee was the model clause which appears in this Bill. The question now is whether this company are merely to be obliged to obey the Board of Trade regulations, or whether they are to give an absolute indemnity against this electrolytic action to two specific owners of gas and water pipes. As far as I understand it, the effect of this electrolytic action is the fusion, and consequently the destruction of metal by the escape of electricity which has travelled out of its proper channel.

The first objection I have to the proposal is that it will put these two bodies—the corporation and the gas company—in a specially favoured position. The clause which the noble Lord opposite is now moving to insert has been put into several Bills in past sessions by Committees of the House of Commons. In the last session of Parliament it was called in question in this House in the case of the Beckenham Bill by my noble friend Lord Stanhope, who I do not see in his place to-day, and it was then struck out on the Third Reading of the Bill by the House as a whole. The noble Earl the Chairman of Committees, Lord Morley, not only concurred in that action, but advised the House, in conjunction with Lord Stanhope, to take it; and he said—I have referred to the speech which he made on that occasion—that he regarded this as a question of some importance, and as a matter of principle. There is no evidence whatever that the regulations made by the Board of Trade for the protection of people who might be injured by electrolytic action are in any way ineffectual and if there was, it is in the power of the Board of Trade to alter these regulations and bring them up to date without any Act of Parliament. The matter has been committed to that Board, and they can take action at once the moment any suspicion of damage is brought to their notice. I am assured by representatives of the Board of Trade whom I have consulted that no such case can be made out, and I have every reason to suppose that the noble Lord who represents the Board of Trade in this House will confirm that statement.

Last year the clause was actually rejected by the House, or taken out of a Bill in which it had been inserted. I think your Lordships will agree with me that in those circumstances I should have been taking a wrong view of my duty if I had not supported the decision of the House and told the promoters and those who had agreed with them that this clause, whether it was an agreed clause or not, must be inserted in the House itself, and that no Committee, and certainly no Chairman of Committees acting alone, would be entitled to allow the clause, however much agreed, to be put into the Bill. As I have said, it is really for the House itself to decide whether it will overrule and make of no effect the decision which it came to last year in the Beckenham case. But I am bound to tell your Lordships that that precedent has been acted upon in several Bills during the present session, some of which have received the Royal Assent, and I venture to suggest to the House, with all respect, that if, therefore, at this late period of the session it goes back upon the decision which it came to last year, it will by inference inflict considerable hardship upon many of those who, believing the matter to be settled, have accepted Bills for driving tramway cars by electric action without this clause As I have said, the Board of Trade regard their regulations as sufficient, and if necessary they can be altered from time to time.

That brings me to one point which I admit does differentiate this case from some of the others which have gone before it. This system which is to be applied in Torquay is, I understand, to be a new system called the Dolter Company's system, but there is no evidence brought forward that it is in any way different in this matter from other systems. As I understand it, it is a mere matter of inference and of dread, and I venture to suggest that that is not a sufficient reason for breaking all the precedents which have governed this subject heretofore and thereby of putting the whole matter again into confusion. It is all very well to say this will not be a precedent. It may not be a precedent for every system of traction, but it will certainly be claimed by those who come to use the Dolter system as a precedent in their case. If you put this clause in in the case of one particular system of traction, you will give that particular system a great advantage over all others, and I think that would be a most unfair and unreasonable thing to do.

It is no use pleading the agreement which has been made between the parties. The agents and those who advised them knew perfectly well—or I am entitled to presume they knew perfectly well—that this clause was contrary to Parliamentary practice, and they ought to have advised their clients that it was not by any means likely that the authorities of the House would allow it to be inserted unless the House itself gave the order. I say that if the House in its wisdom chooses to reverse the decision it came to last year it is acting quite within its right, but if you do that in this case you may just as well abolish the mode clause altogether. The Board of Trade may give Provisional Orders for the working of electric tramways, but they will not insert this or any other similar clause in any of their Orders. Therefore you will have two codes running side by side, one the code which is established when Parliamentary powers are sought, and the other the code of the Board of Trade under the Provisional Order system. The model clause which is in this Bill is general in its application. It applies to anybody who owns pipes or wires underground near those which are used for electric traction. It may be the case that in Torquay it may comprise all owners of pipes and wires, but, as a matter of fact, it is a protective clause for special petitioners; and on that ground, as well as the other grounds that I have stated, I hope the House will not go back on the decision of last year.

Lord WOLVERTON: My Lords, on behalf of the Board of Trade I am anxious to associate myself with the remarks that have just fallen from the noble Lord the Chairman of Committees. There are two forms of procedure in your Lordships' House. Promoters can either proceed by a Private Bill as in this case, which is subject to the authority of the Chairman of Committees, or they may proceed by

Provisional Order, which is subject to the consent of the Board of Trade. If this scheme had been by Provisional Order I should have adopted the same arguments that have been so well and forcibly used by my noble friend the Chairman of Committees. In order to assure the House, I may inform your Lordships that I have received a letter from the electrical adviser of the Board of Trade to the effect that he is familiar with the Dolter system, and is of opinion that the usual protective regulations of the Board of Trade are quite applicable and will be effective, as they are in regard to a similar system which has been for some time in use at Wolverhampton, and the electric conditions of which resemble those of the Dolter system. I therefore hope your Lordships will reject the Amendment.

VISCOUNT CROSS: My Lords, as chairman of the Joint Committee who had to consider this matter, I may say that we went very carefully into the whole question, and with considerable difficulty framed the model clause which has been more than once alluded to in the course of the discussion this evening. We believed that that clause, as drawn, would afford ample protection to all concerned, and I trust your Lordships will reject this Amendment.

LORD NEWTON: My Lords, as it has not infrequently happened to me that in my capacity as Chairman of Private Bill Committees I have had to decide this question, perhaps I may be allowed to say a word or two in support of the course proposed by my noble friend the Chairman of Committees. Nothing is more common, when Bills of this kind are being considered by a Committee, than for the representatives of gas companies to appear, and in heartbroken accents and with tears in their eyes, to point out that unless they get special protection against what is called electrolysis, serious consequences might ensue, though I never knew anybody who could explain exactly what electrolysis was, or the precise injury which it could inflict. The Corporation of Torquay, I presume, have found themselves in the fortunate position of being able to squeeze the promoters of this Bill, and to obtain this particular clause, and the gas company of Torquay, naturally wishing to obtain the same advantages, went before the Committee, and the Committee, out of generous sympathy for them, gave them the same privilege. Well, in my own case I have always resisted these appeals, because, as has been pointed out, this creates an entirely new precedent, and because it is fairly obvious that gas companies have complete protection from the Board of Trade. I would only venture to add that in my humble opinion it is extremely desirable that in questions of this kind there should be uniformity of procedure on the part of Private Bill Committees. I confess that I have not sufficient confidence in my own judgment to assume that I should be invariably correct in any decision I might give, and I therefore prefer to be guided by a model clause such as in this Bill. I hope this view will commend itself to the House generally.

LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH: My Lords, I only rise for the purpose of an explanation. The noble Lord the Chairman of Committees said there was no evidence adduced with regard to this particular system. I wish to point out that that was naturally so because the clause came up as one which was agreed. The corporation had a doubt as to what danger they were running, and the promoters agreed to insure them against any such danger. While bowing to the opinion of the House as to the inadvisability of not following a fixed plan, I can only respectfully submit that this case was one which was somewhat different from all the others, and that the Corporation of Torquay were justified in endeavouring to protect themselves against a danger which was very possible, if not absolutely certain.

On Question, Amendment disagreed to.

Moved, "That the Bill do pass."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

LEEDS CORPORATION (CONSOLIDATION) BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1^a and referred to the Examiners.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Return, showing the population, valuation, the average assessment levied under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, for the three years, 1900–1901 to 1902–1903, in each parish, and the total raised from each local government district, together with calculations showing the amounts which would be raised from each parish if the total assessment so raised from each local government district were imposed as a district rate upon parishes on the basis of (1) valuation alone, and (2) half on valuation and half on population; and calculations showing the amounts which would be raised from each parish if the charge in respect of interest on and repayment of loans were borne by the respective parishes instead of the district as a whole.

TRADE REPORTS

I. MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.

No. 617. Railway Systems of Brazil.

II. ANNUAL SERIES.

No. 3230. France (Marseilles).
No. 3231. China (Pakhoi).
No. 3232. Russia (Odessa).
No. 3233. Austria-Hungary (Trieste and Lissa).
No. 3234. Spain (Canary Islands).
No. 3235. Turkey (Bagdad).

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PILOTAGE.

Abstract of Returns relating to pilots and pilotage in the United Kingdom (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 33, of session 1904), as furnished by the various pilotage authorities. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

THE DECORATION OF THE PALACE OF WESTMINSTER.

*LORD STANMORE rose to move that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire and report with respect to the unfinished condition of the rooms in the Palace of Westminster appropriated to the service of this House, and their approaches. He said: My Lords, at this period of the session, and in the absence of many of those who would have supported my Motion but who have already left London, I may as well at once say that should the Government oppose the appointment of the Committee for which I am now moving, as I fear they will do, it is not my intention to put your Lordships to the trouble of dividing. On the other hand, should the Government agree to the Motion I fear that even in that case there could be no practical result, because no Committee could sit with any effect during the short remainder of the session.

As I do not intend to press the Motion to a division, and as I feel that even if it were allowed by the Government there would be no practical result this session, I may very naturally be asked, Why do you bring it forward at all? Well, I do so for two reasons—first, because I wish to keep this question alive, to bring it again to the notice of the Government and of your Lordships' House; and, secondly, because until I hear to the contrary I am, of course, bound to hope that the Government will be convinced by what I consider the convincing arguments which I can bring forward. I shall, therefore, briefly move my Motion. I do not know why the Government should oppose the appointment of a Select Committee. By doing so they seem to imply that to grant the Motion for a Committee would be equivalent to giving a species of sanction to some large outlay of expenditure. Not at all. You cannot tell what the Report of that Committee may be. The Government would have a large share in the appointment of the Committee, and its Report might not recommend any expenditure at all.

But there is a question which, I think, does require some consideration, and upon which a Committee could very properly give advice to your Lordships and to the Government. The original scheme of decoration which was intended by the architect of this great Palace, the original scheme for the internal decoration, was an architectural one. That was subsequently overruled, and, after much deliberation, it was determined that the internal decoration of this Palace should not be of an architectural character, but of a pictorial character, and should consist chiefly of paintings and mosaics.

That second course was pursued for a considerable number of years. It was pursued with less vigour after the death of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, but it was still pursued for some years, until a most unfortunate clamour was raised with regard to what was, I think, the last of any large works going on in this House. I refer to the most unfair, most unjust, and utterly unfounded accusation which was brought against the then Chief Commissioner of Works, Sir Henry Layard, that he was interested in the mosaic works ordered here, a charge utterly baseless, but which made some disturbance at the time.

Sir Henry Layard was succeeded in the office of Chief Commissioner by a gentleman who, whatever other merits distinguished him, certainly was not distinguished by any knowledge or love of art; he rather had a contempt and absolute dislike for it. Under his rule, works were suspended, and from that time very little was done in the way of the prosecution of that second scheme. We have got so accustomed to what we see daily that the actual state of things does not very forcibly present itself to our minds. That state of things is this, that the second scheme for the completion of the Palace has been practically suspended, though not put an end to, and the question arises whether that second scheme is, however slowly and with whatever intervals, to be still pursued, or whether it is to be altogether abandoned, and, if abandoned, whether we should return to the original scheme of architectural decoration for the interior of the Palace, or abandon any attempt to go further, and leave things in the state which may now be called provisional, but which then would become permanent.

I know the objections that will probably be urged against the appointment of this Committee. First of all, there will be objections on the assumption that the Committee are going to recommend large works to be undertaken. There will be the statement that these great decorative works are things which may be undertaken by a powerful despotic Government, but are not in harmony with the democratic tendencies of the day. To that assumption I would give a most unqualified denial, and anyone who has been at Washington and knows the sums that have been expended on the adornment of the Capitol will agree with me. Canada, too, has a self-governing and democratic Parliament, and yet the Government buildings there are the finest gothic edifices to be found in North America. Then we may be told that this is a matter which this House must not undertake, and that the House of Commons must be consulted. That is perfectly true when you come to a scheme dealing with the whole of the Palace, but this House is fully entitled to consider by way of a Committee what should be done with the rooms appropriated to its own service, and it has a common right with the House of Commons with regard to the approaches.

I quite admit, supposing the Committee were to recommend any considerable expenditure, and the House and the Government were to adopt the views of the Committee, that it would then probably be desirable to move for the appointment of a Joint Committee of both Houses to consider the matter further. But all I am now asking the House and the Government to do is to appoint a Committee to consider first of all the actual condition in which the building has been left for many years past, with manifestly provisional arrangements everywhere; and, secondly, whether the provisional arrangements, which, I confess, seem to me to constitute somewhat of a scandal, should be allowed to continue for ever as permanent arrangements, whether we should proceed with the scheme which was devised some years ago, or revert to the original scheme of the architect. That is the scope which I should propose for this Committee, and that is what I am desirous of pressing on His Majesty's Government, whether a Committee is appointed or not.

The greatest reason that will be brought against the appointment of this Committee will be the assumption that expense will be recommended, and that the great expense which would be involved in finishing all the decoration of the Palace of Westminster, as intended under the scheme of the Royal Commission, is too vast to be entertained. Now, I think that is really more of a bugbear than a reality. It is quite true that if anyone were to ask that the whole of the decoration of the Palace should be undertaken at once the expense would be enormous and not to be looked at under the present circumstances. But that is not what I am asking. That is not what the Royal Commission originally intended. The course that I am asking His Majesty's Government to consider the advisability of pursuing is this—that they should go on as before, gently, slowly, but consistently and permanently, with the carrying out of the scheme of decoration which is already laid down in the Report of the Royal Commission, and which they will have little difficulty in following.

I do not think we fully appreciate, seeing it every day as we do, how the building looks to a stranger. It has been my fate not infrequently to conduct foreigners over this building, and I have seen them much puzzled and surprised over what they have seen. I am not going to take your Lordships on a pilgrimage through the House, but I will mention one or two instances where wonder is excited. After the visitors have admired Westminster Hall to the full, they come between two empty niches reserved forty years ago for the statues of Marlborough and Wellington, but which are still vacant. They then enter St. Stephen's Hall, and they see there a large number of panels of paper — paper encased in heavy, massive, elaborate, mouldings of stone. A more grotesque conjunction could hardly be imagined. They naturally ask what this means, and are told that these are places for pictures which have never been put there. And in connection with those panels I must tell your Lordships what has been the result of my humble efforts to get them attended to. My noble friend the Chief Commissioner of Works was kind enough to accompany me last year on a pilgrimage to St. Stephen's Hall. We looked at the paper—the dark red paper that then filled these panels; and I pointed out to him the cracks, of which he took most sympathetic notice and the deep abysses of darkness full of cobwebs which were behind them. Knowing the noble Lord's excellent judgment and taste in all matters of art, I felt rejoiced, and I saw from his evident sympathy that the First Commissioner would do something. I anticipated that we should see the beginning of mosaic work. But, alas! for the vanity of human wishes and hopes! A few months later I passed through that hall again, and I saw a number of workmen employed busily replacing that red flock paper, that dirty red flock paper, by a clean green one: that was all. As regards its being clean instead of dirty, it is a decided improvement; but as regards anything else, it is, in my view, decidedly the reverse, because it seems to show that the idea of a paper panel is now stereotyped as a thing intended to continue there for ever.

Lord Stanmore.

The foreigners whom I am conducting over the building go through the Central Hall into the hall out of which the great staircase ascends to the upper regions. Now, in that hall there is a very fine fireplace and chimneypiece. Those are the sort of things that the architect of this Palace did perhaps better than anything else; and it is a fine bit of architecture, But what do we find? We find this fine chimneypiece, or half of it, hidden from the world by a refreshment buffet covered with sandwiches and ginger beer bottles. On ascending the stairs we find ourselves in the hall which was called when it was built the Hall of Poets, and my friends look amazed when they see the name of Shakespeare in large gold letters on the wall, and below them a rather dingy sheet of red paper. They ask in their wonder, "How does this red sheet represent Shakespeare?" Then they see the names of Scott, Byron, and others with similar sheets of paper underneath, and they inquire how these pieces of paper typify these poets. Then it is explained that behind those sheets of paper are entombed frescoes which once adorned these walls, and which contain painted scenes out of the celebrated English poets from Chaucer down to Scott and Byron.

The noble Lord, the First Commissioner of Works, was kind enough to have these screens removed, and I saw the disentombed frescoes. All of them, with two exceptions, are utterly destroyed. About one, the Shakespeare one, there is a difference of opinion. In my opinion, I must say it appeared to be reparable; that is to say, all except one head was fresh and clear and vivid. One head was gone, but I believe that the head could be restored by cutting out the fresco and putting in fresh material. But whether that be so or not, what I protest against is the retrogade movement here displayed. If you cannot go on with the work, however slowly, at least do not go back. Do not in a hall which you have already devoted to works of art change those works of art for mere upholstery, and upholstery of a mean and poor description. If these works of art have perished they should have been replaced by other works of art, and other artists, if those who painted them are dead, should have been commissioned to paint scenes from the poets which that hall was intended to commemorate and honour. With the exception of this Chamber and the library, there is no part of the House which is finished There are great vacant places everywhere, and I cannot see myself that any large sum of money would be necessary to resume the carrying on of the second scheme of decoration. A sum of £1,000 or £2,000 per annum would be enough, proceeding slowly year after year.

I cannot but again call the attention of the Government to the example set them by the City of London. The cloister of the Royal Exchange, like St. Stephen's Hall, is fitted with panels meant for paintings. They proceed just on the slow process that I am recommending, and every year you see another picture added to those in the cloister of the Royal Exchange. Some of them are indifferent, some are good, and there are two or three which are really excellent pictures. They go on in that slow way every year, and the Royal Exchange will be finished, I am afraid, long before even the Central Hall of this Palace has its remaining mosaics put up. Why the nation cannot do for the Palace in which its Legislature assembles that which the merchants of the City of London do for their meeting place, the Royal Exchange, I own I cannot see. I do think this subject is one that merits more attention than it has received. We should not merely go on as we have done because we are accustomed to see the unfinished state of things around us, but consider whether the Palace is to be left permanently unfininshed, to be finished in the way intended in the second scheme, or in the way first intended by its architect.

Moved, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire and report with respect to the unfinished condition of the rooms in the Palace of Westminster appropriated to the service of this House, and their approaches.—(*Lord Stanmore.*)

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Lord WINDSOR): My Lords, I am afraid I cannot give a reply to the noble Lord on the Cross Benches essentially different from that which I gave at the close of last session on a somewhat similar Motion. I hope the noble Lord will not think that I do not sympathise with a very great deal of what we has said on the subject of the decoration of the Palace of Westminster. It would no doubt be extremely desirable if we could cover the walls of our chief public buildings, where so designed to be covered, with splendid mural paintings and appropriate decorations; but very large sums of money are now being spent upon Government buildings and necessary works, and the necessity for economy in our public expenditure is so well known to the House and to the noble Lord that I do not feel able to press upon the Treasury at this particular time the importance of taking up works which have unfortunately come to a standstill, and which, in spite of what the noble Lord has said, must necessarily involve a considerable expenditure of money.

LORD STANMORE: Annual.

*LORD WINDSOR: Yes, I know the noble Lord suggests that the annual expenditure need not be a very large one, and that it might in the process of time enable us to complete to a considerable extent the decorations. With regard to the Motion which the noble Lord has moved for the appointment of a Select Committee, at this period of the session it is impossible for such a Committee to get to work, and in the circumstances I do not think the Government would feel inclined to consent to the proposal, especially when there was little probability of their being able to support the Committee by recommending that the suggestions which they might make should be carried out. Personally, I hope that there may be an opportunity of taking this matter up again, but I cannot tell the noble Lord that at this moment the Government are in a position to consent to such a Committee being appointed. The noble Lord has made some reference to the cleaning operations which have taken place in the Palace during the past year. I would remind him that they were merely in the nature of ordinary cleaning operations, and the substitution of the green paper in St. Stephen's Hall for the very dirty and cracked red paper which was there before was not intended in any way to set a permanent seal of approval upon that as the form of decoration which was ultimately to remain there.

The noble Lord referred to the refreshment bar at the bottom of the main staircase. I should very much like to see more convenient and more appropriate places for the refreshment bars throughout both Houses than are to be found at this moment, but I very much fear that the number of people who come to the Houses of Parliament has now so much increased that the accommodation which the building provides is really inadequate to enable proper provision to be made for many of these services. I am afraid I can hold out no hope to the noble Lord that that refreshment bar can be accommodated elsewhere. I wish it could. One word as regards the frescoes upstairs. Professor Church, who was called in to advise the Office of Works and the Government on the subject, has reported that the condition of these frescoes is really so bad that it would be useless to think of spending money in restoring them. I fear that unless this fresco work, this pictorial wall decoration, can be started afresh, it is no use thinking that the frescoes can any longer see the light of day. I regret that I am unable to give a more satisfactory answer to my noble friend. I certainly do not blame him in any way for having brought the subject before the House, and I sincerely trust that at some future time we may see our way to proceed with the decoration of the Palace.

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I rise to say a few words on this subject. I always feel great sympathy with the noble Lord on the Cross Benches when he brings this matter forward, and I do not wish him to suppose that he is alone in this House in feeling strongly on this matter. I have often thought that the way in which matters connected with pictures and art generally are dealt with in this country is a great reproach. It is only quite lately, although it has been pressed on successive Governments for many years, that an attempt has been made to find a building adequate for the magnificent collection at South Kensington, in which are comprised as fine works of art as are to be found in any museum in the country. In regard to the Palace of Westminster, it does seem a great misfortune that we cannot annually spend a small sum in endeavouring to carry out the pictorial decoration of this House as originally intended. Surely this great country ought to be able to afford some outlay in encouraging art of the best kind in its public buildings, just as much as corporations do in their municipal buildings. At the same time I quite understand that it is impossible at this late period of the session to grant this Committee, and I therefore readily appreciate what was said by the noble Lord the First Commissioner of Works in that respect. I would suggest to my noble friend that if a Committee is to inquire into this subject it ought to be a Joint Committee of both Houses rather than a Committee of your Lordships' House alone. Lord Stanmore referred to the frescoes of the poets, and the First Commissioner of Works, in replying, stated that the best authorities held that they could not be restored. I quite agree with the noble Lord that instead of being obliterated they should be repainted. I cannot believe that art has so deteriorated in England at the present day that some material cannot be found on which frescoes can be painted. I have ventured to say these few words in sympathy with the noble Lord, whom I do not like to see always alone in pressing these matters before the attention of your Lordships; and I trust that at an earlier period of next session the Government may themselves possibly see their way to take some action in this matter.

*__LORD STANMORE__: My Lords, I do not intend to press my Motion to a division, but I wish to thank my noble friend the Leader of the Opposition for what he has said in support of the Motion, and to ask leave to mention to the House one detail which I omitted, and which is, I think, rather instructive. Of the frescoes in the Hall of Poets one, and one only, has survived. It is not one of the best, as by the irony of fate is usually the case, but it might as well have disappeared with the others, for the Office of Works, or whoever is responsible in the matter, has thought fit to put up in front of it a huge and hideous erection, something like a sentry box and something like a sedan chair, which is meant for a telephone station. There is a place for everything, but I submit that the place for a telephone station is not in front of the only surviving fresco that remains in the Hall of Poets. I am sure my noble friend (Lord Windsor) whose taste is excellent will agree with me when I say that it is easy to conceive, if you look at that hall, how a telephone station might be so arranged as to be not only not a disfigurement but an ornament to the place.

On Question, resolved in the negative.

DEAN FOREST BILL.

The Report of Amendments (which stands appointed for this day) put off to Thursday next.

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 25th July, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS

Lytham Improvement Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Lothians Electric Power Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Cardiff Railway Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; an Amendment made; Bill to be read the third time.

Derwent Valley Water Board Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; an Amendment made; Bill to be read the third time.

Great Western Railway Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; Amendments made; Bill to be read the third time.

Leeds Corporation (Consolidation) Bill. As amended, considered. Ordered, That Standing Orders 223and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the third time.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time.

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, without Amendment.

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill. Considered; to be read the third time upon Wednesday.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill [Lords]. As amended, considered; to be read the third time To-morrow.

Electric Lighting (London) (re-committed) Bill. Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; read the third time, and passed.

Prevention of Cruelty to Children (Amendment) Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed for this day.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE THERETO COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, originating in the Lords, and referred on the First Reading thereof, the Standing Orders which are applicable the eto have been complied with, viz. :—Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS (NO STANDING ORDERS APPLICABLE).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in the case of the following Bill, referred on the First Reading thereof, no Standing Orders are applicable, viz. :—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 5) Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill [Lords]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill [Lords]: Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill [Lords]; Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read a second time and committed.

Kirkcaldy Corporation Order Confirmation. Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Kirkcaldy Corporation, ordered to be brought in by the Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Kirkcaldy Corporation Order Confirmation Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order, under the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Kirkcaldy Corporation," presented accordingly; and ordered to be considered upon Wednesday.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill; Arbroath Corporation Water Order Confirmation Bill; Dunfermline District Water Order Confirmation Bill; Melrose District Water Order Confirmation Bill, without Amendment.

Railways (Private Sidings) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill, with an Amendment.

Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill; Dundee, Broughty Ferry, and District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill; Tottenham Improvement Bill; London United Tramways Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to—Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill [Lords]; Ebbw Vale Urban District Water Bill [Lords]; Harrogate Waterworks Tramroad Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

That they have passed a Bill, intituled, "An Act to enable regulations to be made for carrying into effect conventions with respect to the prevention of danger arising to public health from vessels, and the prevention of the conveyance of infection by means of vessels." [Public Health Bill [Lords].

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Alvingham; Bath; Bridgwater; Consett; Donington; Louth; Paulton; Portsmouth; Reston; Sheffield; South Willingham; and Tottington; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Copy presented, of Return showing the population, valuation, the average assessment levied under The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, for the three years 1900–1 to 1902–3 in each parish, and the total raised from each Local Government district, together with calculations showing the amounts which would be raised from each parish if the total assessment so raised from each Local Government district were imposed as a district rate upon parishes on the basis of (1) valuation alone, and (2) half on valuation and half on population, and calculations showing the amounts which would be raised from each parish if the charge in respect of interest on and repayment of loans were borne by the respective parishes instead of the district as a whole [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COMPANIES (MEDICAL AND DENTAL).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th June; *Sir John Tuke*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 275.]

PILOTAGE.

Copy presented, of Abstract of Returns relating to Pilots and Pilotage in the United Kingdom (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 330, of Session 1904) as furnished by the various Pilotage Authorities [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 276.]

EAST INDIA.

Copy presented, of Review of Progress of Education in India, 1897–8 to 1901–2. Vol. I. Fourth Quinquennial Review. Vol. II. Maps and Index [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3228 to 3235 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 617 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BRIDLINGTON CORPORATION BILL [LORDS].

Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

PUBLIC PETITIONS COMMITTEE.

Tenth Report brought up, and read; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

NEW BILL.

LEEDS UNIVERSITY BILL.

"To extend the privileges of the graduates of the University of Leeds," presented by Mr. Barran; supported by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cautley, Mr. Hastings Duncan, Mr. Beckett, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Trevelyan, and Mr. Whitley; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, and to be printed. [Bill 280.]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Life-Saving Precautions on British Emigrant Ships.

SIR THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): To ask the President of the Board of Trade if he will state what steps are taken to ensure British emigrant ships being provided with a sufficiency of lifeboats and life-belts; and will he say whether such vessels are allowed to proceed to sea with more passengers than the ship's boats will accommodate.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) The emigration officers of the Board of Trade, before allowing any British emigrant ship to proceed to sea, are required to satisfy themselves that the boats, life-belts, and other life-saving appliances on board are strictly in accordance with the statutory rules made under the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, which are laid before Parliament before coming into operation. Under these rules the total boat capacity may not be equal in some instances to the number of persons on board, but an approved life-belt is required for each person on board.

Instruction in Cookery and Household Economy in Highland Schools.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will state what percentage of the girls in the Highland crofting counties who last year terminated their attendance at public schools had received instruction in cookery and household economy respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) I am unable to give the information asked for by the hon. Member. All that I can say is that of the total number of girls above ten years of age in average attendance at schools in the Highland crofting counties about 25 per cent. received instruction in one or other of the subjects named in the year 1902–3.

Vaccination of Prisoners in Glasgow Prison.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will state by whose authority prisoners in Glasgow Prison have recently been vaccinated; and whether they were given the option of refusing to undergo the operation.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) When epidemics of smallpox have broken out in Glasgow, Dr. Chalmers, the medical officer of health, has suggested that prisoners should be vaccinated or revaccinated, and the Prison Commissioners have approved of this being done provided always that the prisoner did not object, and that the prison medical officer considered it necessary. No prisoner is required to be vaccinated or revaccinated without his consent.

Repair and Guardianship of Ancient Irish Monuments.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if, inasmuch as the last Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland deals only with the period ending 31st March, 1903, he will state what ancient monuments have been repaired from the 31st March, 1903, to the 31st March, 1904; what ancient monuments the Commissioners have become guardians of during that period; and what ruins have been brought under the notice of the Commissioners with a view to guardianship in that period.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) The Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland for 1903–4 will be presented to Parliament very shortly, and will contain a complete list of the ancient monuments repaired during that year. The Commissioners have not become guardians of any ancient monuments during that period. The ruins brought under their notice in the last financial year, with a view to guardianship, are—

Grianan of Aileach, county Londonderry.
Bun-a-Margie (Ballycastle), county Antrim.
Kiltolagh Church, county Clare.

Supply of Fuel to Public Buildings in County Wexford.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE: To ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he will state who is the officer of the Commissioners of Public Works resident in county Wexford for the purposes of the supplies of fuel to public buildings in the smaller towns; by what Act of Parliament or by what Treasury Minute is the procedure of the Commissioners in the matter of contracts for the supplies to public buildings in Ireland regulated; and if, in advertising for contractors for such supplies for public buildings in county Wexford in future, he will see that the advertisements are inserted in county Wexford newspapers.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) The officer of the Commissioners of Public Works who has charge of the district, of which the county Wexford forms part, is one of their assistant surveyors, and resides in the city of Waterford. The procedure of the Commissioners in the matter of contracts for supplies to public buildings is not regulated by Act of Parliament or by Treasury Minute. The practice of inviting tenders for works and supplies by competition has existed for years, and from time to time it has come under review by the Treasury and by Parliamentary Committees. Coal supplies are practically the only supplies obtained locally for buildings in the country, and, therefore, the arrangement indicated in the Answer to the hon. Baronet's Question on the 18th instant† applies only to them. It is not at present proposed to make any other change in the arrangements.

Gun Sights on His Majesty's Ship "Prince of Wales."

MR. HARMSWORTH (Caithness-shire): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the gun sights of H.M.S. "Prince of Wales" were pronounced unsatisfactory on her gunnery trials; whether since going into commission the ship's artificers under the gunnery lieutenant have been engaged with such material as exists on board in altering the sights of the 6-inch guns; and whether the captain has decided that the 12-inch guns must remain as they are, it being impossible to make them efficient with the means at his disposal.

(*Answered by Mr. Prettyman.*) This Question was asked in identical terms by the hon. Member for South Tyrone on 27th June, and I must refer the hon. Member to the reply I then gave.†

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† See page 252.

Distribution of the Canton Booty Fund.

MR. SHARPE (Kensington, N.): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the Admiralty are now in a position to distribute the Canton Booty Fund among the survivors and next-of-kin of the seamen and Marines who took part in the China War of 1852; and what sum will be available for distribution.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) Of the net proceeds of the sale of the booty taken at Canton when that city was captured in December, 1857, the amount awarded to the Navy was £28,848 2s. 7d. That amount was put into distribution in February, 1861, and payments are still being made to any persons able to substantiate their claims as survivors, or their next-of-kin. In 1902 a Blue-book was published by the Admiralty giving particulars of all prize moneys still unpaid which had been put into distribution between 1st January, 1855, and 31st March 1902, together with the names of the persons interested. The unclaimed shares in the Canton Booty Fund are included in the list; and the amount unpaid is about £1,100.

Preservation of Historic Walls at Berwick-on-Tweed.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): To ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, whether he can now state if any arrangement has been made for the preservation of the Edwardian walls of Berwick-on-Tweed as a historical monument of exceptional antiquity and interest; and, if so, what are the terms of that arrangement.

(*Answered by Lord Balcarres.*) Negotiations are in progress between the town council and the Office of Works. It is understood that the committee of the town council is to submit its report in the first week in August; and it is hoped that satisfactory arrangements will be made for the protection and maintenance of these historic remains.

Sunday Duty of Metropolitan Police.

MR. LOUGH (Islington W.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he can see his way to place the Metropolitan Police, with regard to Sunday duty, in the same position as the police of rural districts and the City, so that the men in town districts may perform their eight hours duty in one tour, and thus be able to enjoy a longer period of unbroken leisure.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) The conditions obtaining on Sunday in the rural districts and in the City of London are entirely different from the conditions under which police work has to be done on that day in the inner divisions of the Metropolitan Police area; and, after careful consideration and consultation with the Commissioners of Police, I am convinced that it would not be desirable in the public interest to alter the existing arrangement in the manner suggested.

Case of Adolf Beck—Mistaken Identity.

SIR THOMAS DEWAR: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether representations have been made to him to the effect that Adolf Beck, who, in 1896, was sentenced to seven years penal servitude for various frauds, has been the victim of mistaken identity; and, if so, will he state what action he proposes to take in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) The facts of this remarkable case of mistaken identity were brought to my notice by the Metropolitan Police; and, by my instructions, steps were at once taken for the provisional release of Adolf Beck, who was awaiting sentence in another case in which the same mistake as to his identity appears to have occurred. I am now carefully considering all the circumstances of the case, but I am precluded from indicating beforehand how I propose to advise His Majesty the King in the matter.

Annual Leave of Unestablished Postal Servants.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will state what is the amount of annual leave granted to the various grades of unestablished employees in the postal, telegraph, and engineering departments of the Post Office.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvi., 1236.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The annual leave allowed to unestablished officers is, as a rule, twelve working days. Exceptionally, a few unestablished men enjoy the same amount of leave as established men, but it is not now the practice to grant to unestablished officers leave equal in amount to that enjoyed by established officers. Men temporarily employed as gang-hands in the Engineer-in-Chief's Department, and paid under the "Labour Vote," are not granted annual leave.

Increments of Civil Servants.

CAPTAIN NORTON: To ask the Postmaster-General if he will state whether the Order in Council of the 29th November, 1898, respecting the increments of Civil servants, applies to all increments; and whether there are any Departmental regulations which refer particularly to barrier increments as being exempt from the provisions of this Order in Council.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The provisions of the Order in Council of the 29th November 1898 apply to all annual increments in scales of pay so far as the allowance and the deferment of them are concerned; and as regards the adjustment of salaries in respect of increments withheld the Order also applies, but with the following exceptions: (1) Increments withheld prior to the date of the confirmation of an officer's appointment; (2) Age-pay (that is, an increase in pay on attaining 19 years of age) withheld for inefficiency; (3) Efficiency barrier increments withheld for inefficiency; and (4) Deferred increments followed by a reduction of salary. The Departmental rule as regards efficiency bar increments is that if withheld for inefficiency they are not re-adjusted, but if withheld for other causes they can be re-adjusted.

Learner in Portadown Post Office—Alleged Inefficiency.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General whether the postmaster at Portadown has reported a certain learner as unfitted for his duties; whether this learner was employed in duties usually entrusted to more experienced officers; whether any charges of breach of regulations preferred against him were due to want of training; whether he is aware that the next learner on the list is a nephew of the postmaster; and, if so, whether he will cause strict inquiries to be made into this matter.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) Reports of an unsatisfactory character have been received respecting a sorting clerk and telegraphist on probation at Portadown, to whom the Question of the hon. Member apparently refers. He has been employed on such duties as usually devolve upon an officer of his standing and which are necessary to enable him to qualify for the confirmation of his appointment, with the exception that for a portion of his probation, when under eighteen years of age, he was employed on night duty. The officer in question alleges that some of the irregularities were due to want of experience; but it is reported that the number of irregularities committed by him is greatly in excess of those committed by other officers of similar standing. It is true the learner who in ordinary course would be recommended to succeed the officer in question, if his appointment is cancelled, is a nephew of the postmaster. Before such an appointment is made the necessary inquiries will be instituted and the appointment, if made, will be subject to the officer seeking transfer to another office on attaining nineteen years of age if his uncle is still postmaster at Portadown. The whole matter is now under consideration.

Delay in Transmission of Parcels from Cheltenham to North of Ireland.

DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he can explain the reason of the delay in transmitting parcels from Cheltenham to the North of Ireland; and if he will direct that the public inconvenience thereby caused shall be remedied in the near future.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I will have inquiry made on the subject, and will acquaint the hon. Member with the result.

Preservation of Meat from Decomposition during Transit.

MR. ALFRED DAVIES (Carmarthen Boroughs): To ask the President of the

Local Government Board if he has now any official information showing that the stoppage of decomposition in meat during transit from abroad to the United Kingdom has any injurious effect upon those eating it; and if the Cancer Research Committee has reported on his communication to them in March last.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative. I have received a communication from the Executive Committee of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund, and I find that they believe the stoppage of decomposition in frozen and chilled meat during transit from abroad to the United Kingdom has no injurious effect whatever upon those eating such food. The Executive Committee further believe that the consumption of such food cannot be held in any degree accountable for the increase in the recorded number of cases of cancer in this country.

Claims from British Residents in Samoa for Damage sustained by the Bombardment of Apia.

MR. CORRIE GRANT (Warwickshire, Rugby): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the award of His Majesty King Oscar of Sweden in the claims made by British residents at Samoa against Great Britain and America for losses arising from the bombardment of Apia and neighbourhood has been taken up; and, if so, when the damages awarded will be paid.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The award of the King of Sweden and Norway deals only with the question of principle, Great Britain and the United States being held liable for the consequences of certain military action which was pronounced to be unwarranted. An exchange of views as to the construction to be placed on the award has taken place between the three Governments interested, and a further examination of the claims, to see how far they are covered by the award, is now being made.

Water-Storage Works for Gujerat and the Deccan.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): To ask the Secretary of State for India, with reference to the recommendation of the Scott-Moncrieff Commission for the multiplication of water-storage works of comparatively small size and cost, what progress has been made with surveys for actual work, more especially for Northern Gujerat and the Deccan, and what definite projects have been prepared and sanctioned; and can any localities be named where any actual work has been done towards the saving of waste floods during the monsoon which is now prevailing in most of those districts.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I will communicate with the Government of India, and ascertain whether the information desired by the hon. Member can be supplied.

Expenditure of the Malta Public Works Department.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can state the total annual expenditure of the Malta Government Department of Public Works; how much is contributed by the Imperial Government, the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Malta Government respectively; what is the estimated capital value and the annual rental value of the realty administered by the Malta Public Works Department; and can he state how much of the expenditure is derived from the revenue raised by taxation.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) (a) The annual expenditure of the Public Works Department varies from year to year. In 1903–4 it was £114,093, including salaries. (b) The Imperial Government has agreed to contribute three-sevenths of the cost of the works mentioned in Schedule A, and 25 per cent. of the cost of certain of the works mentioned in Schedule B. It also contributes to the cost of new roads which are of special benefit to the military, and to the upkeep of roads which are principally used by them. (c) The realty is not administered by the Public Works Department but by the Receiver-General. The annual rental on 31st March, 1904, was £45,042, which capitalised at 3 per cent. gives a capital of £1,501,400. (d) In the last part of the Question it is assumed that the words "derived from" should be "defrayed out of." It is impossible to say what proportion of the expenditure on public works is defrayed out of revenue raised by taxation, but the expenditure mentioned in (a) was defrayed as follows :—

	£
Out of General Revenue	112,597
Out of General Reserve Fund	471
Out of Government Immovable Property Account	1,025
	£114,093

The General Revenue in 1903–4 was £464,501, and the amount raised by taxation was as follows—

	£
Customs Duties . . .	274,251
Stamp Duties . . .	4,466
	£278,717

Schedule A.

	Share of Malta Government 4s. 7d. or 57·14 per cent.			Share of Imperial Government 3s. 7d. or 42·86 per cent.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Constructing drainage works in Calcara, providing main sewer for Naval Hospital at Bighi, and cutting off sewer contamination of the Grand Harbour in the vicinity . .	3,302	17	2	2,477	2	10	5,780	0	0
Providing an apparatus for flushing by sea water the street sewers and the intercepting sewer in the three cities	1,282	5	8	961	14	4	2,244	0	0
Constructing a low level sewer in Valetta for the Manderaggio, Strada Toro, Strada Fontana, Strada S. Giuseppe, and Lower St. Elmo, including a pumping station, engines, pumps, etc., to intercept the flow of sewage into the harbour. Providing main sewer for Fort St. Elmo, and cutting off sewer contamination from Marsamuscetto Harbour .	1,812	11	5	1,359	8	7	3,172	0	0
Modification of the low level sewer at Senglea and Cospicua, preventing leakage of present sewer and altering the line of pipes so as to facilitate the utilisation of sites at the head of the French Creek belonging to Lords of the Admiralty	4,061	14	3	3,046	5	9	7,108	0	0
	10,459	8	6	7,844	11	6	18,304	0	0

Schedule B.

Comprising votes for drainage works passed by the Council of Government of Malta at Sitting No. 43 of 30th April, 1897, contingent on a contribution of 25 per cent. from Imperial Funds.

	£	£
(1) Drainage of Hamrun (will divert sewerage from harbour) . .		12,177
(2) Deviation of intercepting sewer at Cospicua (will do away with drainage pump worked off dockyard shafting) . . .		4,895
(3) Drainage of Gozo .		4,516
(4) Zabbar street sewers (will divert sewerage from the harbour) .		12,530
(5) Intercepting sewer for lunatic asylum, Zebbug and Curmi (will divert sewerage from the harbour) .		8,000
(6) Curmi street sewers (£7,380) and improvement in flushing of intercepting sewer from St. Elmo (will divert sewerage from the harbour) .		9,980

(7) Drainage of Sliema, Misida, and Pietà, including outfall main and pumping station (will divert sewerage from the harbour)	55,849	
Drainage of St. Julian's	5,438	
		61,287
(8) Intercepting sewer for Rabato, Notabile, Lia, and Birchircara (will divert sewerage from the harbour)	13,500	
Branch to Musta, Naxaro, and Gargur	5,200	
		18,700
(9) Notabile and Rabato street sewers		7,160
(10) Zebbug street sewers (will divert sewerage from the harbour)		16,152
(11) Intercepting sewer for Axiak, Zeitun, Gudia, and Zabbar		4,585
(12) Zeitun street sewers		14,612
(13) Intercepting sewer for Crendi, Zurrico, Micabiba, Chircop, Safi, Luca, Tarxien, and Paula		10,615
(14) Crendi street sewers		3,220
(15) Tarxien street sewers (will divert sewerage from the harbour)		4,550
(16) Paula street sewers (will divert sewerage from the harbour)		7,332
		£200,311

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Royal Military College, Camberley—Cadets' Shooting.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any representations have been made by the present commandant of the Royal Military College, Camberley, on the indifferent shooting of some among the recent batches of cadets; and, if so, will he state the nature of the representations, and whether he has any official reports attributing indifferent shooting to the standard of vision for candidates being only one-fourth of normal vision with the naked eye instead of normal vision, viz., six-sixths of Snellen's type.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W): The commandant Royal Military College has reported that the shooting of the 4th Division of Cadets now passing out of Sandhurst was bad, but he did not attribute this to defective eyesight. Last year the question of admission of cadets with defective eyesight to the Royal Military College was raised by a report from the Principal Medical Officer, First Army Corps, and steps were then taken to ensure that all cadets admitted to the Royal Military College or Royal Military Academy, whose eyesight, though defective, was within the standard laid down by Regulations and remediable by glasses, should be advised at the medical inspection to consult civil occulists to ascertain exactly what glasses they should wear. There are no official reports to the effect stated in the last part of the Question.

Army Shooting—Vision Tests for Recruits.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the Committee appointed to report on the vision test for recruits has furnished its Report; and, if so, when, and what action it is proposed to take on the Report.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: This Committee reported on the 15th February, and the Report has since been receiving very careful consideration. To some of the recommendations effect is being given, of which the most important are the adoption of a uniform standard and the Snellen types.

Recruiting—Inspector-General's Recommendations.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether any Report has been submitted by the late Inspector-General of Recruiting for the betterment of recruiting; and, if so, whether it will be acted on.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: No special Report on the betterment of recruiting was submitted by the late Inspector-General of Recruiting. There are no recommendations in the Annual Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting which have not been acted on, except in regard to legislation to deal with false characters, a Bill for which has passed through the other House, and will, I hope, be passed by this House.

Transvaal Army Stores Scandal.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been directed to the remarks of the Chief Justice of the Transvaal in delivering judgment in the case of Hunter *v.* Wilson and Worthington, in the Transvaal Supreme Court, to the effect that the plaintiff had bought from Colonel Morgan a quantity of chaff for £300, which was the property of the Military, and for which the ratepayers of this country had to pay; that it had never been put up to public auction, but was sold to Hunter underhand; and that on this expenditure of £300 the plaintiff had made £1,800 profit, one-third of which went to Mr. Frank Morgan, who was Colonel Morgan's brother; and whether, having regard to the fact that Colonel Morgan was director of supplies for the whole Army in South Africa during the latter part of the war, what steps, if any, do the War Office authorities intend to take with reference to this transaction.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Colonel Morgan has instituted proceedings against the London newspaper which commented on the remarks made by the Chief Justice of the Transvaal in connection with this matter. No action, therefore, will be taken by the War Office until the case is decided in Court.

Longford Troops—Complaint of the Rev. Joseph Skelly.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether Private Pitt, of the artillery force now stationed at Longford, who on a recent occasion threatened the Rev. Joseph Skelly, P.P., Newtownforbes, with assault, and at the same time used language of an insulting character to him, has since been raised to the rank and pay of a sergeant; and, if so, can he state the grounds upon which this soldier has been raised so suddenly in the ranks after this insult to a Catholic priest.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I have no information whatever on the matter alluded to in the Question. I would suggest that the hon. Member refer the matter to the General Officer Commanding the Third Army Corps.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I certainly shall not do that.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: May ask, as a matter of order, whether the right hon. Gentleman is not himself responsible for the management of the Army. Can any communication be held between officers of the Army and Members of this House?

***MR. SPEAKER**: That is not a matter of order. It is not for me to say what are the exact functions of a Minister.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): Have we not a right to refer to the right hon. Gentleman for information on these matters?

***MR. SPEAKER**: I see nothing irregular in the Answer.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: This is important. Have we as Members of Parliament any right whatever to communicate with military officers, and are they under any obligation to communicate with us, while there is a Minister to act as intermediary?

***MR. SPEAKER**: That is not a question of order.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: It is one of taste.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I shall call attention to this on the Army Vote.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): The right hon. Gentleman referred to the Third Army Corps. Is such a Corps existing?

[No Answer was returned.]

Mr. Brodrick and the Toast of "His Majesty's Forces."

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary for India a Question of which I have given private notice, viz., whether on Saturday last at a public banquet he refused to respond to the toast of "His Majesty's Forces"; whether this was because of his disagreement with the military policy of the Government; and, if so, whether he intends to take any further steps in the matter.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): I really do not know on what statement the hon. Member has founded his Question; but, whatever it was, the inference which he has drawn is incorrect. What occurred was this: The officer who was expected to reply to the toast was not present, and I was suddenly asked to respond, when I pointed out that, not being Secretary of State for War, probably I was not so well qualified to respond as another gentleman present, who had served his country in the South African War.

Imperial Fiscal Policy—Suggested Colonial Conference.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will consider the advisability of inviting the Governments of the Colonies to send representatives to an Imperial Conference next spring in London to consider and examine the whole fiscal situation of the British Empire.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): This is a Question which should have been addressed to the First Lord of the Treasury; but, speaking for myself, the advisability of such a conference as the hon. Member refers to is a matter which could not be decided without very careful consideration.

Transvaal War Contribution.

MR. WHITLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if any provision is made in the Transvaal Estimates for the year ending 30th June, 1905, for the first instalment of the war contribution loan.

MR. LYTTELTON: No, Sir.

Transvaal Interests at Delagoa Bay.

THE MASTER OF ELIBANK (Edinburgh, Midlothian): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is in a position to make any statement regarding the attitude of the Portuguese Government in relation to the Netherlands Pier and adjoining land at Lorenço Marques, Delagoa Bay, a valuable asset of the late Transvaal Government.

MR. LYTTELTON: I hardly think it is necessary for me to say more than that I have every reason to believe that the interests of the Transvaal Government will be fully safeguarded.

Representative Institutions for the Transvaal.

MR. HORNER (Lambeth, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, His Majesty's Government having decided to give representative institutions to the Transvaal, the representation will be elective from those entitled to vote as in other self-governing Colonies; if not, will he say in what manner the new representative assembly will be elected, and at what approximate date.

MR. LYTTELTON: I am not at present able to add anything to the general statement which I made on the 21st instant. The details can only be settled after full consideration and discussion with the authorities on the spot.

Chinese Labourers and the Transvaal Liquor Law.

CAPTAIN ELLICE (St. Andrews Burghs): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Chinese labourers now employed in the South African mines will come under the provisions of the Transvaal Liquor Licensing Ordinance; and, if not, what arrangements have been made with regard to the sale of intoxicants to these labourers.

MR. LYTTELTON: These labourers will, I am informed, come under the provisions of the existing liquor law which prohibits the sale or free issue of any intoxicating liquor to coloured persons including Chinese.

Chinese Riots in the Transvaal.

Captain NORTON: May I ask the Colonial Secretary whether he has any information to give with reference to the riots taking place among the Chinese in the Transvaal? Are they still going on or have they been brought to a conclusion?

Mr. LYTTELTON: I have no information beyond that which appears in the newspapers.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Has the right hon. Gentleman cabled for information?

[No Answer was returned.]

Transvaal Government Contracts for Purchase of Repatriation Stores.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, having regard to the remarks of the Chief Justice of the Transvaal, in delivering judgment in the Supreme Court of the Transvaal on 1st June, in the case of Hunter *v.* Wilson and Worthington, and the disclosures in that case of loss to the Imperial Government by purloinage, he will direct Lord Milner to publish the text of the contracts entered into between the Transvaal Government and Messrs. Wilson and Worthington for the purchase of repatriation stores.

Mr. LYTTELTON: The text of the contract between the Repatriation Department and Messrs. Wilson and Worthington was laid on the Table of the Intercolonial Council on June 7th and was published in the *Johannesburg Star* of the same date.

Cotton Growing in Africa.

Sir SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): On behalf of the hon. Baronet the Member for Preston I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he expects to be able to make any announcement before the close of the session as to any steps which it may be possible to take to encourage the growth of cotton in West Africa or in South Africa.

Mr. LYTTELTON: The policy outlined in my speech on the 27th of April is being actively pursued. As there is little to add to what was then stated, I do not think that it will be necessary that I should make a further announcement on the subject this session.

Chief Justice of New Zealand—Question of Precedence.

Mr. CATHCART WASON (Orkney and Shetland): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if the precedence taken away from the Chief Justice of New Zealand was taken away by an Act of the New Zealand Legislature, or at the request of the Prime Minister of that Colony; if taken away at the request of the Prime Minister what reasons were submitted warranting such an alteration in long established precedent.

Mr. LYTTELTON: The alteration in the precedence of the Chief Justice of New Zealand was in accordance with the strongly expressed desire of the Colonial Ministry. The reasons for advising His Majesty to comply with this desire were stated in my reply to the hon. Member's Question of 21st instant †.

Mr. CATHCART WASON: Then was it not done by an Act of the Colonial Legislature?

Mr. LYTTELTON: No, Sir.

Indian Army Representative at the War Office.

Captain NORTON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can state on whose authority the representative of the Indian Army at the War Office has been abolished.

Mr. BRODRICK: The appointment of Assistant Military Secretary for Indian Affairs at the War Office has been abolished under the orders of the Secretary of State for India in Council and with the concurrence of the Army Council.

Congo Free State—Charges of Maladministration.

Mr. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that charges of alleged maladministration have from time to time been brought against the

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† See page 769.

Government of the Congo Free State by British subjects; whether these charges have been investigated by His Majesty's Government; and, if so, with what result.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.) Yes, Sir. The hon. Member will find, in Mr. Casement's Report and other Papers recently laid before Parliament in connection with that Report, the steps taken by His Majesty's Government to investigate the charges of maladministration in the Congo Free State.

MR. JAMES O'CONNOR (Wicklow, W.): Are not these charges got up by people who are jealous of the progress Belgium is making in the Congo and with a view to capturing the rubber industry in that State?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Congo Free State—Agitation in South Africa.

MR. O'DOWD: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether an organised effort is being made by British subjects in South Africa and elsewhere to bring Belgian rule in the Congo into disrepute by the circulation of stories as to alleged atrocities and acts of maladministration; if so, whether such interference on the part of His Majesty's subjects in the affairs of a friendly State has the sanction of the Government; and, if not, what steps it is proposed to take to discourage such action in future.

EARL PERCY: His Majesty's Government have no information on the subject beyond what has appeared in the public Press. His Majesty's Government do not consider that they are called upon to interfere with the expression of personal opinions by British subjects.

Russian Warships and British Vessels.

GENERAL LAURIE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been called to the fact that a Russian warship, the "St. Petersburg" has overhauled and searched British vessels in or near the Red Sea; and, if so, can he state whether this is the same vessel, also named the "St. Petersburg," that recently passed through the Bosphorus under the Russian commercial flag; and, if so, whether it is in conformity with international law that the same vessel can at one time fly the commercial flag and at another time assert the authority of a warship; and whether this transformation can take place on the high seas, or whether it is obligatory that a vessel holding a commission as a warship should be commissioned as such in a port of the nation to which she belongs.

EARL PERCY: There are several Questions on the Paper of the same character addressed to the Prime Minister, and perhaps it would be more convenient if this could be dealt with at the same time.

GENERAL LAURIE: Then am I to address it to the Prime Minister?

EARL PERCY: I think my hon. and gallant friend will see from the Answers to be given to the other Questions how far it is possible to answer his.

Postal Communication with East Africa.

MR. CATHCART WASON: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if his attention has been directed to the disabilities which East African settlers and intending settlers suffer through the want of direct communication; and if he will inquire on what terms it could be arranged for the German East African Company to call at an English port on outward and homeward journeys.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The question of establishing direct steamship communication between this country and East Africa is now being considered by an Inter-Departmental Committee; and pending the result of their deliberations. I do not think it advisable to make the inquiry suggested by the hon. Member.

Portuguese Tariff on Mercerised Goods.

MR. WHITE RIDLEY (Stalybridge): I beg to ask the President of the Board of

Trade whether he can now state whether the representations made to the Portuguese Government as to the prejudicial effect of their new tariff on the export of our mercerised goods has met with any result; and whether there is any treaty with Portugal in which the principles of the most-favoured-nation clause find a place.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): The rate of duty on mercerised cotton goods proposed in the draft tariff now before the Portuguese Cortes is somewhat lower than that contained in the draft Portuguese tariff which was the subject of the representations referred to in my previous reply to my hon. friend. The duty as now proposed, however (like many other duties in the draft tariff), is very largely in excess of that at present charged, and the matter is not being lost sight of. There is no treaty between this country and Portugal containing a most-favoured-nation clause.

Graduated Income-Tax.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will grant a Return showing which British Colonies and foreign countries have established systems of graduated income-tax, or of income-tax levied at different rates on earned and on unearned incomes, or both; with particulars in each case of the rates of tax, the method of assessment and collection, and the degree to which evasion or fraud is estimated to detract from the proper yield of the tax.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): I am making inquiry to see to what extent the information for which the hon. Member asks is available. I will communicate the result to him in writing.

Lurgydonnell River Floods.

MR. P. A. McHUGH (Leitrim, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the course of the Lurgydonnell River, in the electoral division of Aughaulish, Ballyshannon Union, had been inspected by an engineer from the Congested Districts Board, with a view to the stoppage of flooding; whether he is aware that the Board held out hopes to those periodically injured by floods in this district that steps would be taken to have the course of the river widened, and that nothing has been done in pursuance of the promises made; and, if so, will he, in view of the fact that this congested district has been hitherto overlooked by the Board, see that these promises are carried out.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The locality has been visited by two members of the Board, accompanied by one of their engineers, in the ordinary course of inspection; but no promise has been given by the Board that it would undertake drainage works in the districts. The question whether the Board can offer to make a small contribution to the county council towards the cost of any scheme which it may be practicable for the council to undertake in the absence of the establishment of a properly constituted drainage board, will shortly come before the Congested Districts Board for consideration.

Estates Commissioners' Staff.

MR. O'SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the office staff of the Estates Commissioners is entirely unable to deal with the originating applications as they are lodged, and that a period of some weeks must elapse before an application now lodged can be even opened; and whether he will take steps to have the staff augmented.

MR. WYNDHAM: There has been some delay in dealing with such applications; but the delay has been unavoidable and incidental to the working of a department only recently constituted. The Treasury has sanctioned an augmentation of the staff, both indoor and outdoor, and the work of the Department will now proceed with greater expedition.

Irish Loan Fund Bill.

MR. P. A. McHUGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received from the Irish Members copies of Amendments which they propose to move to the Loan Fund Bill in case that measure is proceeded with this session; has the Irish Government considered those Amendments, and will the suggestions of the Irish Members be accepted; can he inform the House when the Loan Fund Bill will be taken; and can he assure the Irish Members that, if it is proceeded with this session, adequate time will be given for its discussion.

Mr. WYNDHAM: It is quite impossible to accept the proposed Amendments, one of which is to the effect that the Treasury should pay to the debenture holders the losses they have sustained by reason of the borrowers having taken advantage of a technicality to avoid payment of the sums lent to them. The Bill is merely designed to remedy the result of an error into which the Loan Fund Societies have fallen, and extends the time for sueing on notes current in March, 1899. It does not deal with the larger question of the reform and reconstruction of the Loan Fund system. Unless the Bill be treated (as the Government think it ought to be) as uncontroversial, time cannot be given this session for its consideration.

Mr. MACVEAGH: Will the other suggestions of the Irish Party be accepted by the Government?

Mr. WYNDHAM: There are others that cannot be accepted. The Bill, to be passed, must be an uncontroversial measure.

Mr. MACVEAGH: Can the right hon. Gentleman state what Amendments he is prepared to accept?

Mr. WYNDHAM: If the hon. Member will communicate with me on behalf of the Irish Party I will tell him what the Government will accept and what they will not.

Mr. P. A. McHUGH: I shall raise this question again.

West of Ireland Grazing Farms.

Mr. O'DOWD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that new tenancies have been created in the West of Ireland during the past two years by the selling and letting of grazing farms held by landlords to non-resident graziers and others; and whether, as such a practice is calculated to defeat the aim of the Land Act of 1903, in regard to the enlargement of small holdings in congested districts, steps will be taken by the Estates Commissioners to put an end to it.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Estates Commissioners have no power to prevent the creation of new tenancies. Section 53 (1) of the Act of 1903, limits advances in cases of tenancies created after 1st January, 1901, to £500, except in non-congested counties, where a larger advance may be sanctioned, subject, however, to the general limitations prescribed in the Land Purchase Acts and without prejudice to the wants and circumstances of other persons in the neighbourhood. Section 53 (2) limits advances in cases of Court lettings to £1,000, or in non-congested counties to £2,000.

Mr. CULLINAN (Tipperary, S.): But have not the Estates Commissioners power to refuse to make any advance under this section where farms are let with this object?

Mr. WYNDHAM said he could not accept that definition of their powers.

Dundonald Cemetery, Belfast—Burial of Roman Catholics.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, on the 4th inst., the Most Rev. Dr. Henry, Roman Catholic Bishop, addressed a communication to the Local Government Board, asking them to direct an inquiry into the action of the Belfast Corporation in refusing to concede to his demand that before the Roman Catholic dead were allowed burial in Dundonald Cemetery a certificate from a recognised priest must be produced to insure that deceased died in communion with the Roman Catholic Church; and whether, in view of the fact that the Belfast Corporation admit the principle of an allotment for the Roman Catholic dead, he can state on what grounds are they asked to be responsible as to whether deceased died in or out of communion with the Roman Catholic Church; and if the inquiry sought for is to be granted.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The communication referred to has been sent to the corporation, whose observations thereon are awaited by the Local Government Board.

Mr. SLOAN: Was it sent by the Local Government Board?

Mr. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir.

Rev. T. L. Malone's Estate in King's County.

Mr. REDDY (King's County, Birr): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the man Egan, who occupies Patrick O'Brien's farm, Liskin, Cadamstown, King's county (estate of the Rev. T. L. Malone), is tenant of the holding; and, if so, for how long, and under what terms as to rent and otherwise.

Mr. WYNDHAM: No advance has been made to Egan for the purchase of the holding, nor has the estate in question come before the Estates Commissioners. This being so, I have no information on the matters referred to.

Millstreet Rural District Council Audit.

Mr. SHEEHAN (Cork County, Mid.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that at the audit of the accounts of the Mill street Rural District, county Cork, on the 9th instant, the auditor, Mr. Bourke, surcharged six of the councillors the sums of 4s. 6d. and 4s. 8d. for the printing and postage of a resolution asking the landlords of the rural district if they were prepared to sell their estates to their tenants under the provisions of the Land Act, 1903; and, if so, whether, seeing that this expenditure was incurred in the public interest, and in the endeavour to bring about a peaceful settlement of the land question, and that Mr. Bourke or other auditors have passed, without comment, the expenditure made by other district councils in the county in respect of similar resolutions, he will remit the surcharges in this case.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The auditor's report on his recent audit of the accounts of the district council has not yet been received. If surcharges have been made as stated, it will be open to the councillors concerned to appeal to the Local Government Board in the manner prescribed by law.

Mount Pottinger Constabulary Barracks.

Mr. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Head Constable Ryan, of the Royal Irish Constabulary at Belfast, at present occupies the married quarters in Mount Pottinger, although he is not stationed in that district; and whether, in view of the fact that his father-in-law lives with him in these quarters, contrary to police regulations, he will consider the advisability of having these quarters occupied by the men at present doing duty in the district.

Mr. WYNDHAM: My attention had not been previously drawn to this matter. The Inspector-General has given directions that the arrangement under which the head constable's father-in-law has been permitted to reside in the barrack shall no longer continue.

Mr. SLOAN: Am I to understand that this head constable occupies quarters in these barracks without being stationed in the district, while others who are so stationed are deprived of quarters?

Mr. WYNDHAM: That point is not raised by the Question. The point is as to the occupation of the barracks by the head constable's father-in-law.

Mr. SLOAN: I asked as to the occupation of the barracks by the head constable himself.

Mr. WYNDHAM: It is in the power of the Inspector-General to allocate these quarters, and I do not feel it my duty to interfere with his discretion.

Mr. SLOAN: Do I understand that the right hon. Gentleman cannot interfere with the head constable occupying the married quarters, though not stationed in the district, while others stationed in the district are deprived of them?

MR. WYNDHAM: I say I cannot dream of interfering with the discretion of the Inspector-General.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the desirability of appointing the hon. Member as Inspector-General of the Orange section of the Belfast police force?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Queen's College, Belfast—Additional Appointments of Professors.

MR. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state if the professor of logic in the Queen's College, Belfast, holds an appointment under the Board of Intermediate Education and an appointment under the Board of Agriculture besides his examinership; whether the professor of chemistry and the professor of pathology derive any fees or remuneration from the Corporation of Belfast or other public body in addition to examinerships; and whether he can state the number of examinerships and lectureships held outside the college by the different professors.

MR. WYNDHAM: The professor of logic occasionally acts as an engineer for the Board of Intermediate Education. I am not aware whether he performs any duties for the Department of Agriculture, but I am inquiring. The professors of chemistry and pathology occasionally advise the Belfast Corporation on matters affecting the public health; I have no information that they receive fees for doing so. Other professors have been employed as examiners by Universities in Ireland and Great Britain. There is no objection to the employment of the professors in the manner stated, so long as such employment does not interfere with the discharge of their college duties, and provided they obtain the consent of the college council.

MR. MACVEAGH: Under what authority does he hold these additional appointments.

MR. WYNDHAM: One can hardly call them appointments.

Morley Estate, County Cavan.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that affirmances of decrees for rent were granted at the recent Cavan Assizes against nine tenants on the Drumlane portion of the Morley Estate; and whether, in view of the fact that part of this estate, viz., Doobally, has been already sold under an arbitration, and that the arbitrators had publicly explained their inability to deal more expeditiously in the matter, and further that they would proceed with the Drumlane portion in August coming, he will take steps to secure that these tenants do not suffer through delay in the arbitration due to no fault on the part of these tenants.

MR. WYNDHAM: This is not a matter in which I have authority to intervene as suggested. I am informed, however, that the agent has agreed not to proceed with the decrees pending the negotiations for sale.

Longford Agricultural Instructor.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any steps will be taken by the Department of Agriculture to supply a competent agricultural instructor this year for the county Longford; or whether the appointment to this office recently made by the county committee has yet been sanctioned.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Department's scheme of instruction in agriculture for the year ending 30th September next, was not adopted by the county committee. Consequently no funds were provided by the Department for the appointment of an instructor. The appointment stated to have been recently made has not been notified to the Department.

Peat Production at Inny Junction.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the total cost of the experimental processes in peat rearing at Inny Junction; whether he is aware that so far no proper machinery for compressing peat has been provided: and what compensation is being paid to the landlord in respect of this bog.

MR. WYNDHAM: The experiment has only recently been inaugurated, and the cost cannot be ascertained until the experiment is completed, when the results, with full details, will be published.

Galbraith Estate, North Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to state whether any application has been made to the Estates Commissioners on behalf of the tenants to purchase under Section 7 of the Land Act of 1903 the Galbraith Estate in North Longford; and, if so, will he state with what result.

MR. WYNDHAM: An application has been received from one of the tenants, but no originating application has been received from the owner and no request under Section 7 has been issued.

Analyses of Cattle Foods in County Longford.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to state whether any complaint has been received as to the failure of the Board of Education and Technical Instruction in Ireland to supply proper analyses of foodstuffs for cattle sent to them by the chairman of the Longford County Council; and, if so, will he say what action is proposed to be taken in this matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: No such complaint has been received. The duty of undertaking analyses of feeding stuffs devolves upon county and borough councils through the medium of district analysts appointed pursuant to statute.

Kinvara Pier, County Galway.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the condition of the pier at Kinvara, county Galway; and whether immediate steps will be taken to remedy this source of danger to the lives of those who have to use this pier.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir; but the Government accepts no responsibility for the condition of the pier, which is private property. The question of making a contribution towards the cost of putting the pier into a proper state of repair, supplemented by grants from the Department of Agriculture, the Congested Districts Board, and county council, is engaging attention. A decision cannot be reached until certain legal points arising out of the contemplated expenditure have been adequately considered and determined.

MR. JOYCE: Has it come to the knowledge of the right hon. Gentleman that a serious accident occurred at this pier lately?

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, but that does not affect my Answer.

Cruelty to Animals, Cases in County Roscommon.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state in how many cases during the last five years sentences of imprisonment without option of fine have been imposed by benches of magistrates in the county Roscommon on charges preferred by the police for alleged cruelty to animals; and who was the resident magistrate chairman at the petty sessions Court where such a sentence was imposed.

MR. WYNDHAM: There was one such case, details of which were given by me in answer to a Question by the hon. Member for South Roscommon on the 13th June†. The presiding magistrate on the occasion was Mr. Holmes, resident magistrate.

Mayo Firearm Outrage.

MR. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether any steps have been taken to bring to justice two men, who discharged firearms on the public road between Turlough and Pontoon, county Mayo, on a recent Sunday evening, wounding four or five young girls, one of them seriously; and whether he can state what steps have been taken by the police authorities in the matter.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 1495.

MR. WYNDHAM: Proceedings have been instituted by the police in this case, which will be heard at petty sessions on Wednesday next.

Cork Summer Assizes—Challenging of Jurors.

MR. FLYNN (Cork County, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland if his attention has been directed to the fact that at the Cork summer assizes, in connection with the trial of a youth, Michael Barry, charged with having placed stones on the Fermoy and Lismore Railway, with intent to upset or overthrow a train, forty-eight jurors of the county were ordered by the Crown officials to stand by; and will he state whether this action was taken on the advice or with the approval of the Law Officers of the Crown.

I beg at the same time to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland is he aware that at the recent trial of Patrick Fitzgerald, at the Cork summer assizes, charged with a moonlighting offence, twenty-seven jurors were ordered by the Crown Solicitor to stand by; and, if so, can he state how many of the twenty-seven so challenged were Roman Catholics.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr ATKINSON Londonderry, N): In the first case the jury disagreed at the first trial though the evidence was clear. Extensive canvassing of both the Grand and Petty Juries prevailed, and forty-five jurors were ordered to stand aside. In the second case canvassing of jurors also took place and twenty-five jurors were ordered to stand aside. I am unable to say how many of the jurors who served or who were ordered to stand aside were Roman Catholics. The Crown Solicitor reports to me that in both these cases he acted in strict conformity with the directions contained in the Circular to Crown Solicitors, dated 12th February, 1894, believing that if sworn the jurors ordered to stand aside would most probably not deliver an impartial verdict.

MR. FLYNN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in the first case mentioned the Judge directed the jury to acquit the prisioner and they did so?

MR. ATKINSON: I am aware that this boy placed stones on the railway track, one weighing 65 lbs. and the other 35 lbs., and it was held that he had no intention to obstruct.

MR. FLYNN: Surely the right hon. Gentleman does not intend to re-try the case in Parliament?

*MR. SPEAKER: I think it is the hon. Member who is doing that.

MR. MACVEAGH: If the jurors were not ordered to stand aside on account of their religion, why were they?

MR. ATKINSON: Because the Crown Solicitor believed that if they were sworn they would not give an impartial verdict.

Rush Harbour, County Dublin—Complaints of Disrepair.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the action of the Board of Works, Dublin, in reference to Rush Harbour, county of Dublin, and to its threat of legal proceedings against the Dublin County Council to compel it to put the harbour mentioned in repair; whether he will call upon the Board to give the names of the fishermen who are alleged by the Board to have complained of the condition of the harbour, and to state when the alleged complaints were made; whether the Board has declined to receive a deputation from the county council, which desired to lay before it a statement of its views; and, if so, whether the Government has sanctioned this disregard of local opinion.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: The hon. Member is under a misapprehension as to the position of the Board of Works in this matter. The Board are advised by their engineer that the harbour works at Rush are in need of repair, and they are reporting the fact to the Lord-Lieutenant in order that His Excellency may determine whether to advise the Treasury to put in force the 11th Section of the Act 16 and 17 Vict. cap. 136, under which, in default of the necessary action of the county council, the repairs may be effected by Government and recovered from the local authorities. The Board are unaware of the names of the fishermen referred to in the Question. They see no advantage in receiving a deputation, as their function is merely to report to the Lord-Lieutenant that the harbour works require repair.

MR. CLANCY: It having been stated at a public function that the local fishermen had complained surely they must know who they are?

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH replied that the engineer was away on his holidays, but he would ascertain the facts as soon as he returned.

Rush Harbour—Cause of Silting.

MR. CLANCY: I beg to ask th Secretary to the Treasury, with reference to the action of the Board of Works, Dublin, in the matter of Rush Harbour, whether an opening made by the Board itself in the groyne in the harbour soon after it was built has chiefly caused the silting which takes place there; and, if so, whether the Board will first close this opening before insisting on the harbour being cleaned out at the expense of the ratepayers.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: No, Sir, the opening in the groyne does not cause the silting, and it is not proposed to close it.

Rush Harbour—Cost of Repairs.

MR. CLANCY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, with reference to the action of the Board of Works in the matter of Rush Harbour, county of Dublin, whether he is aware that the cost of the work of repair which the Dublin County Council has been called upon by the Board to execute has been estimated by the county surveyor at about £1,000, and that one of the reasons given by the county council for not now incurring such an expenditure is the fact that they have actually bound themselves to expend a sum of £1,500 in the immediate future on another harbour in the same district of the county; and whether, the Board having declined to take any account of this fact or of the views of the local authority, he will direct the Board to see, before proceeding to carry out its threat of legal proceedings against the council, whether the ratepayers concerned are willing to undergo the additional liability which compliance with the Board's requirements would involve.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: The Board are not aware of the county surveyor's estimate. They have received from the county council information that it is proposed to spend £1,500 on another harbour; but neither this fact, nor the unwillingness of the ratepayers to keep Rush Harbour in proper repair, can relieve the Board of its duty to report the matter to the Lord-Lieutenant.

MR. CLANCY: Will the Board keep a lynx eye on the other harbours in the county of Dublin under its own control?

National Library of Ireland—Case of Mr. Evans.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that Mr. T. H. Evans, National Library of Ireland, who was transferred from the Royal Dublin Society and appointed a permanent civil servant in 1878, having received a Civil Service certificate to that effect, was compelled in 1890 to submit to a deduction of 5 per cent. from his pay in order to entitle him to a pension; and that in April, 1904, the Treasury sent a letter to the Department of Agriculture (Ireland) to inform Mr. Evans that he would not for the future have to submit to this deduction; and, if so, whether the Treasury will take steps, under the circumstances, to refund the money deducted from Mr. Evans's pay through some error, having regard to the fact that other attendants appointed on exactly the same conditions were pensioned without deductions from their pay.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: The deduction made from Mr. Evans's salary down to April, 1904, was properly made and there is no ground for refunding it. From the 1st April, he was placed on a new scale of salary from which no deduction was required.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: On what ground was the deduction made? Is the hon. Gentleman aware that other men in exactly the same position as Mr. Evans have had the money refunded.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: I understand that all the men are in the same position.

Sunday Pay of Adult Messengers at Belfast.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General, whether he can now say why certain adult messengers at Belfast receive extra pay for performing Sunday work while others of the same staff receive no remuneration for Sunday work.

LORD STANLEY: I have now arranged for all but one of the adult night telegraph messengers at Belfast to be given full duties carrying extra pay for Sunday work. In the case in which exception has been made no alteration is warranted. The difference in treatment to which the hon. Member refers is accounted for by the fact that hitherto some messengers have not performed a full duty and have consequently been paid under an allowance which included remuneration for Sunday work.

Russian Volunteer Fleet—Captures of British Steamers — Passage through Suez Canal.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether His Majesty's Government hold themselves bound, under the Suez Convention or otherwise, to allow a British vessel and crew to be forcibly conducted by their captors, against the will of the British owners, captain, and crew, through the Suez Canal.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): There are two or three Questions down in the name of my hon. friend, and another Question was asked of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs by my hon. and gallant friend the Member for Pembroke. These relate really to questions of a very diverse character. Some of them relate to broad questions of international law; others relate to the particular questions which arise out of the fact that a vessel of the Russian Volunteer Fleet has made certain captures of British merchantmen in the Red Sea. The considerations connected with that question have only an indirect relation to the general questions of international law governing capture at sea. The difficulties — I may say the great difficulties, I do not at all wish to minimise them—arising out of these captures deal with a separate problem, one which has given His Majesty's Government great anxiety, and is still giving them great anxiety, but of which I may say that the signs somewhat portend, do portend, a favourable issue. More than that I think it would be inexpedient to say. As to the Question of my hon. friend with regard to the position of the Suez Canal, which does not touch especially the question of the Volunteer Fleet, I think I may say that in my judgment he has mistaken the purport of the Suez Canal Convention. There was no act of war, so far as I am aware, committed in the Suez Canal, and the Convention expressly provides that a prize shall be treated as a man-of-war, and that men-of-war are to have free passage through the canal. Therefore I do not think any special difficulty arises in connection with that branch of the question, or anything which in any way gives rise to a difficult or complex controversy between the two Powers.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Then I understand we are bound?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think there can be no doubt whatever that we are bound to allow prizes of war to go through the Suez Canal. Indeed, when I say we are bound, I ought perhaps to remind the House and the public that the Suez Canal is under international management, and it is not for us as a single Power to say what the rules binding the Egyptian Government as the guardian of the Suez Canal ought to be. But in our view I may say quite plainly there can be no doubt that a legitimate prize may be taken through the Suez Canal without any breach of international arrangement.

Rights of Search and Visit by Belligerent Warships.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury have His Majesty's Government consulted the Law

Officers of the Crown and come to a decision upon the limits within which the right of search and visit by belligerent warships of neutral merchant ships should be exercised and the limits of the duty of merchantmen to submit to such search and visit. Are British merchant ships required to submit to anything more than search and visit of the ship, and examination of her crew and papers in order to ascertain her nationality, destination, and cargo, and, in case of suspicion arising from such examination to detention and transmission of the ship, in charge of a prize crew, to a Prize Court for adjudication. Are British merchant ships required to submit to the forcible seizure and removal of a portion of their cargo, at the discretion of the captain of the visiting warship, without any authority of, or adjudication by, a Prize Court. And, will His Majesty's Government afford such naval protection along the lines of trade where the right of visit and search is likely to be practised, as will protect British merchant ships from such unauthorised abuses in the exercise of that right as the forcible removal of their cargoes on the high seas.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Perhaps my hon. friend will be content if I say that in the opinion of the legal advisers of the Government the international law is correctly stated, speaking broadly, in the second paragraph of the Question. As regards the third paragraph, I do not believe that it is sanctioned by the practice of international law.

Russian Cruisers—Passage through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the passage, in recent times, of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles by Russian vessels of war and Russian Volunteer cruisers equipped to act as vessels of war, His Majesty's Government will propose to submit to the Hague tribunal the question whether such passages are, or are not, consistent with the terms of the treaties embodying the public law of Europe with regard to those straits.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: This question does touch on what I must, at all events at present, regard as forbidden ground. It does raise a controversy which I think will be better settled if the House will, for the moment at all events, content itself with what I have said.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I quite recognise the necessity for that Answer. I think I may forbear from putting the next Question on the Paper—"To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Russian volunteer cruiser "Smolensk," after taking by force from the German mail steamboat "Prinz Heinrich" thirty-one sacks of letters and twenty-four sacks and boxes of parcels said to be intended for Japan, subsequently detained by force the British steamship "Persia," and insisted on transferring to her the greater portion of the letters and parcels taken from the "Prinz Heinrich"; and, if so, what steps do His Majesty's Government intend to take in the matter"—unless my right hon. friend desires to say something on it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No; I do not.

GENERAL LAURIE: Do I understand that the right hon. Gentleman does not desire to answer now the two latter inquiries in my Question—namely, "whether it is in conformity with international law that the same vessel can at one time fly the commercial flag and at another time assert the authority of a warship; and whether this transformation can take place on the high seas, or whether it is obligatory that a vessel holding a commission as a warship should be commissioned as such in a port of the nation to which she belongs?"

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: This is a Question of general law which my hon. and gallant friend asks me, and I am not sure that anything would be gained by any attempt on my part to reply to it. I would point out to him that in this Question he has travelled a little wide of what is the somewhat narrower question of the relation between the action of the "Smolensk" and the "Petersburg" and the Treaty of Paris as modified by the Treaty of London.

Redistribution.

MR. HORNER: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can now state whether His Majesty's Government has decided to introduce next session a measure for the Redistribution of Seats.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think I can add anything to my Answer to a similar Question put by another hon. friend of mine.† I do not propose to anticipate the King's Speech for next session.

Patent Spirit Whisky.

MR. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Arsenical Poisoning, paragraph 166, in which they recommend the appointment of a special officer with suitable scientific knowledge, and adequate laboratory assistance, to make authoritative investigation where new risks to health are suspected, and also to advise how work under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act may be run on satisfactory lines; and whether, in view of the increase in lunacy and crime, attributed by the medical profession and medical officers of health to the unrestricted sale of patent spirit as whisky, he will act on the recommendation of the said Commission by the appointment of a suitable officer.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My right hon. friend the President of the Local Government Board informs me that the recommendations of the Royal Commission are now engaging his careful attention.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I desire to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he has any information to give as to the business of the week.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We propose to finish the Report stage of the Finance Bill to-night, and to take the Report stage of the Licensing Bill to-morrow and Wednesday. On Thursday we shall take the Third Reading of the Finance Bill, and on Friday the Third Reading of the Licensing Bill.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): Is there any legal obligation to press forward the Finance Bill?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Considering that the taxes lapse on August 1st, it will be admitted that it would be highly inconvenient if the Finance Bill were not passed before that date.

MR. BUCHANAN: But in 1896, when there was a Unionist Government in office, the Finance Bill did not pass until 7th August.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not carry in my mind the circumstances of the taxes of that year, but if the hon. Gentleman will put a Question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer I do not doubt that he will get a satisfactory Answer.

NEW WRIT.

New Writ for the county of Lanark (North Eastern Division) in the room of Sir William Henry Rattigan, knight, deceased.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

FINANCE BILL.

As amended further considered.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) said he rose to move the following new clause standing in his name on the Paper—

> "The amount of the permanent annual charge for the National Debt during the current and every subsequent financial year shall be the sum of twenty-six million eight hundred thousand pounds, and 'twenty-six millions eight hundred thousand' shall be substituted for 'twenty-seven' in section 6 (1) of the Finance Act, 1903."

This was, he explained, the clause which was moved by the hon. Member for East Perthshire during the later stages of the proceedings in Committee. It would be remembered that it came under discussion late on Wednesday afternoon, after the settlement had been arrived at which put an end to the long proceedings of that sitting; it was the desire of everybody not to prolong the sitting, and consequently only a short debate took place. He was therefore sure that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not complain of their seizing that opportunity to again raise this very important question. In 1875 what was called the new Sinking Fund was established, having for its object the setting aside every year of a certain sum for the annual charge of the National Debt, making that sum larger than the interest, and thus providing a gradually growing balance for paying off the principal of the Debt. In 1876, the first year the new Sinking Fund came into operation, the National Debt was £770,000,000, and provision was made for £28,000,000 per annum for the service of the Debt. Twelve years later the Debt had fallen to a little over £700,000.000, and the annual provision was lowered to £26,000,000. In 1900 the Debt had fallen to £638,000,000. In that year the Chancellor of the Exchequer the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol reduced the annual provision to £23,000,000. The generation which might be said to have ended in 1900 had reduced the National Debt to the extent of £132,000,000, and he thought that generation deserved to live in their grateful memories, bebecause they had done more for the country than if they had added millions of square miles and millions of unwilling subjects to the Empire. He had never ceased to regret that the Chancellor of the Exchequer of that day had taken advantage of the savings of that generation to reduce the provision for the National Debt charges to so low a sum as £23,000,000. Those who were Members of the House at that time would remember the reasons given by the right hon. Gentleman. He told them that his reason for reducing the provision for the National Debt was that the price of Consols was too high for the investment of the savings of the country. A Nemesis had overtaken the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. They were cheap enough now. What had happened since the right hon. Gentleman thus reduced the Sinking Fund? In 1900 Consols were 114, now they were 89½ and the savings of £132,000,000 in the National Debt made by the previous generation had been swept away. In four years they had added £156,000,000 to our principal National Debt, and it now came to this—that, with the National Debt standing at a figure little short of £800,000,000, nearly £33,000,000 higher than when the Sinking Fund was established, they were proposing now, as last year, to provide for the annual charge for the Debt, not £28,000,000 but only £27,000,000. That was the system which he was challenging by this clause. On the whole the Fund when steadily applied had been successful in its object. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken credit to himself for not having suspended it this year. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman was entitled to that credit, because it was quite clear that if he had not formally abolished it he had done the equivalent.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvi., 1010.

His reason for attacking the Sinking Fund system was that it had not produced the capital results they had a right to expect from it had it been fairly, honestly and steadily administered. From the last Return of the National Debt it appeared that the regular debt, under the operation of the Sinking Fund system, had been reduced by more than £8,00 ,000. That, on the face of of it, was satisfactory. But, on the other hand, what he called the irregular debt had increased by £4,300,000, leaving a net reduction of £3,700,000. And even that was not the net reduction. While they had reduced the whole debt by less than £4,000,000, he contended that they had reduced the national assets by no less than £5,500,000. He estimated, indeed, that by this process, instead of the capital position of the country being £8,000,000, or even £4,000,000 better, the net result of last year's operations was that they were at least £3,000,000 to the bad. The national cash assets to which he referred were first the unclaimed dividends, which to the extent of £1,000,000 sterling had been appropriated by this Bill in order to pay off part of last year's realised deficiency. Another cash asset was the sum realised by the power given to certain corporations to commute the stamp duty payments in respect of the transfer of their stocks. That was a premium payment derived in anticipation of annual revenue, and to that extent the national asset of the future was reduced. And in the third place there was the money derived by anticipation through the redemption of the land tax. This tax was not a tax at all. It was a burden carried by the land. It had long ceased to be a real tax. It was more like a mortgage. What took place was this.

A person owning land subject to a mortgage paid off that mortgage and thus redeemed the land tax by a payment in cash, thereby avoiding future annual payments. Hence again the national cash assets of the future were reduced. There were other significant items. There were the Suez Canal shares, the value of which as a cash asset was being depleted year by year, as they were drawn off the proceeds of these being also used by statutory authority for the payment of the National Debt. Thus it was clear that instead of being £8,000,000 to the good they were £3,000,000 to the bad on the year's finance.

He would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give some attention to the land tax. In the financial accounts the land tax appeared in the revenue of the year 1897–8 for £940,000, but only £750,000 was expected to be got last year. That showed that the value of the land tax had been reduced by £190,000 a year. As a matter of fact it yielded only £725,000 last year, yet the right hon. Gentleman had this year budgeted it at £750,000. Why he should, in face of its steady depletion, have anticipated an increase rather than a decrease passed his financial comprehension. The real cause of the unsatisfactory financial condition was the growth of the irregular debt, which was the result of a most admirable financial ideal set up by Sir Stafford Northcote in 1875. He complained of the terminology used in the financial accounts as being very embarrassing to an outsider and to a layman. There were the funded and unfunded debt, and after them came the terminable annuities and other capital liabilities. The growth of the irregular debt was worth a moment's consideration. It was constituted under fifteen Acts of Parliament, and it had grown by £4,000,000 during the last financial year. More serious than that was its growth during the last six or seven years. In 1898 the whole amount of the obligations was under £4,000,000, In 1899 it rose to £7,000,000, next year to £10,000,000, the following year to £14,000,000, then to £20,000,000, in 1903 to £27,000,000, and this year to £32,000,000. Side by side with the National Debt which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was pretending to pay off he was allowing to grow up an irregular and illegitimate National Debt which was steadily rising. He expected that in the course of the next twelve months, owing to the carrying out of naval works, there would be an increase of between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): I stated it in my speech. I said it was not possible to give the actual figures for the naval and military works, but they would not exceed £10,000,000.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he had not intended to use so high a figure, but it was clear that the irregular debt would go up to £40,000,000. It might be suggested that he was somewhat inconsistent when the position he took up in 1895 was considered. But in that year their financial position was such that the necessary works which the Admiralty proposed and the Government approved could not possibly have been provided for out of the revenue of the year, Personally, he was not responsible for the finance of that day. He had only an Admiralty responsibility. And it should be remembered that in that year, too, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth added very largely to the resources of the country. But the principles on which they acted when they initiated this method of providing for naval works had not been acted upon by the present Government, which in many cases had applied it to purposes which, in the opinion of the Opposition at any rate, were never intended to be covered by these loans.

Another growing debt was that represented by the guaranteed loans. In 1898 these contingent liabilities amounted to £68,000,000, and now they amounted to £153,000,000. Here again these so-called contingent liabilities were real liabilities. The indirect or contingent liabilities had increased in the last twelve months from £115,000,000 to £153,000,000, or an increase of nearly £40,000,000. That was not a satisfactory state of things. To carry on this system of borrowing *pari passu* with a pretended system of reduction of debt was a delusion, a fraud, and a snare. The system ought not to be continued on the present basis if it was to yield the results anticipated. Possibly the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he said on a former occasion, would allege that municipal indebtedness was growing also; but he thought that was an argument on his side, because the same people who bore the municipal indebtedness also bore the national indebtedness. The growth of municipal debt was in no degree a set-off or excuse for the growth of national indebtedness. Even if we were piling up this local debt, that was all the more reason why we should keep a vigilant eye on the growth of the national debt, The main point on which he based his Resolution was that the existing system, part of which was embodied in the provision he was now attacking, was not an honest, plain, straightforward system. He suggested one of two alternatives. Either the Sinking Fund should be abolished, and at the same time these irregular borrowings be put on the Estimates year by year. That would be a plain, true, and accurate system. Or another way would be to add to the amount of the Sinking Fund the entire provision for the service of the Debt so as to increase the amount available for the reduction of the Debt. He begged to move the Motion standing in his name.

A clause [Amount of permanent annual charge for National Debt]—

"The amount for the permanent annual charge for the National Debt during the current and every subsequent financial year shall be the sum of twenty-six million eight hundred thousand pounds, and 'twenty-six million eight hundred thousand' shall be substituted for 'twenty-seven' in Section 6 of the Finance Act, 19(3."—(*Mr. Edmund Robertson.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said that he entirely agreed with all the remarks which the hon. and learned Member had directed against himself, on his own record, in regard to the irregular debt. He had more than once divided the House on this point, because the irregular debt had in the main, been contracted for naval and military works, and had earnestly advised the House, as he now did again, to refuse its assent to any more Naval or Military Works Acts. So far as he understood the hon. and learned Gentleman, he said that the amount of debt was one thing and the terminable annuities were another, and he added the two together. But really and truly these terminable annuities were the machinery by which the Debt was to be extinguished. They were no more part of the Debt than the extinguisher was part of the candle. They represented permanent engagements. The terminable annuities combined within themselves both sinking fund and interest; they were set up to extinguish a portion of the Debt and therefore they were an alleviation of and not an addition to the Debt. As to the Sinking Funds proper, the hon. Gentleman wished to make out a capital account, and put all the assets on one side and the liabilities of the British Empire on the other. That would be altogether illusory. They could not put the assets in the form of cash. Who could say what was the value of the appanages of the Crown or of the British Empire? But unless you could say that no account of assets and liabilities could be complete, and if not complete it must be illusory and deceptive. That was impossible. In dealing with the depreciation of assets, the hon. and learned Gentleman said that the Exchequer balances were reduced. He agreed; they were dangerously reduced. But it did not follow that because they were reduced the liabilities of the State were necessarily increased. He could not follow the hon. and learned Gentleman in his list of all the depreciation of assets which he had drawn up—if he could, he thought he could easily show serious errors in it. With regard to unclaimed dividends he entirely agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman. The only legitimate purpose to which these unclaimed dividends ought to be applied was to extinguish debt. A man who did not claim his dividends permanently to that extent did extinguish the Debt; and to apply them to the purposes of revenue was to rob the Debt.

Now, as to the general proposition which was raised by the new clause moved by the hon. and learned Gentleman. There were two Sinking Funds. One was the old Sinking Fund which consisted of the balances of realised income over realised expenditure. He regretted to say that that old Sinking Fund had been assassinated. It no longer existed, and could never be revived, unless the whole financial methods of Chancellors of the Exchequer were radically changed. So long as the present financial system existed the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whenever he saw a likelihood of any balances of income that would go to the old Sinking Fund, would not fail to seize these balances for Supplementary Estimates—which they were now told were to be brought in as a matter of course. Originally Supplementary Estimates were rightly considered to be an abuse, and were rarely to be proposed—never, except in cases of unforeseen and unavoidable expenditure arising after the Budget arrangements had been accepted; but now they were brought in as a matter of course, and no Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to resist the temptation to seize and apply the realised balances to his own necessities. Therefore, the old Sinking Fund was lost, vanished, gone for ever. The new Sinking Fund was therefore of all the more importance. The new Sunking Fund was composed of the balance of the fixed charge of £28,000,000 which was settled at a time when the gross liabilities of the State were far less than now, and since not increased with increased liabilities, but improperly reduced to £27,000,000. Out of that fixed charge had to be paid the interest on the funded debt, the interest on the unfunded debt; the terminable annuities which represent partly the interest and partly the extinction of debt; and finally, the cost of the management of the Debt; and whatever remained over, that was the new Sinking Fund. All that would remain over this year from the fixed charge after all these payments had been made, to go to the extinction of the Debt, was £1,900,000, and last year it was less. Leaving aside, then, the debt extinguishing portion of the terminable annuities, which was previously permanently allocated, the only part of the fixed charge that would be applied, this year, to the purchase and extinction of the public debt was £1,900,000. The First Lord of the Treasury 1 9 9 delivered a speech on the Sinking Fund which showed that his right hon. friend was under a strange misapprehension regarding it. He assumed that his right hon. friend's knowledge of finance was equal, if not superior, to that of some Chancellors of the Exchequer, who, after all, were only the Second Lords of the Treasury. His right hon. friend intimated that £5,800,000 was going to be spent in the purchase of debt—he lumping together the £4,000,000 or £4,500,000 of terminable annuities and the residue of £1,300,000 the balance or new Sinking Fund employed to purchase and cancel debt, and by some strange process concluded that the country would thereby lose £800,000 because Consols were 10 per cent. above par. The whole calculation and statement were illusory. He wished the House to consider how ridiculously small, how extremely inadequate, the provision for the extinction of the Debt was the £1,900,000 which would be used and would alone be used for the purchase and extinction of the Debt in the present financial year. What proportion was it? It was 5s. per £100 or one four-hundredth part of the Debt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer appeared rather proud of himself for having achieved that result. It was true he included the terminable annuities, over which he had no control, and which were settled long ago. But the new Sinking Fund was the only real sinking fund provided for in the year, and that amounted to only £1,900,000. The dead weight of the funded debt, without taking in the £32,000,000, of what the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite rightly called the irregular debt, was £762,000,000; and they only proposed to pay off six-tenths of a 1d. in the £ per annum. Was there ever a debtor in the County Court appealing to a sympathetic Judge who made such a proposal? It was ludicrous. The provision was altogether inadequate for the payment of the Debt. The fixed charge was now only £27,000,000, or £1,000,000 less than it was when the total liabilities of the country were far less than they were at present. The fixed charge should at once be raised to at least £28,000,000 and, in his opinion, it should be £28,500,000.

He would not enlarge on the great advantages of the Sinking Fund. They had been dwelt upon by able financiers on both sides—by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth, and by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol. They had been truly told that the Sinking Fund was the great reserve of the country; that it was the only real financial reserve; and yet it had been brought down to its present inadequate proportions. The old Sinking Fund was gone; it was a corpse; it would never be revived unless there was a great financial revolution, which he should be glad to see. The new Sinking Fund was practically the only sinking fund they now had. As to the additions to what was called the capital account—a most ridiculous term—the debt for this, was of a special character, carried its own sinking fund, and was not perpetual, whereas the public debt was perpetual. It was none the less irregular and improper, and he repeated his hope that the House would sanction no more of it. He was filled with apprehension when he thought as he often thought, of our present financial position. After all, he was but an earnest student of finance; he did not think any one could be anything more than a student; but he could assure the House he was full of apprehension when he looked at the financial position of the country. They were approaching financial confusion; their expenditure was dictated by extravagance, without producing efficiency; taxation was oppressive; the national accounts were systematically falsified; £20,000,000, representing interceptions and appropriations in aid, were left out on both sides for the manifest purpose of misleading the English people into the belief that their expenditure was less than it was; the control of Parliament was disappearing; appropriations-in-aid and interceptions all escaped the control of Parliament; votes on account, which were formerly for £3,000,000 or £4,000,000, to cover two months, were now for £21,000,000, and sufficient to carry the Government on for six months; taxation which was annual was becoming permanent; and, in fact, in every respect there was a prospect before them which demanded the most serious attention of this House. It certainly demanded the presence of a Chancellor of the Exchequer who would be prepared to abandon some of the abuses which had crept in from time to time, who would be prepared to strike again, as Mr. Gladstone did in 1866, the true note of finance, and who would see that the national accounts were true, that the national expenditure was kept in hand, and that taxation was levied in such a manner as to produce the least possible burden. He knew nothing of more moment to the Empire than this, and nothing more worthy the attention of the House of Commons.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.) said that every hon. Member would agree with the speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken. The subject of the National Debt, and the various questions hinging on it, were rapidly becoming more grave and more pressing. He was not quite so hopeless about the old Sinking Fund as the hon. Gentleman appeared to be. He believed that in another House of Commons, and under other auspices, it might be restored to its previous vitality. After all, it had been of some use in substantially reducing the Debt; and it was not beyond his anticipation that it might be so used again. He also thought the hon. Gentleman was rather too rigid in trying to exclude altogether the operation of the terminable annuities. That was not financially a fair method of gauging the condition of the country. He should like to urge on the Government the necessity for reconsidering the question of the National Debt on two or three general grounds. One reason why the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to reconsider the whole question was the fact that the basis on which the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon was founded was that this country would obtain £30,000,000 from the Transvaal within three years, and that that amount would be applied to the reduction of the National Debt. There was, however, no chance of that money being now forthcoming. The Chancellor of the Exchequer referred to the matter in general language a few days ago; but since then they had had a statement from the Colonial Secretary with reference to the finances of the Transvaal, which showed that the Transvaal and Orange River Colony were only just paying their way. They received £7,500,000 and spent £7,400,000. How could it be anticipated that those Colonies would impose on themselves an additional burden of £30,000,000, involving an annual charge of £1,250,000? It was absurd to imagine that this country would get any such sum from the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. Surely, therefore, the time had arrived for a reconsideration of the whole question.

He thought it was only right to call attention to the lax method in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer dealt with borrowed money. The right hon. Gentleman had helped himself to a million of money which was really capital and which should have been used for the extinction of debt, and had used it for revenue; and with regard to the deficit in relation to the year just concluded, the right hon. Gentleman had done the same thing: he had made use of £2,000,000 of loan money for the purposes of revenue. That was an extremely lax method of dealing with public finance. With regard to the irregular debt and the additional capital liability, he drew attention to the fact that it was growing at a very much more rapid rate than the funded debt, our deadweight debt, was being extinguished. It was growing in geometrical ratio. It was growing each year, and the increase every year was a large percentage over the previous year. In 1900 it was £10,000,000, in 1901 £14,500,000, in 1902 £20,500,000, in 1903 £27,500,000, in 1904 £32,000,000, and, as they knew from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, next year it would be £42,000,000. It was not only an increase, but an increase going on at a continuously increasing rate. The right hon. Gentleman had said, and justly said, it was a special debt and there were special reasons for its being extinguished in a limited number of years, but it was an increase of our capital liability and of our debt just as much as any other debt that existed. Not only was there an increase from year to year, but the system as a system was extending and was constantly being used for improper purposes. It had been said that this system was encouraged by the Naval Works Bill of 1895, but that Bill contained a small number of specified items of large magnitude which entailed a great expenditure over a number of years.

There had been a constant and growing laxity in these matters. There was a growing practice also of employing loan moneys on public buildings, and there had been an increasing laxity in the items charged to loan accounts for years. Under the Military Works Act at the present time there was a large item for Volunteer and other rifle ranges, and there were amounts put down under that heading coming down to as low as £4 and £2. So that this rich country was spreading over a term of thirty years the repayment of small sums not amounting to more than £4. It was ridiculous that they should place upon posterity such a loan as that. There was a brick factory which made bricks for the War Office, and the working capital of that factory was actually supplied by means of loan money. That was surely a very lax method of financial administration. As he had previously reminded the right hon. Gentleman, the Public Accounts Committee had reported very strongly against this practice. They said that for specific large works of a permanent character it was legitimate to borrow money, but for small works such as were now incorporated in these Bills it was highly expedient that we should return to the practice of putting the annual amount of expenditure on the Estimates. Fifty years ago the debt charge was half the annual expenditure of the country; but at the present time only one-fifth of the annual expenditure was represented in that way. That was a wholly inadequate sum to set aside for this purpose. He might dwell at some length upon this because it strengthened his contention, because even if £150,000,000 had not been added to the Debt by the war, the money allocated to the payment of the Debt was most inadequate. This matter was urgent, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the financial authority of the country, should reconsider at the earliest possible moment not merely the questions connected with this loan expenditure but also the adequacy or inadequacy of the charge they were setting aside for the diminution of the Debt. It was most important that they should get rid of this laxity and restore the finances of the country to a solid basis.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the question raised by the hon. and learned Member was whether or not, having regard to the amount of the Debt and the circumstances of the year, the provision made for the redemption of debt was adequate. Hon. Members seemed to have had some difficulty in finding their way through the maze of figures embodied in the Return from which the hon. and learned Member quoted, and the House had probably experienced some difficulty in following the speeches which had been made. One great cause of complaint had been that outside the funded or ordinary debt there was a debt which the hon. and learned Member described as irregular, incurred on account of capital liabilities by various Departments which had been authorised by Parliament to borrow the money. That was put forward as being in itself a *prima facie* reason for considering that the provision for the sinking fund was inadequate. The House should keep in mind that for all debt of that character there was established a separate sinking fund, altogether outside what was ordinarily spoken of as the Sinking Fund, and that upon the annual Votes of the Departments concerned there was charged an annuity sufficient not only to pay the interest on the money borrowed, but within a period of thirty years to pay off the whole debt. That method of meeting the financial liabilities of the nation was objected to by hon. Members opposite. The hon. and learned Member for Dundee thought it was sound as long as it was pursued by himself, but that it had since become unsound. The hon. Member for East Perthshire was more consistent and more drastic in his judgment, holding the method to be unsound at any time, though he (the right hon. Gentleman) did not remember his protesting against it when it was first introduced by the hon. and learned Member for Dundee. Expenditure of that kind ought certainly to be watched, and he did not wish to see it a part of our annual financial system. But when great capital expenditure had to be incurred upon works of a permanent character, which would be valuable long after the money had been spent, it was from time to time necessary to have recourse to borrowing for a short period to enable the works to be carried out. When the hon. and learned Member introduced the first of these Bills he repudiated with some warmth the idea that he was making final provision for all that had to be done. He (the right hon. Gentleman), following in the hon. and learned Member's footsteps, had had to explain why the Estimates had been doubled in some cases and increased in others, and why new works had had to be undertaken. But he had no wish to make the matter one of Party controversy. The hon. and learned Member when serving at the Admiralty, had believed the works to be essential for the defence of the country, and that it was reasonable that the cost should be spread over a term of years instead of being placed upon the Estimates of the one year.

The system of charging upon the Estimates each year whatever sum was considered necessary often resulted in uneconomical administration. When a great work of this kind was begun the quicker it was brought to completion the more economical it was as there were likely to be fewer alterations, he cost would be smaller, and the country would remain out of the enjoyment of the result of the expenditure for a shorter period. When the capital expenditure necessary for large works was charged upon the annual Votes it not infrequently happened that the sum provided was not the amount that could be economically and wisely spent in the year but the maximum amount which the necessities of the Chancellor of the Exchequer allowed him to allot for the purpose. Up to a certain point the growth of such debt would naturally be in an increasing ratio year by year, because as the works progressed more money could be spent upon them, until they neared completion when the expenditure again slackened off. Expenditure of this kind was not confined to naval and military purposes. For instance, only the other day the House passed amid loud cheers a Bill authorising the Postmaster-General to expend, and the Treasury to borrow for the purpose of providing him with the money,

£3,000,000 in connection with the telephone service. That was essentially capital expenditure not necessarily to be repaid out of the revenue of a single year.

Sir GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.) asked for how many years the telephone loan was to run.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN thought it was for less than thirty years, but he did not like to speak from memory. The period was calculated having regard to the life of the different kinds of plant in which the money was to be invested. When the first Naval Works Bill was introduced the hon. and learned Member gave as a justification for it that they were engaged in paying off the borrowings under the Naval Defence Act. But the last two years of the annuities under that Act were paid off by encroaching upon the Sinking Fund a course which he had refrained for pursuing, but for which hon. Members opposite were unwilling to give him any credit.

Another class of liabilities the growth of which hon. Members regarded as dangerous were the contingent liabilities of the State for stocks raised for purposes other than those of the nation. The growth last year was mainly due to the raising of the Transvaal Guaranteed Loan under circumstances with which the House was familiar and for purposes of which the House approved. The rest of the growth was due to borrowing on account of local loans. The borrowing for Irish land purchase, which did not come into last year, would add to the amount, but that also was in pursuance of a policy which had received the approval of the House. As hon. Members were aware he had watched not without anxiety the great growth of local loans and the necessity, when he was doing everything he could to avoid recourse to the money market for the purposes of the Government, to have such recourse on account of local authorities. He thought that while matters were in their present condition the Treasury ought not to be driven to raise local loans stock to the amount which in recent years had been customary. But the main point of the discussion was whether or not reasonable provision for the redemption of debt was being made. He agreed with the hon. Member for East Perthshire that terminable annuities themselves represented redemption of debt. In many cases Consols had been cancelled and these annuities were set up to pay the interest which would have been earned and to replace to the credit of the fund the amount of the Consols which had been cancelled.

*Mr. GIBSON BOWLES said he quite recognised that terminable annuities were partly representative of a sinking fund. What he had contended was that the only amount to be applied in any year, unless there was an old Sinking Fund balance, for the cancelling of debt by buying Consols was the balance of the fixed charge representing the new Sinking Fund, which in the present year would be £1,900,000.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN pointed out that terminable annuities were largely employed for that purpose. The hon. Member who moved this clause was of opinion that the permanent annual charge for the National Debt should be as great at it was before the war. Besides the total net charge he had to consider the efficacy of the sum and not merely its amount. The reduction in the rate of interest increased the efficacy of any given sum of money for the reduction of the Debt. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon fixed the amount at 1 per cent. of the whole Debt, and it might have been argued at that time that it would have been wiser to have reduced taxation less and set aside a larger sum for debt, but his right hon. friend and the House decided otherwise. He did not, however, think that those who were inclined to take that view would seriously urge that he should now depart from the arrangement which his predecessor made. There were many right hon. Gentlemen and hon. Gentlemen opposite who prided themselves upon always having escaped the glamour of the £30,000,000 war contribution and who never expected to see that money paid by the Transvaal. That was not his view, but there were obvious reasons why at the present moment they could not raise that war contribution. He should be very sorry to believe that the Transvaal would not, in due course, when times were more favourable, make the contribution which his predecessor in office anticipated. In the meantime a sinking fund, amounting to nearly 1 per cent., continued year by year, and this, in his opinion, having regard to all the circumstances, was as much as they could expect. He gathered that hon. Gentlemen were rather anxious that the growth of small borrowings should be closely watched and that they should not be made a permanent annual part of our financial system. In that hope and wish he was very much in accord with the Members opposite, but he was bound to point out that the works already sanctioned by Parliament, and which had been begun, were coming to an end. They had overtaken the arrears out of which they arose, and it would not be necessary to ask Parliament to make provision for them again.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) thought this proposal had been quite justified by the concluding words of the right hon. Gentleman. After what had fallen from the Chancellor of the Exchequer he would not trouble the House with more than a few words. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to misapprehend the view of his hon. friend who moved this Amendment, because he did not desire in any sense that all this expenditure should be placed upon the annual Estimates of the year. What he did desire was that there should be some discrimination in regard to this matter. After what had fallen from the Chancellor of the Exchequer they had reason to hope that there would be some diminution in these annual borrowings. He was not very sanguine in this matter. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that some of these works programmes were coming to an end, but past experience showed that one programme led to another still more expensive proposal. In this connection he might mention the new Army scheme which had been introduced by the Secretary for War which would involve the provision of more barrack accommodation. He was very much afraid that the Chancellor of the Exchequer in these matters of expenditure would find his hands forced by the spending Departments unless he took up a very strong attitude. So long as these borrowings went on, practically the Sinking Fund was a farce, because they created debt with one hand and paid it off with the other.

His hon. friend drew attention to the whole financial position in regard to the National Debt. Last year in a year of peace and a fairly properous revenue the whole reduction of the National Debt of £800,000,000 was only £1,850,000 and that was not satisfactory. The right hon. Gentleman said they were making every reasonable provision for the reduction of the Debt, and that during the coming year the sum of £7,120,000, would be devoted to this purpose. He entirely agreed with the view which the right hon. Gentleman took in regard to terminable annuities as applied to reduction of debt. What they had to look to was the balance after deducting cost of administration and cost of annual interest. With regard to that point his hon. friend had put the matter affecting the annual reduction quite fairly. In considering the annual amount that ought to be applied to the reduction of debt they had to look to the grounds on which the permanent charge was reduced five years ago. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol reduced the amount on the grounds that Consols were so high and that the permanent charge ought to bear a proper proportion to the outstanding Debt. At the present moment in 1904–5 the total Sinking Fund under the old arrangement would have risen to £6,500,000 upon a Debt which would have been reduced to £580,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman proposed this year a Sinking Fund of £7,000,000 upon a net debt of £770,000,000. His point was that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol fixed the amount of the permanent debt and the Sinking Fund on the proportion of the then existing Debt, so that each year the Sinking Fund would reduce the Debt by so much. The right hon. Gentleman in taking this year the proposals of his predecessors had fixed the Sinking Fund at £7,000,000 on a net debt of £770,000,000. If it had been raised, as it ought to have been, to the proper amount, it would have been 1·25 per cent. instead of ·92 per cent. On that basis the right hon. Gentleman agreed that there was a great deficiency in the Sinking Fund. Last year the proposals were unquestionably fixed on the basis that the Transvaal loan would be paid, and that the Chinese indemnity would be brought in. The Sinking Fund last year was fixed on the basis that we would get £14,000,000 from the Transvaal, and £6,000,000 from China—in all £20,000,000, and of that only £4,000,000 had been received. The right hon. Gentleman had expressed the hope that at some future time we might receive this Transvaal contribution. But in reply to a Question across the Table he said that as regarded the Transvaal nothing had been provided in the Estimates for the coming year to meet this charge. It was quite clear that for the next twelve months we should not receive this contribution from the Transvaal. That altogether upset the basis on which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon fixed the amount of the Sinking Fund. The interest on this amount had to be met out of the Sinking Fund, and that being so the Sinking Fund was not nearly so effective as if those sums had been received. It might be said that it was difficult to press the right hon. Gentleman, in a year when these sums had not been received, and when he had a realised deficit of £5,500,000, to increase the Sinking Fund. He was not sure but that these two facts were good reasons for increasing the fund. Looking to the great expenditure which was going on year by year, and looking also to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman this year would not obtain the revenue he expected, and that probably there would be a deficit at the close of the financial year he thought that, under those conditions, his hon. friend was right in moving this Amendment as a protest against the inadequate way in which the National Debt was being diminished at the present moment.

*SIR EDGAR VINCENT (Exeter) said right hon. Gentlemen had had careful comparison made between the Sinking Fund established by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Sinking Fund established by his predecessor. He did not think that these comparisons were really of much avail, because the Sinking Fund was non-existent. There was no amount at all. In one portion of the Budget there was an approximate £7,000,000 of apparent Sinking Fund, and in another portion there was a fresh capital liability of £10,000,000 created. Therefore the net result of these two operations was an increase of debt of approximately £3,000,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that these two sums were not fairly comparable, and he gave as a reason that as against this new creation of debt of £10,000,000 certain annuities were charged against various departmental budgets of future years. That did not appear to him to alter in the least the fact—the disagreeable fact that new debt was being incurred on behalf of the State. Because the Debt was charged upon small fractions it was none the less a State liability. The fact that, in the future budgets of the naval or war Departments, a certain sum was taken for work already performed meant that they had so much less to spend on the necessities of the current year. In 1905 or 1906 they might have an apparent Army expenditure of £28,000,000 of which only £27,000,000 or £26,000,000 would be really effective because £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 was required to meet expenditure already incurred. That appeared to him to be a totally wrong system because the account differed from the reality. Anyone who studied the national accounts ought to be able to get a fair and correct view of the national position without entering into five or six annexes or appendices. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had put forward a plea which had some justification, namely, that at the present time it was extremely difficult to increase the burden of taxation on the people. He submitted that they would never arrive at the proper administration of the finances until they went back to the old system of having one account which contained the entire expenditure and receipts of the year. The present system of Loan Bills was nothing more nor less than an extraordinary Budget. The effect of these extraordinary Budgets was undoubtedly to alleviate the financial necessities of the moment. They made the financial position of the country appear for the moment better than it really was. But a day of reckoning must come, and the present system of finance would be condemned because during these years of peace a vigorous Sinking Fund should have been in operation so that year by year there should be a diminution rather than an increase of our liabilities. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman next year when he came to make his financial statement would put the whole matter clearly and fairly before the country, and that he would amalgamate all the different accounts into one, and that he would ask the country to show sufficient financial resolution to create a vigorous Sinking Fund in order to make a considerable annual reduction in the Debt after paying for the entire expenditure of the year and not only for a portion of it.

Mr. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had founded his case upon the argument that this House had last year agreed to £27,000,000 being the permanent fixed debt charge at a time when the then Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to take off taxation, and that the House ought not now to ask him to go back on that arrangement when he had to impose new taxes. Many hon. Members argued last year that a debt charge of £27,000,000 was quite an insufficient sum, and they pointed out that in fixing it at that amount the then Chancellor of the Exchequer was actually reducing by £500,000 the actual amount which was being set aside for the payment of the Debt. The fixed debt charge then was £23,000,000, and it was increased to £27,000,000, but the actual amount of the debt which was included under the fixed debt charge was increased by close upon £150,000,000, the interest of which amounted to £4,500,000, so that although there was a nominal increase from £23,000,000 to £27,000,000 the actual amount devoted to the payment of the debt was £500,000 less. When they argued on that point last year they were met by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon with various answers. They were told in the first instance as his hon. friend the Member for Poplar had pointed out, that there would be a considerable payment into the Treasury on account of the repayment of the Transvaal loan, and they were told then, while actually discussing the amount of the fixed debt charge, that it would affect the increase to the extent of £300,000 a year, by the interest which they should save on the first instalment from the Transvaal, and that in the ensuing year—that was the present year—they should have a further £10,000,000, the interest of which, added to the interest of the first £10,000,000, would more than cover the £500,000 by which they proposed to increase the charge. They had not got either of these instalments, and consequently that argument brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon had failed. They therefore stood in this position now, that if they left the fixed debt charge at its present amount of £27,000,000 they would be paying on a reduced basis compared with what they were paying before last year. He submitted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the amount set aside under these circumstances was not adequate. But then there was another argument.

As a matter of fact they had not in this Budget any real provision for the reduction of the debt at all. They were reducing the amount of the Debt on the one hand and increasing it on the other. But that was not all. Not only were they increasing the amount of the Debt by these new loans for permanent works, but,owing to the excess of expenditure last year over income, apart from the new debts for permanent works they had not reduced the total amount of liabilities by a single penny. The Chancellor of the Exchequer last year was able to make out on his Budget estimate a very fair case for putting his fixed debt charge of £27,000,000, because on his then Budget estimate he was showing a surplus on the year. It was pointed out that that would increase the amount for the reduction of the Debt, but this surplus was not realised. Instead of a surplus the Chancellor of the Exchequer had a deficit of upwards of £5,000,000, and that had gone to swell the Debt. He would put this case to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The very fact that they were obliged this year to impose fresh taxation in order to meet current expenditure was not a reason for leaving the fixed debt charge where it was. On the contrary it was a reason for increasing the fixed debt charge. He reminded the right hon. Gentleman that when the annual income was very little more than half what it was at the present time this House was content to make annual provision for debt greater than we made at this time. Having regard to the smallness of our revenue and our charges, upon which we could not afford to make a large provision for debt, he thought the House was justified in asking the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make far greater exertions to pay off the permanent debt than he had made under the present Budget. There was every sign that in the future our expenditure would not diminish. We had a permanent liability imposed upon us in respect of our Army and Navy which, notwithstanding any economies that we might practice, we should not be able seriously to reduce. It behoved us, therefore, to make strenuous exertions to diminish the National Debt. By putting the fixed charge at £27,000,000 we had not done as much as we ought to have done. At the very least we should have gone back to the time of Sir Stafford Northcote when it stood at £28,000,000 a year. If that were done he did not think that the House would be calling upon the taxpayers to make anything more than a reasonable provision for the vast amount of debt that had to be met.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY said he had always held the idea that we ought to make the same effort as was made by our forefathers to pay off the permanent debt. He was afraid that the present tendency was to increase expenditure. The special point to which he desired to refer was the fact that in the present days we paid off our debts in a much longer period than should be allowed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had fixed thirty years as the period within which to pay off the loan of £3,000,000 for telephones. Surely any sane man looking on the developments made by science would say that thirty years was too lengthy a period over which to extend the repayment of that loan. Before that time was over a great deal of what was now deemed to be necessary would be obsolete and out of date. He ventured to think that ten instead of thirty years would have been ample for the purpose. No doubt if they made the period of repayment shorter it would make it harder to face at the present time, but he was confident that the safest and best way to reduce expenditure was to arrange to pay our debts in a short period. The fact that we were increasing our expenditure by leaps and bounds should make us more and more careful in granting that expenditure. If we could afford to increase our expenditure, we ought to afford to set aside a very much larger proportion in repayment of our debts. Seeing that our increasing expenditure was one of the most serious questions of the day and that the amount was increasing in enormous proportions, the safest plan was to increase our Sinking Fund. This was not a Party, but a great national question, and he was sure that the only sound method of finance to adopt in the face of rapidly increasing expenditure was to make a far greater effort to increase the Sinking Fund and to pay off in that manner a much larger portion of our debt.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) agreed that this was a very grave and urgent matter, and he was glad that such authorities on finance as the hon. Members for Exeter and North Islington had expressed their views upon it. He was perfectly certain that nothing would be done in the way of cutting down the growth of expenditure until Members of authority in matters of finance criticised and opposed extravagance in the Estimates. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had treated this as a year of exceptional pressure, but the Government had no wars or extra expenditure to meet. They had had years of bounding revenue during which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had resorted to the Sinking Fund for Budget purposes. A late Chancellor of the Exchequer, the hon. Member for West Bristol, cut it down from £25,000,000 to £23,000,000, and the same system prevailed at the present moment. The war was over, but this was not seized as an opportunity for restarting the Sinking Fund, but for reducing it by another £500,000. We were resorting to the German method of an extraordinary non-recurring expenditure. Germany divided their expenditure into three classes. They had the ordinary recurring expenditure, and the ordinary non-recurring expenditure, and finding those were not sufficient, they also had the extraordinary non-recurring expenditure. That was what the Government was doing; they had not classified their expenditure in those three stages, but that was practically what they had done. These Loan Bills were not capital expenditure. They ought to be part of the Annual Budget, and be treated as such. The result was that the Sinking Fund was nullified and neutralised by means of these loans. Before these loans were resorted to, these items were treated as the annual expenditure of the year. These were sums of money spent to meet what, after all, was the ordinary expenses of the country, and nothing could prevent them from being annual expenses. These were the expedients always resorted to by every firm when their expenses got out of hand. They always began to treat these expenses as capital expenses. It was a well-known trick—he did not use the word in any offensive way to the right hon. Gentleman—it was what everybody financially pressed resorted to, treating things as capital expenditure which really ought to be treated as current expenditure; and unless somebody had the moral courage to face the matter, and include this expenditure in current expenditure as it ought to be, the firm would have to face bankruptcy sooner or later. This was what we were doing. He was not surprised Consols were falling. Financial experts were sufficiently sensitive to what was going on. They could not be deceived. The taxpayer might be deceived for some time; he might say this was capital expenditure, but it was not so with financial experts. They knew full well. They knew we were increasing our expenditure and neutralising our Sinking Fund; and the result was that our credit was going down in the market, and, if we wanted to restore our credit, we must treat these things as what they really were—the ordinary expenses of running an Empire.

This financial system, initiated he did not care by whom, was getting worse year after year; and the result was that the shares of this Imperial company were not quoted in the market at what they were. We had got to restore the financial soundness of the country. Nothing would be done until men on both sides of the House who knew what finance meant and knew the danger of running this course, took the matter in hand; and he was sure the House would respond to a call from a Chancellor of the Exchequer. He could appreciate the difficulties of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer; they were largely political, and probably he could not face the whole situation as he would like to, though he was sure he understood the position and that he could not be satisfied, and if he were there another year—let them trust the best would happen for the country, whatever it was—he hoped he would have the courage to thoroughly search out the financial situation and tell the House of Commons what it was. This was what they wanted of a Chancellor of the Exchequer. They did not want him to tell the House of Commons, as the Member for West Bristol told them, that they were in a bad way but he was going to allow them to become worse, and then they went on to the next year, and he told them: "You are really going from bad to worse." He really had not the courage to amputate the rotten limb and then to say: "This is the medicine you must take." He said: "It is unpleasant, and perhaps I must put it off to another year until you get worse, and then you will be so bad that you will take anything." Was it not time to treat the finances of the Empire as they indicated that municipalities should treat theirs. How did they treat them? They said, "You want to borrow. The first thing you have to consider is; is this a reproductive thing, and, if so, how long will it last? Thirty years. Very well, you must have a sinking fund to cover thirty years, and no more." On the other hand, if they had a scheme, say, for building houses, lasting fifty years, what a trouble they had to induce the Government to extend the sinking fund! Why did not they apply this vigorous financial virtue they insisted upon municipalities exercising to their own finance to begin with. Let them practice the precepts they taught municipalities. The right hon. Gentleman in his Budget speech was strong upon the municipalities. He flung a sort of sneer at the municipalities, saying we were talking about the great National Debt, but we were overlooking the municipal debts. Everybody knew perfectly well what he meant in the light of recent controversies. Whether he intended it or not, he was perfectly certain it was accepted as a kind of sneer at the municipalities.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said this would be the last thing he should think of.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE, proceeding, said let them first of all emulate the municipalities. They did not ask them to improve upon it. Let them take the municipalities and see what they were doing. One per cent was all they asked them to make the Sinking Fund. They were not doing this. No municipalities would be allowed to walk off with a 1 per. cent sinking fund. It was not really a Sinking Fund as it was. Whilst they were taking this position with regard to municipalities it was about time the same thing should be done with the Empire. He agreed with the hon. Member for Monmouth that they could not possibly curtail the annual expenditure. The only question was what they would spend their money upon. There would be some who wanted to spend it on warlike preparations, others on education, and others, again, on housing the poor. What they wanted to see was not only that the expenditure should be productive, but that their debt did not increase whilst nominally they were making provision for reducing it. It was not playing fairly with the people of this country. There was a great appearance of making provision for reducing the Debt every year; for some time the thing was done, and then they flung off the last remnant of reduction, and they were now going on shamelessly increasing their debt, whilst going through the farce every year of reducing it by means of a nominal Sinking Fund. It was not being candid with the people of the country; and people who really understood finance saw the fact, and they had reduced Consols accordingly by something like 15 per cent. It was no use talking of getting £30,000,000 from the Transvaal; it was hopeless to expect it. The only thing they could do was to go on spending, developing the country, and keeping it going. It was idle, with a colony which at present had a deficiency, to talk about imposing an additional burden. He did not believe that the Chancellor of the Exchequer really in his heart thought that the thing was feasible for years to come. Why, therefore, should they not wipe out the debt, and then, if it came, it would come as a boon to the ratepayers, and they would know how to make very good use of it. In the meantime, let them wipe it out; it was a real debt and burden, and pay it straightforwardly instead of going on year after year imitating the very worst financial expedients and tricks of their Continental neighbours who were marching towards bankruptcy. After all, the great strength of the country was its great financial reserve; it was so in the great Napoleonic wars. We fought and won not with lead, but with gold. We ought to carefully guard the same reserve, and see that we were in a good financial position so that, if an hour of trial came, Britain might give the same good account of herself as in the past. We were squandering her reserve, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer who declined to face the situation courageously was not one taking a patriotic view of his duty to the country.

* **MR. PERKS** (Lincolnshire, Louth) said the heavy obligations which the municipalities of the country were under to many financial institutions in London and in the provinces was a matter of the utmost gravity, and it should unquestionably be in the minds of any financial advisers of the Government a matter of very serious moment for their consideration. He agreed with his hon. friend that the greatest object of all expenditure, both Imperial and municipal, should be as far as possible to make such expenditure wherever practicable remunerative, and to take great care that money lent out upon depreciating securities, such as electric cables and so forth, should not be, either in the form of terminable annuities or any other form of security, extended over a period far beyond what the trading character of such investments would reasonably justify. He had had a great deal of experience of Continental countries and their finances, and also some of the Republics on the other side

of the Atlantic against whom it was sometimes customary to direct, he supposed in a spirit of British self-congratulation, a little criticism; but he was not sure that some Continental countries would be complimented by his hon. friend's references to them. Certainly, if they compared the fluctuations of the public securities of some of the Continental nations with those of our own, during the last three or four years, the comparison would not be at all creditable to the British Government. In Italy, Hungary, Austria, France, and even Russia—he left out Germany for the moment—he knew he was correct in saying that the depreciation of the securities had not touched anything like the figure which our own had reached. Then another point. It was not usual for several of these Continental countries to charge against capital account certain classes of expenditure as were represented by expenditure in this country on public works. He agreed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer that there was much of that expenditure on public works which was of a permanent nature, and which might fairly be charged to capital account. Take the subject of dredging. They knew perfectly well that many hundreds of thousands of pounds were spent on dredging, which was of a permanent nature. But when reference was made to some of these foreign communities who were supposed to be such children in matters of finance compared with ourselves, he would remind the critics of foreign finance that a great deal of their expenditure on public works was charged to annual revenue account. He had himself had much to do with a great public work of a foreign Republic in which they had spent £10,000,000 in the last few years on one of their great ports, and of that £8,000,000 had been charged to current account and only £2,000,000 to capital account. The securities of that country had been advancing by leaps and bounds, while our national securities had been depreciating.

He did not agree with the rather pessimistic views as to the commercial and financial condition of the country expressed by the hon. Member for King's Lynn. While there was the utmost possible necessity for cutting down public expenditure to the lowest point consistent with economy and public safety, he did not think there was the slightest need for us, as a commercial and industrial community, to get into a state of panic and to imagine that we were not perfectly capable of meeting any claims that might come against us either on capital or revenue account. When they remembered that our annual national expenditure only represented what was taken to be one year's savings of the people of the country and that we might pay the whole amount of our annual expenditure if we knocked off the drink bill, they could hardly think there was legitimate ground for fear or panic. When he said that, he did not suggest that we ought not to rigidly cut down our unremunerative outlay on various branches of the public service. Dealing with the Sinking Fund he thought we ought to make very much larger provision for the extinction of the annual debt than we did. The country was in a perfectly good condition to bear such expenditure and a period of peace was the time to deal with such a subject. He was not going into the reasons for the most embarrassing and alarming fall in our national securities, but one of the reasons for that fall most unquestionably was the very small and inadequate application of the money from the Sinking Fund to the purchase and extinction of Consols. That was, in his opinion, one of the reasons why that security had fallen to its present abnormal standard. He thought it sometimes did pay a Government in times of great depression to purchase at a discount, extinguish its debt, and so try to restore Consols to a higher position in the market. He never believed that it was a wise policy to convert Consols and attempt to save by a small annual economy the amount that we did some years ago. The effect had been to drive the investor in this class of security into hazardous ventures. But, be that as it might, seeing that the effect of a largely increased addition to the Sinking Fund would be to materially raise the price of our national securities in the market, bring all other forms of security to a different level and prevent Consols being looked upon, as they were now, as a somewhat speculative security which trustees should rather avoid, he thought the hon. and learned Member for Dundee who had moved this new clause was perfectly correct in suggesting to the Government that we should apply larger sums than at present in putting ourselves into a stronger financial position in public markets and in the general estimation of the country.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said he agreed with the last speaker in thinking that the price of national Consols in the eye of the public would be increased by the passing of this clause now under discussion, and he thought his hon. and learned friend the Member for Dundee had done a very great service to the country by raising this debate. It was quite clear from the course of the discussion that everyone who understood the matter was of opinion that our finances were in an unsatisfactory state—not necessarily that we should not be able to meet our obligations, but because our financial system was so complicated that we could not realise what our obligations really were. One thing had been made quite clear, that our public debt had been increased by £10,000,000 under the Public Works Bills; while the operation of the Sinking Fund would only sweep away something under £2,000,000 of the debt under the Public Works Bill of last year, and for this year about £1,000,000, so that next year there would be a considerable increase in the amount of the debt. That in a time of profound peace was what no Chancellor of the Exchequer or the House ought to tolerate. The whole strength of our Empire, the whole idea of Imperialism, and of our world power, simply and solely rested upon our financial position. If that was gone, our armaments could not compete for a moment with any two Continental Powers. It was the Public Works which were the real factor which complicated our financial system. This question had been investigated by the Public Accounts Committee, which this year had unanimously reported that they had very serious doubts as to the financial methods by which the naval and military works were provided for. The procedure which had been adopted in regard to these works, the Committee said, should be the exception and not the rule; but of recent years it had become a regular part of naval and military works finance. The Committee went on to say that they deprecated the continuance of this practice, and that they believed it would be more in accordance with sound finance if the bulk of these services were included in the annual Estimates. Could anything be a stronger condemnation of the present system? These were not the opinions of men personally interested in this matter, but of a Committee appointed by this House to investigate this very question. He thought this was a most urgent case, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to take the reform of this system of accounts seriously in hand.

There was another confusing item in the accounts, referred to by the hon. Member for King's Lynn. That hon. Gentleman said the reducing of the Exchequer balances did not necessarily mean increasing the Debt. That was quite true; but, as he understood, the Exchequer balances had been reduced because Chancellors of the Exchequer had used, in times gone by, the unclaimed dividends on Consols to keep up balances, by reducing the floating debt. Now, that was not the case. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had used them to meet the deficit on his last year's finances. The right hon. Gentleman had reduced the Exchequer balances without paying off debt in the proper sense of the term. He deprecated these various systems of hiding from the public the very serious increase in the public debt. There was another point which he wished to urge. The floating Debt was kept up to £73,000,000, on which the country paid 3 per cent., whereas on Consols they only paid 2½ to 2¾ per cent. That point ought to be very seriously taken into consideration, because it was a very disastrous thing for our national finances. It was time that the Chancellor of the Exchequer adopted some means to simplify the national finances. He hoped there would not be a further increase in the Debt next year, and that the whole of the Debt would be made clear to the public, in order that people might not be led to believe that they were paying off debt when they were not. It was a bad system that the Debt should continue to increase in peace time.

Mr. WHITLEY (Halifax) said, although he was very much interested in the question of the Sinking Fund, he had not intended to take part in the debate. A reply which the Colonial Secretary had given him that day was, however, of the greatest importance in relation to this matter. When the present figure was fixed for the Sinking Fund, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol referred again and again to the war contribution which was expected from the Transvaal, and which was to be added to the Sinking Fund. As a matter of fact, it was stated that £30,000,000 would be received in three years, and that it would be devoted to writing off the Debt, and that consequently it was not necessary that the figure then proposed for the Sinking Fund should be larger. He asked the Colonial Secretary that day whether any provision had been made in the Estimates of the Transvaal for the ensuing twelve months for the payment of the first instalment of the war contribution, due last January, according to the arrangement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, and the right hon. Gentleman's reply was in the negative. He did not know whether the matter was brought to the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but he thought, before the matter finally passed from the purview of the House, that the right hon. Gentleman ought to state whether he was going to take any steps to recover the first instalment of £10,000,000, or whether he was prepared to allow the whole of the next twelve months to pass without any payment being made. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer allowed the matter to pass without a protest, then this country would probably never see a single shilling of that £30,000,000. If the right hon. Gentleman would give an undertaking in the matter the House might be satisfied to allow the figure to remain as it was.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 136; Noes, 223. (Division List No. 271.)

AYES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Blake, Edward
Boland, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Charles Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Ellice, Capt. E. C. (S. Andr's Bghs.
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir Francis H. (Maidstone
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Grant, Corrie
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Hammond, John.
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Harcourt, Rt Hn Sir W (Mon'th)
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Hobhouse, C. E. H. Bristol, E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Joyce, Michael,
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mappin, Sir Fredick Thorpe
Mooney, John J.
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William

Mr. Courtenay Warner.

Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William Snowdon
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj.J.E.B.(Isleof Wight
Shackleton,David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donald
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson(Leeds S.
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, George (York,W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus H. Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.HughO
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey,Fletcher,Rt.Hon.Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josecline FitzRoy
Bain, Col. James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour,Rt. Hn. A. J.(Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst,Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beckett, Ernest William
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles,Lt.-Col.H.F.(Middlesex
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Butcher, John George
Campbell, RtHn.J.A.(Glasgow
Campbell,J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon.J.(Birm.
Chamberlain,RtHnJ.A.(Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy, A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H.A.E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig, CharlesCurtis (Antrim, S
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies,Sir Hortaio D.(Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dimsdale,Rt.Hon.SirJosephC.
Dixon-Hartland,SirFredDixon
Dorington,Rt.Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants,W.)
Ferguson,Rt. Hn. Sir J.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. Geogre H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Sir Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, SirRobert Penrose
Fitzroy,Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon,Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Greene,SirE.W.(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy,Laurence (Kent,Ashford
Harris,F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Harris,Dr.Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, James (Staffords, N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson,SirA. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge,Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Hoult, Joseph
Howard,John(Kent,Faversham
Howard, J. (Mid., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James HenryCecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kennaway, RtHon.SirJohnH.
Kenyon, Hon.Geo.T.(Denbigh)
Kerr, John
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew, Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, William (Liverpool)
Lawson, JohnGrant(Yorks.NR
Lee,ArthurH.(Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower,FrederickN.S.
Llewellyn,Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A.R.
Long, Col. Charles W.(Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (EdinburghW
Massey-Mainwaring,HnW.F.
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H.M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh,N.)
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hon.J.Scott (Hants.
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, RtHn.A.Graham(Bute
Murray,CharlesJ.(Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Pease,HerbertPike (Darlington
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col.Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederick Carne

Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Saunderson, Rt Hn. Col. Edw. J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, Sir H. (Renfrew)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, Rt Hn J. Parker (Lanarks)
Smith, Hon. F. W. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Edwards Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson, Dr. E. C. (Monaghan)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col Sir. C E H (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

SIR SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central) said the new clause he submitted for the acceptance of the House provided for relief from income-tax on insurances with colonial companies. He desired to point out that the relief granted in respect of life insurances or contracts for deferred annuities did not apply to insurances effected in Indian and colonial offices simply because at the time this relief was first granted no such offices were in existence. The object of granting this relief was to encourage thrift, and not to benefit insurance offices, and the change he recommended was needed to redress a glaring anomaly. At present a Civil servant going out to India and insuring his life in an Indian office received an abatement for income-tax in respect of the premium he paid, but when he returned home he found that privilege withdrawn. In India, and also in Australia and New Zealand, on the other hand, no difference was made between British and colonial insurance offices. Considerable dissatisfaction had arisen in consequence of differentiation by the English Exchequer, and he felt sure he had only to put it before the House of Commons to secure general support for his proposal. He begged to move.

A clause [Relief from Income-Tax on Insurances with Colonial Companies]—

"Section fifty-four of the Income-Tax Act, 1853 (under which relief is granted in respect of premiums on life insurances or contracts for deferred annuities), shall apply in relation to life insurances or contracts for deferred annuities effected in or with any insurance company legally established in any British possession as it applies in relation to life insurances or contracts in or with the insurance companies mentioned in that section."—(*Sir Seymour King.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said his attention had been called to this matter some time ago. He thought the Amendment would remedy a real grievance, and holding that view he would be glad to accept it. A case had been brought under his notice of an Indian Civil servant who had insured his life in India, and on returning home at the end of his service found himself in a different position to that in which he would have been had he insured his life in one of our home insurance offices. The clause was not in the interest of the companies but of the individual, and he would recommend it to the House.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON intimated that he had looked into the matter carefully, and as he agreed that this clause would remedy a real grievance, he would support it.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) said the words of the clause were extremely wide. They knew how rapidly the Empire was developing, and it was necessary to guard against the more or less suspicious enterprises that came into existence with that development. The clause, to his mind, called for further consideration.

Question put, and agreed to.

Clause added to the Bill.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.) said the new clause he had to submit was discussed on the Finance Bill of two years before, but on that occasion the principle accepted by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer differed considerably from the present proposal. When the former proposal came before the House it was treated entirely from a non-partisan and a quasi-scientific point of view. He hoped to be able to claim the support of those hon. Members who had favoured the former proposal, and in view of the general consensus of opinion in its favour, he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not lightly put aside the proposal embodied in this new clause. In the first place it was quite clear that the exemption of alcohol when used for motive power or for lighting, heating, or manufacturing purposes, opened a field for British industries that were at present quite undeveloped. There were at the present moment great possibilities, but the development of new industries, and the discoveries of science, were such as to open up a far wider field in the future. It had often been said that British manufacturers were behindhand in their methods, but this was a case in which they found enterprise hampered by the financial department of the Government. The Treasury had expressed two opinions on this question. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had a few days before admitted that he was prepared to appoint a Committee to consider this matter, whereas some four days earlier it was intimated that it was not the intention of the Exchequer to give any special facilities for the use of alcohol for industrial purposes. There were many industries dependent on the free use of absolute alcohol, in all of which English manufacturers were handicapped by the German manufacturers having the free use of denatured alcohol. He believed it would be possible in Ireland, if it were not for the Treasury restrictions on the manufacture of this denatured alcohol, to manufacture from damaged grain and diseased potatoes a spirit costing not more than from sixpence to eightpence per gallon. As petrol cost 1s. 4d. per gallon, and the powers of petrol and free alcohol might be represented by 100 and 110 units respectively, it would be seen that an enormous impetus might be given to an industry in Ireland, without there being any loss of power by the substitution of alcohol for petrol. Moreover, as the supply of petrol was in the hands of about three companies, the output might very easily be limited and the price raised, unless there were some commodity such as alcohol which might be substituted. It was a curious fact that no loss to the Exchequer would be involved in the acceptance of this proposal, because the present taxes were so prohibitive that they had prevented the establishment of any of these possible industries, and thus no revenue accrued to the Exchequer therefrom. By agreeing to the new clause the Chancellor of the Exchequer would acquire great *kudos* to himself without the least expense to the Treasury, and also help in the development of very valuable industries. He begged to move.

A clause [Exemption from duty of alcohol used for motive power]--

"On and after the first day of August, nineteen hundred and four, where it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue that alcohol which has been suitably denatured and rendered unpotable is required for motive power, lighting, heating, and manufacturing purposes, it shall be lawful to sell such spirit without payment of any duty or tax thereon, and further, subject to such regulations as the Commissioners may require for the security of the revenue, absolute alcohol shall also be exempt from duty when employed in manufacturing operations where it can be proved to the Commissioners that denaturing agents would prevent its use."--(*Mr. Charles Hobhouse.*)

Brought up, and read a first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this clause be read a second time."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the proposal of the hon. Gentleman, which was practically identical with one moved in Committee, raised a question of much importance. Two years ago the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Haddingtonshire was the author of an Amendment to the Finance Bill, by which it was sought to render possible the use of duty-free spirit in certain cases where it had not hitherto been possible because it could not be denatured, and only denatured spirit was allowed to pass duty free. The question was one of considerable complexity and difficulty, in which he could not move without making sure of his ground. The possible uses of alcohol for motive power and other purposes had enormously increased during the last few years, and would probably be considerably developed in the future, and he was certainly anxious that the Treasury regulations should be so reconsidered in the light of these facts as to remove, if possible, obstacles from the path of manufacturers or enterprise in this country. But it was necessary at the same time to have regard to the protection of the revenue. Under these circumstances, as he stated in Committee, he thought the fairest and wisest course was to appoint a small Committee to go into the question. Although it would be a Departmental Committee, he did not suggest that it should be composed exclusively of officials serving under Government; he would hope to get other advice and assistance on the Committee, and he thought that from such a body they might get a Report indicating what was necessary and desirable if industries were to be promoted and necessary obstacles removed, and at the same time what reconstructions were essential in the interests of the revenue. By that means, with very little delay, a solution satisfactory to all parties might be arrived at. The proposal when made in Committee was accepted by those interested, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would not think him unreasonable it he refrained from going further on the present occasion. He thought he ought to have the support of the information which such a Committee would afford before he proceeded to deal with a matter of such complexity and importance. He would, as soon as possible, proceed to the appointment of the Committee, and he would take action on their Report. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would be satisfied with this assurance, and would not think it necessary to press the clause to a division.

*Mr. HALDANE (Haddingtonshire) sympathised with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his reference to the complexity and difficulty which attended this question. For some years he (Mr. Haldane) had given considerable attention to the subject, and the more he had studied it the more difficult it seemed to become. But there were two or three particular features which had emerged clearly in his mind. This was a question not merely of industries which at present existed, and which might ultimately become important, but also of industries upon which we had scarcely entered. Anybody who studied the exhibits of Germany in the Paris Exhibition of 1900 must have realised to what an enormous extent the industries of that country had grown, not merely by research but by the free use of re-agents. Germany's chemical industries had grown with a rapidity which was really alarming. A great deal of that was to be put down to the want of freedom enjoyed by the people of this country. We had splendid scientific ability; he believed that the larger proportion of the very first minds were to be reckoned to this country—he was speaking of quality rather than quantity—but, owing to the restriction which was put upon the application of science to industry, we had not given room for the development which otherwise might have taken place in this country. Alcohol afforded a peculiarly significant illustration. Two years ago the Committee was successful in securing the insertion of a clause in the Finance Bill with regard to the free use of alcohol for certain purposes; but on Report the then Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced an Amendment which rendered the clause almost useless to manufacturers. It was stated on the part of the revenue authorities that the production of alcohol could not be allowed for use in manufactures duty free without some supervision, and that to balance the cost of that supervision a surtax should be put upon the foreigner in order that the English manufacturer should not be put at a disadvantage. The result was that the Inland Revenue authorities fixed the surtax at fivepence, and as the price of pure alcohol from Germany was about tenpence halfpenny per gallon, the duty represented 50 per cent. of the cost. During a visit to a distillery he had been told that the fivepence hardly represented the cost of the supervision, but that there was a little bit of protection in it.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol?

*Mr. HALDANE believed the Inland Revenue authorities did it in perfect innocence, but there were so many innocent things done nowadays that one could never be quite sure of one's position. But he believed that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer were entitled to say that they were perfectly innocent in this matter. The surtax was fixed by experts, but who were the experts? The surtax of fivepence was more than the cost of the supervision, and this addition of 50 per cent. to the cost meant that the German competitor was able to get his alcohol 50 per cent. cheaper than the British manufacturer. That was a very serious business. He was informed by the manager of one of the great celluloid industries in this country that they were seriously hampered in their competition with foreigners, and that this fivepenny surtax made all the difference in their enterprise. He did not know whether the House realised the enormous growth which had taken place in recent years in the celluloid industry, and how much it formed the foundation of a vast amount of goods in which the foreigner competed with English manufacturers. He was very anxious on this account that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should frame his reference on as wide a basis as possible. Of course he would have to inquire into the amount of the surtax and that would be the most difficult part. If arrangements could be made for relieving the distillers of the heavy charge placed upon them for supervision it was extremely desirable, because unless that could be done they would not be doing any real good to the manufacturer. The task of the right hon. Gentleman was not an easy one. He realised the complications in it for he had seen the evil results in practice, but he felt that in this matter the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have to take the opinions of people who were really experts from more sides than one. Therefore, it was necessary that they should bring in the element of the manufacturers very largely. Manufacturers came too little into contact with the Inland Revenue authorities, and in our Government Departments there was none of that constant contact which existed in some parts of the Continent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had now an opportunity of making a new departure, and its success would depend largely upon the terms of reference.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he had not yet drawn the terms of the reference, but he meant them to be as wide as possible because he thought it was important that they should have a thorough inquiry into the whole question. He should be glad to receive suggestions from anyone who had had such a large experience in these matters as the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite.

*Colonel SADLER (Middlesbrough) said he regretted he was not present to move his Motion, but having regard to the fact that the day for which it was set down the House sat for thirty-five hours, he did not suppose anybody regretted his absence. He was quite content to accept the Chancellor's promise to appoint a Committee, and he should like that Committee to be composed not only of men of his own Department, but of men like Mr. Tyler, the ex-President of the Society of Chemical Industry. That gentleman had given an enormous amount of time to the subject, and had delivered several classical papers full of statistics and information upon it. He was quite sure that Mr. Tyler would be of enormous advantage and use to the Chancellor in drawing up his terms of reference to the Committee. There were some points in connection with the question which he desired to allude to because he considered them to be of very great importance. First of all he thought it was a great reproach to British enterprise that we should allow industries of very great national importance to be captured from us without apparently a struggle to keep them. When he told the House that there were over 100 products of various kinds in which alcohol played a prominent part it would be seen what an important thing it was to this country that some change should be made in the present system of the utilisation of alcohol. Dimethylaniline, the base of many colours in this country, cost 2s. 4d. per lb., but in Germany it cost only 3¾d., as industrial alcohol is not taxed there. It was an important product in this country some years ago, but it was not manufactured at all here at the present moment. He did not see how these industries, with duties ranging from 5d. to 11s. 6d. per gallon, could be recaptured for us. Enormous industries had developed abroad owing to the cheapness of alcohol. In Germany last year there were produced over 100,000,000 gallons of alcohol, and 55,000,000 tons of potatoes were used in its manufacture and kindred products. In France from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 tons of beet were grown and used for the manufacture of alcohol. In Germany almost every farmer had his distillery. There were in the East of Germany alone some 6,000 such distilleries, and when one remembered the vast tracts of land which were used for agricultural products required in the manufacture of alcohol it would be seen how important the matter was. There were scores of thousands of people in Germany and France engaged in industries connected with the manufacture of alcohol. Those industries had grown very rapidly and were still growing, and that was why he was anxious to make the few points he was now making. It was recognised that next to benzol alcohol was one of the most prolific source of products known in the chemical world.

Allusion had been made to the diverse uses to which alcohol could be put. It was not only good for motive power and lighting and heating but also for the manufactures to which he had referred. The attention of learned societies and Chambers of Commerce had been called to the subject and there was a great deal of talk in the country about the production of alcohol and its relation to various trades. He saw the President of the United Chambers of Commerce in his place and he hoped that that hon. Member would tell them what he thought about this question. There was a great opportunity dawning upon the country for the production of alcohol and the advancement of various trades dependent upon it, and the most urgent and promising was connected with motive power. As a substitute for petrol, alcohol had a very great opening. Petrol of late years had deteriorated very seriously in quality, and it was becoming scarcer and dearer owing to the extraordinary demand springing up for it, while alcohol, on the other hand, was a much cheaper article and could be manufactured at as low as sixpence per gallon. It had a very obvious advantage over petrol because it was sweeter and safer to use. As to its efficiency there was a good deal of dispute but it had a potential efficiency of at least 50 per cent. in excess of petrol. There were other uses such as lighting to which it could be applied. He saw a great future development in regard to alcohol lamps, and it was the most charming and effective light he had ever seen. A thirty candle-power lamp cost one halfpenny per hour. It was an extremely diffusive light. There had been as many as 50,000 of these lamps sold by one Berlin firm between October and January last. Alcohol promised to be unrivalled for cooking purposes. The manufacturers he had alluded to were seriously crippled in their industries for the want of cheap alcohol. The difficulties about obtaining cheap alcohol were now so great that it actually paid the manufacturers better to pay the duty than to trouble about it in any other way. As the trade does not now exist there would be no loss to the revenue, nor risk in other respects. This aspect of the question had been greatly exaggerated. An ounce of experience was worth a ton of theory. In 1903 in Germany only 84 persons were fined for fraudulent use and only £2,500 was paid in fines, although something like 100,000,000 gallons of alcohol were manufactured. In Switzerland, where there were no duties on alcohol, there was less drunkenness than in any other country in the world. A very large number of improvements had recently been made in the denaturing of alcohol. It was on these grounds that he contended that there was pressing urgency for its manufacture and use in this country, for many new industries would arise from it. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to devise some scheme which would enable the manufacturers of this country to have duty-free alcohol. The possibilities of this industry were so great that they could not be overrated. In the first place there would be an enormous area of land which was now uncultivated which would be brought under cultivation in order to produce these various agricultural products which were usual in the manufacture of alcohol.

Perhaps he had said enough to convince the right hon. Gentleman that the subject was one of very great importance, and he trusted that a Committee would be appointed to inquire into the matter without delay.

*MR. LYELL (Dorsetshire, E.) expressed the hope that the reference to the Committee would include the question of the amount that might be sold at any given time. It seemed to him that at the present moment there was a very great chance put into the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer not only for founding new industries in the production of alcohol and in all the various processes connected with its use, and also in recovering many of those industries which might be carried on in this country but which had gone abroad. When he heard the list of trades which his right hon. friend the Member for Haddingtonshire had referred to as having been lost to this country, he began to wonder whether free alcohol was not to be the solution for all our industrial depression. He wished to call the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to another point which had already been raised, namely, the enormously important question of the possibilities of this new industry in Ireland. They had been assured that alcohol for motive purposes could be produced in that country for an absurdly small sum per gallon compared with the price paid for petrol. This could be done in normal times, but when they considered what might be done in time of famine and failure of the crops which were fit for nothing else the advantage would be very great. This new motor agent could be stored for an indefinite time. He called for the sympathy of all tariff reformers in this matter. Like them he was anxious to see new industries founded, and those already decayed galvanised into life. Like them he viewed in this matter the methods of every other country but our own with admiration. He had seen how in Germany the freest possible hand was given to manufacturers for the production of alcohol and the products of alcohol. He ventured to hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give to the finding of the Committee, if favourable, the very fullest effect.

*SIR WILLIAM HOLLAND (Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham) observed that he would not have intervened in the debate were it not that he had had exceptional opportunities during the last few years of hearing what the opinions of the chambers of commerce of the country were on this important matter, and he could assure the Chancellor of the Exchequer that repeatedly at their meetings, indeed on every suitable occasion, there had been resolutions brought forward dealing with this question, which, after being argued very fully, had received the unanimous assent of the chambers of commerce to which they had been submitted. The reason was, that manufacturers had expressed their views and made it very clear that valuable industries had been repeatedly lost to this country. He had himself come across an instance where a considerable sum of money was expended in the erection of suitable buildings with special machinery, and with several hundred workmen employed there, and, because of the necessity of alcohol to that business and the inability to obtain it at a cheap rate, the buildings had had to be taken down and the machinery transferred. The consequence was that that particular industry, which might by this time have employed several thousand workpeople, had been transferred to the French labour market. Was it not very tantalising to British traders to see a great variety of goods imported into this country which could be very well manufactured here but for the unaccountable hostility of the Government? They had found, particularly during the last twelve months, that public opinion was becoming very sensitive in regard to the taxation of raw materials. Now alcohol was a raw material to the interests concerned, and it had been taxed to the point of prohibition. The Chancellor of the Exchequer need not be in the least alarmed on the score of probable loss of revenue, because if the industries were not at present in existence in this country, as they had already been taxed out of existence, then it was clear there would be no loss of revenue. If the clause were accepted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his action would be likely to galvanise into new life many old industries, besides stimulating the establishment in this country of many new ones. He was glad to observe the sympathetic attitude of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he hoped that both in the composition of the new Committee and in the reference to that Committee, those who had the greatest practical knowledge would at any rate be entitled to have a say and a seat on the Committee.

Mr. HARWOOD (Bolton) asked if it was not possible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to do something more than he had offered that day. When did he expect to do something with the Committee? He took it it would be twelve months before it got together and reported. Twelve months was a long time in the history of an industry, and he happened to know that this industry was going ahead very fast both in France and Germany. Was it not possible for the Chancellor to adopt a little bolder policy. They were told on all hands that the present tax was too high—could not some concession be made meanwhile, and then the Committee which had been promised might consider how it might prevent any abuses of that concession? He quite recognised the spirit in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer met that Motion, but he did not think he realised the gravity of the matter and the urgency of something being done. To put them off with a Committee which would take a year to report on a commercial difficulty which was getting worse day after day, was not dealing with them fairly.

Mr. LOUGH said he would advise those who were deeply interested in this question to ask, before parting with the clause and this opportunity, whether something should not be done now. It was about eight years since he brought this matter before the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, his attention having been called to it by a large manufacturer in Yorkshire, who pointed out to him some of the facts which had been stated to the House that day. He got a most sympathetic answer at that time, but nothing practical was done during all the time the right hon. Gentleman was in office. Two years ago the ranks of the reformers were recruited by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Haddingtonshire, who made a most interesting speech on that occasion, when, in fact, the Amendment was at first accepted on the Committee stage. It was afterwards modified and finally, owing to the caution of the Customs authorities, the whole thing had been nullified. Was this a business Assembly or was it not? Were the Gentlemen who spoke in this simple business matter with knowledge and moderation year after year to have their aims constantly frustrated because nothing definite was done? There could not be a more cautious proposal than was put forward in this clause. There were two absolute safeguards in the clause. First, nothing was to be done unless it should be proved to the satisfaction of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue that the alcohol had been suitably denatured and rendered unpotable; secondly, it was to be subject to the regulations of the Commissioners; and thirdly, it must be proved to have been properly denatured before it was allowed in duty free. Why should not the clause be accepted, seeing that it bristled with precautions? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had the old difficulty to face. The Commissioners of Customs and Inland Revenue, excellent as they were, raised bogeys which had no real existence. He suggested that the clause should be amended by the insertion of the date, the 1st January, 1905, in place of the 1st August, so as to give the Commissioners time to make their regulations; and on the first day of 1905 give that great facility to the trade of the country which had been so long required. There might be 2d. lost in revenue by this concession, but the profit to the commerce of the country might be millions. Let them take the Irish case. Potatoes were just as cheap in Ireland as in any other country, and if Ireland could be connected with civilisation by means of transit, which was absolutely hopeless under the present condition of things, and a price could be made for them, it would open a market for them to the benefit of the people in that country. He submitted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to give some definite promise to deal with this matter. The clause seemed to be a very strict clause, but if the restrictions it contained were not sufficient, let the clause be strengthened. Something should be done in this matter to free the trade of the country from the shackles which were quite unnecessarily placed upon it.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said the point he desired to put to the right hon. Gentleman was this. Was it necessary for the right hon. Gentleman, in order to carry out a good deal of what was required, to wait for legislation next year. He had himself looked at Clause 8 of the Finance Act of two years ago, and he thought if the right hon. Gentleman appointed his Departmental Committee, or even without that, if he saw his way to accepting the spirit of the Amendment under Clause 8 of the Act, he might, on his own initiative, be able to do a great deal to carry out the desire of the House. It was not possible to say how far those powers would extend the clause of his hon. friend as moved, but under Clause 8 there was no doubt a good deal could be done. He asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he would, on receiving the Report of the Committee, on his own initiative accept, so far as he could, their proposals in the direction the House desired, and carry them out without waiting for legislation next year. A delay of a year would be a very serious matter because particular industries were making great strides in the country, and although there was no desire that those industries should be protected, on the other hand there was every desire to see that they were not hampered.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that if he found that by a more liberal interpretation of Clause 8 he could go some way towards meeting the very evident desire of both sides of the House on what was a real need of the trade of the country, of course, he should be most happy to do so. Ever since his attention had been first called to this matter he had been trying to ascertain what it was exactly they wished done, and he gathered that Clause 8 was by no means sufficient for the purpose. It was for that reason he had proposed the Committee in order that they might arrive at a solution which might come to this House with some weight and authority behind it, and he hoped the House would be ready to accept it in the same spirit in which the matter had been discussed that day. The hon. Member for Islington wished him to accept this clause, but in matters such as this he could not move without some certainty as to what would be the result of his action. He did not propose that the object of this Committee should be delay, but to insure that what was done should be both a safeguard to the revenue and satisfactory to the trade of the country. He hoped the House would accept the proposal for a Committee, and he appealed to them not to indulge in a prolonged discussion, seeing that they had attained their object.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he did not object to a Committee being appointed in a case of this kind; but Committees were, as a rule, a means simply to expedite either the putting off of Bills or the passing of Bills for the Government. He did not say the former was the intention of the right hon. Gentleman in regard to this matter. They had many Committees sitting on all sorts of subjects at the present moment, not one of which, so far as he could see, was likely to bring forth fruits in legislation either in the present session or for many sessions to come. The right hon. Gentleman had talked about the perplexity of this matter, and said he could not accept the clause on the spur of the moment. He talked as if this was a thing which had been sprung upon the attention of the Treasury during the last few hours, whereas an Amendment had been down in the name of an hon. and gallant Member on the other side of the House for weeks. The Chancellor of the Exchequer must have considered the character of that Amendment, and must have made up his mind whether he was prepared to meet the suggestion. He must have made up his mind whether to accept it or reject it or whether he had a Committee proposal to advance. Apparently he was simply going to refer the matter to a Committee. Supposing that Committee reported in the course of the next few days no legislation could be obtained this session; possibly nothing could be done until August of next year when they might have had a totally different Budget and the Government might have broken up on that Budget. Or they might then have another Chancellor of the Exchequer.

On this subject there was no greater authority than the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Haddingtonshire, who had made it perfectly clear that the manufacturers of this country were suffering. They all knew how this country was suffering in the matter of electric plant, and once they lost place in a new industry of this kind it would be exceedingly difficult for them to creep up again. Of course the free trade of this country did afford some help in meeting deficiencies of this kind. Here was a chance for the Government to assist a trade without interfering with the fiscal arrangements of the country at all. It might mean a few hundreds a year, but it might make all the difference in the world to a trade which at the present moment was subject to the severest trade competition. All they asked was that special and artificial difficulties should not be placed in the way of an industry of this kind. If this industry got a fair chance there was no place in the world where it would prosper more than in this country. Instead of having a Committee as suggested, let the Chancellor of the Exchequer take this suggestion. The debate would stand adjourned in the next quarter of an hour over the dinner interval. The hon. Member could withdraw his clause if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would say that during the dinner interval he would consider a new clause. It was not a case of two or three hours to deal with a great fiscal question. If the right hon. Gentleman was not willing to take that suggestion he hoped his hon. friend would press the matter to a division.

*Mr. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) gave an instance in connection with the colour dye industry. A gentleman who he believed was on the Tariff Reform Commission came to him to ask him to use his influence to free this trade alcohol. This gentleman, who was entering into a contract with his (Mr. Taylor's) firm, was in competition with a German firm, and his chief difficulty was the cost of trade alcohol. The hon. Member said he suggested that this gentleman should hammer away at the Government, but the reply he received was that it was very difficult to pierce the official shell. This gentleman had assured him that the price at which he ultimately took the contract represented a loss to him although it was no better price than his (Mr. Taylor's) firm could have got elsewhere, but the contract was given to this gentleman because the firm were determined to give the preference to Englishmen. He had always carried this out in his own business. When he was engaging a chemist he was told that he would have to go to Germany, and he said he would get an Englishman and train him, and he did so. There was a spirit among British manufacturers always to favour their own countrymen; and, as a practical business man, he did beg the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the interests of common sense and in the interests of business—and he was sure it would be appreciated by every section of the business community—to accede to the suggestion of the Member for Bolton and do something in this matter at once. It had really been postponed and postponed until business men affected had got it into their heads that Governments would not do anything at all. If former Governments had not done anything effective, he thought it was not too late for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had had more or less, he supposed, a business training—he was at all events the son of a very distinguished business man—to look at the thing from a business point of view. He did beg him to believe that they did not put this forward in any Party spirit, but simply in the interests of the trade of the country, so that these industries should at once have removed from them a burden which he felt sure nobody wished to impose upon them, and which, if they were once rid of, would enable them to compete with foreign countries.

Mr. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.) said the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have an hour and a half for reflection, and he really hoped he would take the matter into his consideration. It was monstrous that the trade of the country should be hampered by the Government being asleep to the vital interests at stake in a matter of this concern. They asked for a most reasonable concession, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer merely dealt with the matter by shelving it for a year. He hoped his hon. friend would be backed up——

Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided: Ayes, 225; Noes, 134. (Division List No. 272.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beckett, Ernest William
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Lt-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow
Campbell, J. H. M (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
Fergusson, Rt Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S (Warwick, S. W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E (Elgin & Nairn)
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, James (Staffords. N. W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hope, J. F (Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hn. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks N. R
Lee, Arthur H (Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Fredk. N. S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W (Evesham)
Long, Rt Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt Hn A. Graham (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge)
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James

Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel,Sir Harry S(Limehouse
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith,Rt Hn J Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt.Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson, DrEC(Monagh'n,N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Vicsount
Vincent,ColSirC.E.H.(Sheffield)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Wharton, Rt. Hon. JohnLloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C.B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt.Hn.HerbertHenry
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Benn, John Williams
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burke, E. Haviland
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, CharlesRamsay(Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt E C(SAndrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.HerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P.(CavanW)
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal,W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M‘Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M‘Hugh, Patrick A.
M‘Kean, John
M‘Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh, N.
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow,W.
O'Dowd, John
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas,David Alfred (Merthyr
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Ure, Alexander
Walton, JohnLawson(Leeds,S.
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W. R
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Charles Hobhouse and Mr. Pirie.

Question put accordingly, "That the clause be read a second time."

The House divided:—Ayes, 128; Noes, 219. (Division List No. 273.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.

Benn, John Williams
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Burke, E. Haviland
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Channing, Francis Allston
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, C. Ramsay (Galway)
Devlin, J. Kilkenny, N.)
Dilke, Rt. Hn. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. E. C. (S. Andr'sB'ghs
Emmott, Alfred
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Hammond, John
Harcourt, L. V. (Rossendale)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hn. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hn. Charles H.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Leamy, Edmund
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kean, John
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newnes, Sir George
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.
O'Dowd, John
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Partick Joseph
Rea, Russell
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, David Alfred (Merth'r
Thompson, Dr. E C (Monagh'n, N
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Ure, Alexander
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason, John Cathcart (Orkney
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Charles Hobhouse and Mr. Lyell.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manchestr
Balfour, Rt. Hn. Gerald W (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beckett, Ernest William
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, Lt.-Cl. H. F. (Middlesex
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Glasgow
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ
Carson, Rt. Hn. Sir Edw. H
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A. (Worc
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, SW
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn

Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Greene, SirE.W.(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Harris, Dr.Fredk R.(Dulwich)
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, James (Staffords.N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford,W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Horner, Frederick William
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Kent, Faversham)
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry C.
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway,Rt. Hn. Sir JohnH.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Lambton, Hn. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson,John Grant(Yorks,NR
Lee,Arthur H (HantsFareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower,Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long,Col. Charles W.(Evesham
Long,Rt.Hn.Walter (Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Iver,Sir Lewis (EdinburghW
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn.W. F.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Mitchell, Ed. (Fermanagh, N.)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray,RtHnAGraham(Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Peel, HnWm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde(BethnalGreen
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir H. S. (Limehouse)
Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles)
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford,East
Smith,RtHn.J.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Ed. Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy W.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.SirC.E.H(Sheffield
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Col. William George
Wharton, Rt Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley,H.(Ashton-und-Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wills, Sir Frederick
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley,Rt.Hon.C.B.Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W.H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

And, it being after half-past seven of the clock, further proceeding on consideration, as amended, stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

FINANCE BILL.

As amended, further considered.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.) said the clause he had placed upon the Paper was a clause to repeal Section 2 of the Finance Act of 1901; the clause which first imposed the sugar duty and the clause under which the sugar duty was imposed in the present Bill. He had a clause standing in his name to limit the sugar duty to a certain portion of the coming year, but he had found that that provision had been moved by the hon. Member for Carnarvon in Committee, and his justification for introducing it now in another form was that no report had appeared with regard to the sugar debate owing to the unconscionable hour at which the question was dealt with. He now asked the House to consider seriously the total repeal of this sugar duty. He based his clause not only on the ground common to all indirect taxes, especially those which had been imposed in recent years, that they extorted an unfair contribution from the poorer classes and inflicted upon them an economic injustice, but also upon two grounds which were peculiar to the sugar tax. In the first place, he objected to this tax and asked for its repeal because it was a tax upon the raw material of most important industries which had a great future before them, and to which it was doing the most deadly injury, and his other ground was that since this tax was imposed in 1901 its incidence had been made more oppressive by the injurious effect of the Sugar Convention. They had to look on the sugar duty not merely as a duty on an article of general consumption, like tea, which, except as regarded the duty, had free access to the country, but as a duty which had been aggravated and intensified in its injurious effects by the Sugar Convention; they had to look at it not as a temporary tax imposed for the purposes of the war, but as one of those permanent taxes which it had become the fashion to impose one after another for the purposes of revenue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer regarded it as one of his great functions to find some new pockets to draw from or to dip still deeper into the old one. The reason why the right hon. Gentleman had spared sugar on this occasion must have been because it was present to the minds of the Ministry that sugar had suffered exceptionally owing to the complication and further loss induced by the Sugar Convention.

He did not wish to enter fully into the merits of the Sugar Convention, and perhaps would not be in order in doing so. He only touched upon it because the result of the Convention had been to prejudice the interest of these great industries and had caused this tax to fall more heavily on the consumers. There had been gloomy forecasts that prices would go up and trade would go down. Those forecasts had been repudiated by the President and the Secretary to the Board of Trade. The latter had said that he did not believe for a moment that the price of sugar would be raised by anything like a halfpenny by the abolition of the bounties.

MR. SPEAKER: It will not be in order to discuss the rise of prices or other effects of the Convention.

MR. CHANNING: That ruling would prevent him from using the full force of the argument from the facts, but he would contend that, whether the Convention had aggravated it or not, the duty alone had had a most prejudicial effect upon these industries, which had hitherto been rapidly growing. There had been an enormous rise in prices. Whatever its cause, there had been a continuous rise in the price of standard 88 per cent. sugar, free on board at Hamburg. The price on 3rd July, 1902, was 5s. 10d., and now it was 9s. 7¼d. In other words, the price of sugar had risen by 63 per cent. There had also been a steady diminution in the consumption of sugar in this country. Before 1901 the normal increase had been 30,000 to 40,000 tons a year. But in the past three years there had been 1,730,868 tons in 1901, 1,567,184 tons in 1902, and 1,327,118 tons in 1903. There had been a drop during the past two years of 200,000 tons, or 26 per cent. The injury done to those trades which used sugar as a raw material was manifest by the Board of Trade Returns, which upon consultation would show that the export of jams and confectionery had gone down year by year, as had also the exports of biscuits and cakes, pickles and condiments. There had also been a marked diminution in one branch of the sugar industry in this country, to which great importance had been attached in the great city of Birmingham, the manufacture of cocoa and chocolate, the exports of which had diminished in a remarkable degree, from £206,781 in 1900 to £129,431 in 1902, whilst in those countries where sugar as a raw material was free the exports had greatly increased. Switzerland now sending us £350,000 worth of milk chocolates. The effect on these great industries had been most disastrous. They had been told that the different refiners in this country were to be benefited, but it so happened that those engaged in the sugar industries stood in regard to the sugar refiners in the ratio of 50 to 1. They had also been told that this policy was directed to the benefit of the West Indies, but so far the result had been an enormous increase in the last two years of the manufacture of beet sugar in Germany and France and that in those countries it was being consumed in vastly greater quantities than hitherto. At the time of the imposition of this duty the Government gave a definite pledge that if they found that these industries were seriously prejudiced they would endeavour to find a means of meeting the injury and mitigating it. What was urged now by these industries was that that pledge could only be made good at the present time by the diminution or abolition of this duty, which pressed so hardly upon them. Mr. Boyd, President of the Manufacturing Confectioners' Association, wrote to him—

> "The results of the Convention are proving even more disastrous than we anticipated. Our trade, consequently feels the duty on sugar even 'more acutely.' The confectionery and similar trades have never been so bad as in the past year. Many failures have occurred and nearly every house in the trade is experiencing a diminished demand for sugar products."

Turning to the effect upon the workers in these sugar industries, the hon. Gentleman pointed out that two years ago he had information placed in his hands by representatives of the workers in these industries which showed that at that time there had been a loss of £750,000 in wages and a diminution of 20,000 hands in the various factories. He could not vouch for those figures, but he submitted that the facts related to him at the time constituted a legitimate claim on the part of the workers that the Government should insist upon inquiring into the facts with the view of meeting this grievance if possible. The sugar duty had been assumed to be 40 per cent. on the value of the article itself, but that was on the value of the sugar "free on board" at Hamburg, which was the standard measure of the sugar trade, but everybody knew that the result was far greater than that to the consumer. The consumer had also to meet all the intermediate charges for freight, profits, etc., which were not tangible and were therefore difficult to exactly estimate. He dwelt upon these additions in order to show how moderate was their contention in using the figure of the duty alone in calculating the incidence of this tax upon the individual consumer. He had always attacked the sugar tax very strongly because it had seemed to him that its imposition was a part of the definite and persistent policy of the right hon. Member for West Bristol since 1895 of steadily increasing the indirect taxation of the country and extending the area of taxation. He objected to expanding indirect taxation on the same ground that he thought it a pernicious policy to meet the cost of wars or other great emergencies by loans. It concealed from the taxpayer the growth of expenditure and the methods by which their resources were being stealthily transferred to purposes they had not considered. It was absolutely necessary that there should be an adequate and scientific inquiry into the real incidence of taxation.

He felt some disappointment at the cynical indifference of the Prime Minister when the right hon. Gentleman, in answer to a Question he put across the floor of the House inviting him to consent to some form of inquiry into the incidence of all these taxes direct as well as indirect on the various classes of individuals in order to adjust the taxes to the taxable capacity of the individual taxed, said that he did not feel justified in instituting an inquiry because all the facts were to be found in the various manuals which everyone could consult, and from which everybody could form their own opinion. General principles, it was true, were laid down in the manuals, but the facts were not, and what we had to depend upon for arriving at the true consumption and the true incidence of this taxation was the efforts of individuals like Booth, Rowntree, and others. He had always regarded this House as a temple of justice and purity and honour in regard to these matters, and he believed if they had an inquiry into the incidence of taxation there was not a Member of that Assembly who would not do ample justice to this matter. He wished hon. Members to really consider what the incidence of this tax was on the various classes of the community. He would not again lay before the House the results from the large number of family budgets he had obtained and used last year. But he had obtained, partly from the Fiscal Inquiry Blue-book, and from family expenditures supplied to him by friends, an exact calculation of the incidence of this tax upon a series of incomes of various classes. If they took the amount of sugar consumed and calculated the duty on that and then interpreted the duty in the form of income-tax at so many pence in the £, taking the labourers first and the artisans next, the labourers as stated in the Blue-book by that able public servant Mr. Wilson Fox with an average wage of 18s. 6d. a week and the artisans with an average of 30s. a week, also from the Blue-book, they would see that on this sugar tax a labourer earning 18s. 6d. a week paid an income-tax of 2·63d. in the £ and the artisan earning 30s. a week paid 2·166d. in the £. What was the contribution of the comparatively rich man towards the sugar tax? The man with £1,500 a year paid an income-tax on the sugar tax of ·2d.; the man with £3,500 a year ·157d.; and the very rich man with £20,000 a year paid on the sugar duty an income-tax of only ·0328d. in the £. In other words, the labourer was paying thirteen times as much as the man with £1,500 a year; twenty times as much as the man with £3,500 a year; and nearly eighty times as much as the man with £20,000 a year. He thought that these figures, which were not irrelevant to the discussion before the House, constituted a very strong ground for a full inquiry into the whole incidence of taxation which was raised by this Budget. If the tea duty and the sugar duty were added together, it would be found, on inquiry, that equally astonishing results would be arrived at. He had laid before the House in past years figures based on the calculations of Mr. Chamberlain in 1885, calculations which Mr. Chamberlain had never attempted to withdraw from—and had shown that with the war taxes the general contributions of the average working man ran up to an income-tax of 2s. 6d. in the £ and this year this enormous burden was increased by the additional tea duty. He thought he had made out a substantial case that this sugar duty pressed unduly on industry and imposed on the working classes of the country a greater burden than the richer classes were called upon to bear. He begged to move.

A clause [Abolition of sugar duty]—

"Section 2 of The Finance Act, 1901, is hereby repealed."—(*Mr. Channing.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he derived a certain satisfaction from the reflection that in this matter he was not proposing any new departure or any departure of a heretical or suspicious character, from the practice of his predecessors. In the course of the discussion, which had lasted over fourteen days, there was hardly a tax carried or continued by his predecessors which hon. Gentlemen had not proposed to abolish or reduce. They did not stop to inquire how the revenue was to be raised or the service of the country to be carried on. They demanded that debt should be reduced more rapidly, but they attacked every individual tax in turn. The proposal which the hon. Gentleman made was, in a year in which the country was in need of all the financial resources it could command, to abolish a revenue of £6,000,000. If the hon. Gentleman's Party were in office they would not dare to make such a sacrifice in present circumstances. It was impossible and would be ruinous to the financial credit of the country to forego so large a portion of the revenue at a time when the needs were so great. So far from the present distribution as between direct and indirect taxation being unfair, while he did not attach importance to a mathematical division, he maintained that the proportion was more favourable to the indirect taxpayer than at any time when the hon. Gentleman's Party was in power, and that in the estimates in the present year direct and indirect taxation were divided in exactly the same proportions as in the year before the war. He thought the hon. Gentleman's argument was a little enfeebled by the fact that it was based in large part in his own mind on considerations which were not in order in this discussion. He was surprised that any hon. Gentleman on that side should appear to think it necessary or desirable that the industries of this country should be bolstered up by a system of artificial cheapness in regard to their raw material. The sugar duty, so far from depressing industries, was one of the duties which had responded to the anticipations of his predecessor. In looking over the Customs returns of last year under this class of articles he noticed that there was a considerable proportion of increase due almost entirely to an increased importation of cocoa. That hardly bore out that the cocoa industry had suffered from the tax. He lived very near one of the centres of the cocoa industry, and he had received no information that led him to suppose that the industry was not in a prosperous condition. For these and other reasons he declined to accept the Motion.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said he would give the right hon. Gentleman two good reasons why the Opposition were opposed to the taxes which had been imposed by the Government during the last few years. In the first place they believed that the expenditure of the country was far too great and the only way to reduce that expenditure was by reducing the revenue at the disposal of the Government. In the second place, they believed, as election after election showed, that the Government did not possess the confidence of the country, and therefore they were not disposed to vote these enormous supplies to the Government to keep them in office. The right hon. Gentleman said that he and his predecessor had brought back the equilibrium between direct and indirect taxation which had obtained before the war. He did not believe that at all. During each of the war years there was a very slight addition to the direct taxation, and even if the indirect taxation was increased in the same proportion, yet, when it came to a question of remissions after the war, there was no policy at all in regard to these. Direct taxation was remitted to the extent of £10,500,000 while indirect taxation was relieved only to the extent of £2,500,000 or a balance of £8,000,000 in favour of direct taxation. If this Government remained in office he feared there would not be any opportunity of reducing expenditure. Only that morning a circular had been issued with the Votes pointing out what would be the additional cost of various matter in connection with the Army. They had always understood that in connection with Army reform they were going to have great economies, but now they found that it was proposed during the coming two years to increase the expenditure on the Army by no less a sum than £3,000,000 a year. It was no good for the right hon. Gentleman to say that indirect taxation had had relief in the same proportion as direct taxation. On the contrary, the annual amount of indirect taxation imposed on the consumer had been increased by £4,500,000. Every year it was increasing, and would increase as long as the present Government remained in office. It was therefore the duty of the Opposition to oppose every taxation proposal of the present Government on the grounds he had already stated.

*MR. EMMOTT (Oldham) said that the right hon. Gentleman stated that they on that side opposed every tax. He would remind the right hon. Gentlemen that it would be out of order for them to propose new taxation; and, therefore, it was only open to them to attack taxation as it was brought forward. That was the only way to bring home to the country how hardly this taxation pressed on various classes of the community. The right hon. Gentleman also said that if they on that side were responsible for the Government of the country they would not propose a reduction in taxation. He agreed that there was a great deal of reason in that; but if they had a Government they could trust they should know that it proposed taxation only because it was necessary; that it was pledged to economy; and that it desired, as far as possible, to lessen the indirect taxation which was put on at the time of the war. They could not, however, trust right hon. Gentlemen opposite. If suggestions were wanted he would say that if they had a Government they could trust, there would be no such Licensing Bill as had been brought forward this session; and something more would probably be got out of licences. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he did not attach much importance to the question of direct as against indirect taxation. He did not know in what sense the right hon. Gentleman used that phrase. The right hon. Gentleman, however, agreed with his right hon. relative, who wanted to increase indirect taxation. He said so in a very remarkable speech only on Saturday last. He did not understand the right hon. Gentleman's position. He did not understand why the right hon. Gentleman was where he was. He did not understand why the right hon. Gentleman was not out of the Cabinet backing up his right hon. friend; but that was a question for himself. The right hon. Gentleman said that Members of the Opposition, did not thank the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon for striking off the corn tax. The reason why the Budget of last year was not more bitterly opposed was undoubtedly because the corn duty was got rid of; and, although they objected very strongly to the large amount of direct taxation which was struck off in comparison with the small amount of indirect taxation, still, they were so thankful to have got rid of the corn tax that they did not oppose the Budget as they might have opposed it under other circumstances.

As to the question whether the sugar duty combined with the Convention, had seriously interfered with the consumption of sugar in this country, he fully admitted that the figures up to the present were not such as could be relied on with any great confidence. It was very difficult to draw conclusions from them. If hon. Members, however, would look at the figures from 1888 in triennial periods up to the present they would find that in the period 1888–1890 the consumption per head was 73·8 lbs., and that it gradually increased until it was 86·7 lbs. in the period 1900–2. In 1903 the consumption was only 74 lbs., which was smaller than in any one year since 1890, when it was 73·2 lbs. It was perfectly certain that the steady progress in the consumption of sugar had stopped; and it was now abundantly proved that sugar in this country was dearer than it was; while it was cheaper than it had been before in other countries. That was a great relative disadvantage to the poorest of the poor in this country. But sugar was not only food; it was also a great raw material. They had heard a great deal of lamentation in the autumn about the enormous injury which was done to the working classes because fewer people were engaged in the refining industry; but if all the sugar consumed in the country were refined in the country, it would only mean employment for 6,000 people; whereas, the great trades which depended on sugar for their raw material did employ at least 120,000. Therefore, not only were the poorest of the poor hard hit by the sugar duty but many new industries were also hard hit by it. He spoke on this question rather strongly, because, as a so-called fanatical free trader, he did not care for the system under which sugar came into this country artificially cheap. But when he looked at the results which followed from the duty and the Convention—

*MR. SPEAKER: The Motion simply refers to the effect of the tax on sugar, not to the effect of the Convention.

*MR. EMMOTT apologised and said it was almost impossible to separate one cause from the other. He would conclude by pointing out that the price of sugar had risen materially as a result of this duty; and, although he fully admitted that in the present state of the finances of the country it was necessary to raise this money, still he maintained that they were perfectly right in calling attention to the great harm which the tax would inflict on the poorer classes, and on many industries in the country.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.) said it was a curious spectacle to see the present Chancellor of the Exchequer defending the sugar tax. The right hon. Gentleman was the political product of the free breakfast table; he was steeped in democratic finance at the beginning of his political career; and he should have thought that he would have favoured the doctrine of taking ransom from the rich and of keeping the unholy hand of the tax-gatherer off the necessaries of life. Yet, to-night the right hon. Gentleman was defending the tax on sugar. He should like to know the private opinion of the right hon. Gentleman on the matter. He did not think that the right hon Gentleman would support, as a private individual, what he was bound to support as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol justified the tax on the ground that it was in the true interests of peace and economy that the labouring classes, as well as other classes, should bear the burden of the cost of the war and the preparation for the war. Were they now bearing the burden of war or of preparation for war? All the reasons given as a justification for the tax by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol had disappeared; and they were entitled to ask that it should be removed. He objected to the reasons given by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol. He did not believe that the poorer people of the country declared war. Parliament was not sitting when war was declared; and the poorer people were necessarily ignorant of what went on, and could not give a vote on the issue. He should certainly vote with the greatest possible pleasure with his hon. friend.

Mr. WHITLEY said he wished to say a few words from the point of view of the trade. He had in his constituency the most progressive and flourishing industry among the new industries of the district and it depended for its raw material on cheap sugar. This tax, together with the increase brought about by the Sugar Convention, had had a most serious effect upon that industry. They were told that the policy of the Government did not include a tax on raw material and yet here was a tax which was distinctly a tax on raw material. He thought they were justified from that point of view alone in calling attention to the matter. When members of the Government talked about increasing employment it was their duty to show that the Government were decreasing employment in existing trades. He hoped other Members whose constituencies were affected in the same way would continue to point out how the policy of the sugar tax and the Sugar Convention had not only made dearer the raw material at home but cheapened the raw material abroad. It was an unique example of the effect of endeavouring to introduce scientific taxation.

Mr. HARWOOD said he found himself in a difficulty in trying to follow the logic of the right hon. Gentleman. He said that they were not sufficiently grateful to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol for removing the corn tax, because they criticised his Budget. Surely, it was unreasonable to suggest that because there was one good thing in a Budget they should keep their mouths closed about the bad things in it. Then, the right hon. Gentleman said that as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol put on the sugar tax, and as he was a free-trader and a favourite of theirs, therefore they ought not to criticise the sugar tax. Really because the late Chancellor happened to be a free-trader it did not follow that he never made a mistake and that therefore they were to swallow everything that he proposed and never criticise his proposals. They would surely be in a most ridiculous position if they did. There was another point. While they were justified in fighting every point, some severe criticism had been passed as to the position of the Opposition in prolonging the discussion. The general point was this, that the Opposition said the Government was spending too much; that expenditure had increased, was increasing, and must be diminished, and the only means of showing that was when each tax arose to apply the case and show how hardly the tax pressed upon the people. It was not an answer to say that the Chancellor of the Exchequer required £6,000,000. His hon. friend the Member for Halifax had referred to the trade point of view of the sugar tax. He knew they were not allowed on the clause to discuss the Sugar Convention, but it was acknowledged in the discussion on the Convention that products made from sugar, if they came from a country which had joined the Convention, were admitted duty-free even though they were made from bounty-fed sugar. That was to say that their own manufacturers were handicapped compared with the manufacturers of other countries. He mentioned this to show how the case was aggravated by the sugar tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke of the garden city near his home built on the profits of past years and he supposed that was intended to be an argument that trade was going on swimmingly. The fact remained that in the cocoa trade the increase had been stopped. The first sign of injury showed by a business was not that it diminished, but that it ceased to increase, and that was the phenomenon they had to face in that case. Year by year the trade was increasing in a certain ratio, but the Government took certain steps with the result that that increase had disappeared.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member in saying "the Government took certain steps" is apparently referring to the Convention, and that is not before the House.

MR. HARWOOD said he was referring to this particular tax, and showing that it operated as a burden upon a particular trade to such an extent that all increase had been stopped. It was really hard that when the Government required more money they should go to the two articles—tea and sugar—which were the most necessary to the poor. It was possible to pay too much for one's whistle, and the whistle of Empire might be bought at too dear a price. If the Government could not bear the expense except by placing these burdens upon the poor, he recommended them to try another policy and see whether they could not retrench and manage matters more economically.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said that, were it not for coming into conflict with the Chair, it would be perfectly possible to suggest alternative proposals of taxation—even if they were only licence duties. But it was not for the Opposition to suggest alternatives. As it was once said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, it was not for the physician to prescribe until he had been called in, and the Opposition were not bound to disclose their remedies until they were in a position to diagnose the complaint. The patient was suffering not from too little taxation, but from too much expenditure, and the cure was to cut down expenditure, and that was the point that would have to be considered when the time came. But each tax had to be considered upon its merits. It was only by resisting the imposition of new taxes that the House of Commons could exercise any real control over expenditure. The only way in which Governments could be forced to face the alternative of reducing expenditure was by the House of Commons declaring that an undue burden was being placed upon the people, and demanding that the expenditure should be cut down. That was really the position the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to take up, and if he did not the House of Commons would have to do it for him. When the Estimates of the year were presented to him by the different Departments, Lord Randolph Churchill, instead of looking round for new taxes, took the rational but more difficult course of turning to the spending Departments and saying that they and not the taxpayers would have to find the remedy. The House of Commons could never cut down Estimates in Committee of Supply. In other countries there were Budget Committees, by whom the Estimates were examined, but since such a Committee did not exist here, all the House of Commons could do was to say, "We will not impose additional burdens upon the people, the necessities of the Empire do not justify them, therefore, you must find some other remedy by getting the heads of the spending Departments to cut down their estimates." Chancellors of the Exchequer were, after all, very human. They simply took the line of least resistance. They had to face, on the one hand, insistent colleagues, each clamouring for additional expenditure, and on the other hand, the House of Commons, where they had their majority, who would vote for any mortal thing the Whips told them to. The only thing such Members cared about was to stave off a dissolution; they feared their constituents more than the taxation; hence the Chancellor of the Exchequer knew he would get his proposals through the House of Commons without much difficulty. The old tradition of Chancellors of the Exchequer was to reduce taxation; the line of new Chancellors of the Exchequer was to say, "Look at my term of office! My predecessor put on £5,000,000; I will put on £15,000,000. My little finger shall be thicker than his loin!" That was their claim to immortality.

During the last three or four years indirect taxation had been increased by £15,000,000. Why had there been these increases in the burdens of the people? Because, instead of *bona fide* discussions on the Budget such as there used to be, there had been only perfunctory debates, and even they had been discouraged by the majority Discussion should be encouraged so as to make it difficult for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to impose new taxation without thoroughly sifting the matter. The right hon. Gentleman probably did not really wrestle with his colleagues on the question of expenditure before deciding to continue this tax. It was necessary to take the Chancellor of the Exchequer—in a Parliamentary sense—by the throat, and, by refusing to continue these burdens, to force him to reduce expenditure. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol justified the imposition solely on the ground of "adequate public necessity," and purely as a war tax. The war was over; where then was the "adequate public necessity" for keeping on the tax? It was simply the extravagance of the Government. Estimates were supervised in the most reckless fashion; in fact, they were not supervised at all. The Government had no time to look after their proper business; it took them all their time to keep together, and as long as that went on there would be no proper management of the business of the country. What was the good of the Government talking about the Empire unless they could manage its finances? Taxation of this kind was most insidious in its character, The people did not realise that they were paying it. The average consumption of sugar per family of the population was about 8 lbs. per week, so that the tax meant about 4d. per week. What was 4d. per week? When it was a question of school fees, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham declared that 3d. per week was a great deal for a working man to pay; that it meant 3d. from the necessaries of life, and that he would rather cut off his right arm than be a party to imposing such a burden. But here was the right hon. Gentleman's relative, not merely not cutting off his right arm to prevent taxation, but using both arms to keep it on. Fourpence a week was a serious item to a man with a small wage and a large family. The primary functions of the House of Commons were to examine the finances of the country and to redress grievances, but those were the last two duties the House was under present circumstances permitted to discharge. It was time the House of Commons reasserted its prerogative, and carefully scrutinised all these burdens upon the people of the land.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) quoted from a speech by Mr. Disraeli, in which he said that sugar was an article of colonial produce which had been embarrassing to many Governments and had sometimes caused political disaster.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 124; Noes, 201. (Division List No. 274.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir Fran. H. (Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Hardie, J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert

Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Kean, John
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Seely, Maj. J.E.B.(Isleof Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Thompson,Dr.E C(Monagh'n,N
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.Hugh O
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn.Sir H.
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col.H.F(Middlesex
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H.(Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J.H.M.(DublinUniv.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt Hn.J.A(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir HoratioD.(Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt.Hn.Sir William Hart
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Hain, Edward
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford,W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, Jn.(Kent, Faversham
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt.Hn.Sir John H.
Kenyon, Hon.Geo. T.(Denbigh)
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col.CharlesW.(Evesham)
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
Majendie, James A. H.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh,N.)
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson

Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sandys, Lieut.-Col.Thos. Myles
Saunderson, Rt.Hn.Col.Edw.J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith,RtHn J.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, EdwardJas.(Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A.Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs) said the Amendment he had to submit proposed to restore the duty on tea to the figure at which it stood in the Finance Bill of last year, namely, 6d. per lb. This was one of the most important questions that could be discussed on the Finance Bill. They could not too carefully scrutinise the expenditure of the country, and a better example could not be given of the extravagance of expenditure and the hardship inflicted by that extravagance than the particular tax which was the subject of this Amendment. It was very hard upon the consumers of tea that in a time of peace an article of universal consumption which was already taxed to the extent of 100 per cent. should have that tax increased by another 25 per cent. Such an increase was absolutely unjustifiable. This extra taxation fell heavily upon the working classes, who were the greatest consumers of tea. The late Mr. Bright once said that "The nation lives in the cottage," and he was sure that any hon. Member who had performed the disagreeable duty of canvassing a constituency would have a good idea of how and where the people lived and what were the kind of taxes which pressed upon them with the greatest severity. If they would only recall those experiences they would come to the conclusion that a tax of this nature was a grievous burden upon the poorest people in this country. In the case of tea and sugar this Government had imposed £10,000,000 a year of additional taxation. Reference had been made to the advisability of having a Budget Committee, and when he made that suggestion in 1895 the First Lord of the Treasury loudly applauded it. He only wished that they could have a Committee to inquire into the incidence of taxation on the various classes of the inhabitants of this country. The enormous amount of revenue levied by way of Customs and Excise, amounting to between £60,000,000 and £70,000,000 a year, were paid almost entirely by the working classes of this country, and now they were placing the duty on tea at a higher figure than it had ever reached in the course of the last fourteen years. They were constantly told to think Imperially. He wished to know why they should leave out of account those great dependencies of India and Ceylon. India was the poorest country in the world, and the average income of its inhabitants had been computed at a sum between three farthings and a penny farthing per head. If there was any country which ought to benefit from an Imperial tariff scheme it was India. In India and Ceylon £30,000,000 were invested in the tea industry, and yet by this addition to the tea tax we were dealing a heavy blow at that industry. A blow was also being dealt at the working classes of the United Kingdom by the imposition of this enormous tax on tea—a tax which was enough to make fiscal reformers of the past turn in their graves. Why had the Chancellor of the Exchequer selected tea for the whole of this additional taxation? Why had he not apportioned the amount he proposed to raise from tea in such a way as to let coffee and cocoa bear part of the taxation. These were commodities imported from foreign countries. He moved the Amendment in order to give the House an opportunity of expressing an opinion as to whether the tax should be retained at 6d. as at present.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 16, to leave out the words 'in lieu of.'"—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE, rising after a short pause, expressed the hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not going to treat the House with contempt on this matter. The tea duty was one which pressed very heavily on the working people of this country. It meant 130 per cent. on a commodity of universal consumption by every class of the community. He ventured to say that in the very worst days of high tariffs there was nothing so bad as this, and it was a Government that desired to give trade advantages to our Colonies that maintained this heavy impost on an article of colonial produce. Up to the time the increase in taxation was imposed on tea there had been an annual increase in the consumption, but the moment the tax was increased there was an arrest in the consumption as far as the colonial product was concerned, but the consumption of the foreign product increased. That was a peculiar result in the case of a Government whose policy it was to protect the colonial as against the foreign producer. If there was any part of His Majesty's dominions that deserved indulgent treatment it was India and Ceylon. In Ceylon they had had exactly the same state of things as in the West Indies. It was all very well for the hon. Member for Sheffield to sneer.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I did not sneer.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said he did not know that was the hon. Member's method of cheering arguments for preferential trade. He appealed to him to give more articulate expression to his opinions. The hon. Member was never tired of talking about the Colonies, and he ought to encourage Members of this House who were putting in a word for them.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: Hear, hear!

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE said that was better. That was a word of encouragement to one who was pleading his gospel. The hon. Member had always held out against his own Party in regard to this doctrine. Now was his chance. Let him say a word for the Colonies, who were hard hit by this increased taxation in favour of the foreign producer. There was a gathering in the City the other day of gentlemen interested in India and Ceylon, and it was there stated that this increase in the tax would hit the tea industry in India and Ceylon very hard. When the West Indian planters found that sugar did not pay they came whining and asked for £400,000 a year, but the Indian planters, when coffee failed, set to work to produce tea and gained a position of prosperity. What was their reward? The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the protector of the Colonies, actually put a tax of 130 per cent. on their produce. Surely that was a very curious way of encouraging the Colonies. This tea tax hit not only the colonial producer, but our own people. What happened with regard to Lancashire? Lancashire had a great trade with Ceylon and India in cotton goods. These goods were not paid for in silver and gold. They were paid for mostly in tea. Did the Chancellor of the Exchequer mean to say that if he increased the duty on the pound of tea it would not discourage colonial tea, and did he mean to say that it would not affect the cotton trade in Lancashire? The duty had materially injured the cotton business of Lancashire, and if they were going to put on an extra 2d. it would be still harder hit. This was a tax which had not been imposed for forty years. It was in 1865 that the tea duty was at the figure to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer now proposed to raise it. It had actually been as low as 4d., and this Imperial Government increased it to 6d., and now to 8d. That was the way they were going to help the Colonies, and especially Ceylon. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be the last man to discourage the people of Ceylon, who during the late war did all they could to assist the Imperial Government. They did not complain of the additional 2d. as their contribution towards the conducting of the war, but they naturally expected that they would share in the reduction of taxation the moment warlike expenditure came to an end. Their reward was to have another 2d. added to the tea duty.

He was not so sure that this had not something to do with an ulterior purpose. What was it? Why should the Chancellor of the Exchequer select tea in order to increase the duty? It was perfectly obvious that it was part of a scheme by which at some future time the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to go to the country and say, "The tax on tea is 8d.; take it off in order to put it on corn." The scheme had been advocated in the country. There had never been any concealment about it. He ventured to say that this was playing into the hands of that scheme. It was not a *bona fide* effort to meet by taxation the current expenditure of the year. It was part and parcel of a political intrigue. He would be very much surprised if hon. Members sitting on the Government Benches could repudiate it. He must say that they had always been very frank. They had not been working underground. He ventured to say there was not a speech they had made in the country in which they had not pointed out the possibility of reducing the taxation on tea with the view of imposing it on something else. The House ought not to play into the hands of that conspiracy. Hon. Members knew perfectly well that there were some men in every intrigue who were indiscreet enough to reveal the secrets of the rest, and that was why they had got it out. There were many things going on in connection with the Treasury which were underground. It was just part and parcel of a scheme, to put this enormously increased portion of the taxes on the food of the people, and seeing that at the present moment there was no great demand or prime necessity for so doing it was an outrage to propose it. His special objection to this tax was that it called upon the poorest classes of the community to bear an unfair share of the burden. The income-tax was borne in proportion to a man's income; the greater the income, the greater was the contribution a man was called upon to make, but the better was he able to bear it. That, however, was not the case with the tea tax. The average income of a working man with a family, ranged from £75 to £90 a year, and taking a family man with an income of twenty times that amount, it would be found that not more than four times the amount of tea would be consumed than in the former case. That put an unfair burden on the poorest classes of the community. The same objection applied in the case of the sugar tax, and it was because of this method of unfair taxation between high and low, and rich and poor, that he supported the Amendment.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that as many of the objections which had been urged against the tax had been submitted at recent sittings the replies he then gave would be a sufficient answer, but some fresh objections had been raised. The hon. Member for Flint Boroughs had asked why, having increased the tea duty, he had not increased the duty on cocoa and coffee, and thus spread the taxation over those and similar articles. He put the taxation on tea because he thought that from tea the best response could be obtained; whilst coffee and cocoa would only yield a very small sum. He had been taxed with bringing too minute a mind to bear in raising these duties, but if he had accepted the suggestions made with regard to coffee and cocoa he would have laid himself open to further criticisms in that direction. Another objection he had to meet was that this tax pressed unduly upon India and Ceylon. He confessed that he adopted it with reluctance, but he did not anticipate such unfortunate results would follow as had been anticipated by the hon. Gentleman. The tea industry in India and Ceylon, and in Ceylon in particular, was in a better condition at the present time than it was when the last duty was imposed. He feared the tax fell very heavily upon Ceylon, but had the result of the last increase been so disastrous as that imposed in 1902? Everyone interested in the industry in Ceylon had admitted that there had been an over-increase in the production, and that new markets had had to be found for the surplus tea in place of sending it to England at unremunerative prices. Looking at the decrease in the total imports, and at the amount of tea shipped direct to Australia and other places instead of through this country, he, naturally, would have been glad from our own point of view to see every pound of tea consigned through this country, but he could not shut his eyes to the fact that it was advantageous to consign it as directly as possible. Hon. Members had just divided the House upon the sugar duty, but tea was not open to the same objections and it seemed to him that, having to raise a share of taxation from indirect sources, tea was the article that could best bear the burden put upon it.

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Yorkshire, Cleveland) said each tax had its special objection. In sugar it took the form of objecting to a duty on raw material; in tobacco an unequal burden was imposed, and with respect to tea, they objected on the ground that the tax injured the Indian and Ceylon producers. He denied that there was any inconsistency in objecting to the additional duty on the score of injury to the producer in India and Ceylon. If they had said at one moment that the consumer paid the tax, and the next that the producer paid, it then would be obvious inconsistency, but nobody on that side of the House had said that. What they had said was that the consumer would pay it and would be injured by having to pay more for his tea and that the effect would be to stop the natural increase of consumption, and even possibly to diminish the rate of consumption, and in that way the growers in India and Ceylon would be injured as well as the consumers. But there were certain arguments which were common to all these taxes which led them to object to them all. They considered the expenditure of the country was too high, and wished to reduce taxation as a means of reducing expenditure. They believed the present Administration had no claim to the confidence of the country, and used this ancient constitutional means of objecting to their presence on the Treasury Bench. And beyond this, those who had examined the question of the comparative incidence of taxation on the various classes of the population were convinced that the present system was in itself unjust and was continually becoming more unjust. He wished to see the tax reduced, because it imposed an unfair burden upon the poorest classes of the community. This tax, of course, did not stand alone. The Government had added £6,000,000 a year to the taxation of sugar, £4,000,000 to tea, £2,000,000 to tobacco, and £2,700,000 to beer and spirits—all since 1900. They had added £14,700,000 to those taxes which fell upon the working classes of the country. It was true that the corn-tax had been taken off, and they had been taken to task by the Chancellor of the Exchequer because they gave scant thanks for that fact. He did not see why they ought to thank a Minister who had been compelled largely by the efforts of the Opposition to repeal a tax which his Administration had imposed. These taxes on commodities of general consumption were essentially evil because they were in the nature of poll taxes. A working class family consumed as much tea and sugar as a wealthier family, and probably about as much tobacco and alcohol. There were about 9,000,000 families in the United Kingdom, and these new taxes worked out at an average sum of 32s. 8d. per family—practically one week's wages for every working-class family in the community. When hon. Members opposite went to their constituents and told them the many blessings which had been conferred upon them by the Tory Administration he trusted they would make it plain that among those blessings was to be included indirect taxation to the extent of one week's wages for each family in the country. These new taxes, of course, came on the top of a very large number of other burdens. Excluding wine and coal, there were about £65,000,000 a year raised in indirect taxation, or £7 5s. per family, which amounted to an income-tax of 1s. 7d. in the £ on the average wage of a working-class family. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had again and again refused to hold an inquiry into the question of the incidence of taxation on the various classes of the nation. The right hon. Gentleman told them that there was no injustice to complain of, but they pressed for an inquiry because they did not accept his opinion and wished to have it checked by other financial authorities. He felt sure that critics of this Budget would not cease from protesting against any proposal to increase or even to maintain the present level of indirect taxation until an impartial expert inquiry had proved their arguments to be void of foundation.

Mr. McKENNA said he had listened in the hope of being told by the Chancellor of the Exchequer by whom this tax was to be paid. It was disappointing that when the right hon. Gentleman proposed an import duty on tea he could not assure the House that that duty would not be paid by the consumers but by the producers. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer believed that it would be paid by the consumers why did he not inform a deluded electorate that the tax he was proposing to impose would fall upon them. There could not be a shadow of doubt, looking at the tea markets of the last month or two, that this tax would fall upon the British consumer. Had the Chancellor of the Exchequer the courage to tell the House that the effect of this duty would be to tax foreigners. He dared not do it, and he begged the right hon. Gentleman out, of regard to his reputation as a financier and a courageous and consistent politician, not to say outside that House what he would not say inside it. The additional twopence upon this tax would cause an additional twopence to be placed on the price of tea. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that in opposing this tax they wished to eat their cake and keep it, but they contended that it was not their cake at all. It was the right hon. Gentleman's fiscal cake, and as the price was raised the trade in that article would diminish. The right hon. Gentleman not only made the British people pay more for their tea, but put an impediment in the way of the colonial producers. It was a curious thing that the defence of our colonial trade had been undertaken exclusively by free traders. In opposing that tax they recorded their solemn protest against its continuance at the present rate. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to frame his Budget next year he would be met with the most strenuous opposition from that side of the House if he continued this impost. They were bound to resist his proposals to the utmost. The tax was unfair in its incidence on the poor, and holding that view as strongly as he did he should do his utmost to resist it.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.) said the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer showed that he did not sufficiently recognise the direct bearing the duty had upon the commerce of India. He would like to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer a direct question. Had any representation been made to him by the Government of India? Upon the only occasion when they were permitted to discuss Indian matters, upon the Indian Budget, there was a consensus of opinion expressed that it was of the greatest importance to encourage its internal resources, and undoubtedly the tea industry was an important one, one which ought to be further developed, and one which they could not allow to be prejudiced without making a strong protest. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that he was in favour of this proposal because the tax produced the best results, and he went on to defend his action from the standpoint of the Indian planters, by saying that since the last increase in the duty the condition of the Indian tea trade had improved. It seemed a somewhat unfortunate apology to make for the imposition of this tax. The Indian planters had built up their industry by gigantic efforts, and the first step towards that improvement was an additional tax. Not only from the Indian standpoint, but also from the standpoint of policy, he wished to press this home upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The final ground upon which he would oppose the additional tax was this. He was not at all sure that in the long run it would produce the increased revenue expected. There was a limit, after all, to human endurance in the matter of tea-drinking, and he thought it was very unfortunate that it should be necessary to adopt a policy in regard to the taxation of tea which would have the effect of discouraging tea-drinking. They all knew that the problem of drink was receiving the consideration of the country, and he regretted that at this time, and especially under the conditions of the country, it should be necessary to place a barrier in the way of the consumption of tea. He therefore desired to support the Amendment.

MR. HARWOOD said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer told them that the first duty on tea operated hardly on tea growers: that, when another 2d. was put upon it, it hit them very hard: but that, when a further 2d. was put upon it, it did not seem to have done them any harm. He thought the House should notice the peculiar explanation he gave of that. He said they were sending their tea direct; which meant that this House was sanctioning a system of taxation which would divert trade from this country. Was it an advantage to this country that the tea of the Colonies should be sent, not through this country, but, by reason of our system, direct to the foreigner? This was an obvious drawback. The Chancellor of the Exchequer taunted his hon. friends that they had got a new-found zeal for the Colonies; and he said that, because they did not go in for preferential trade, he doubted their zeal. He tried to sneer at that zeal, because they chose to defend the natural trade of the Colonies; but he should like to ask him if he knew any article in which we traded with the foreigner on which we had put a duty of 125 per cent. They were asking not for preferential trade with the Colonies, but for decent, fair treatment. Surely we ought to treat our Colonies as we treated other people; and he asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he could name an article in which we traded with the foreigner on which we put such a duty as we did upon this product of the Colonies. He had talked with a good many of the planters of Ceylon and India, and they told him that it would be exceedingly difficult for them to carry on their business, if the duty were raised 4d. It was obvious that a duty of 4d. on an article worth 6d. was very high indeed. They must take the percentage on the value of that article. They had made it 8d., raising the price from 10d. to 14d., and they had doubled the proportion of duty to that increase of cost. Any Member who was engaged in business and had the article he produced raised 50 per cent., and that 50 per cent. consisted of an added duty, would feel he was extremely badly dealt with. Ceylon was on the point of ruin when a capital of £30,000,000 was put into its tea trade on the moral understanding that the trade should not be seriously altered. What did they do now? They doubled the duty, and he said they were treating those planters unfairly. He was inclined to think that the Government were either Germans or Frenchmen in disguise from their experiences of that day. They refused to consider a proposal about alcohol, in which we were heavily handicapped; they had made sugar dear to Englishmen and cheap to the foreigner; and now they come with a proposal to damage the one product of our Colonies in which they had been most successful, almost irretrievably.

But there was another point of view, besides that of the cotton industry point of view, he wished to put to the House as one which should not be lost sight of. The Lancashire operators consisted largely of women, to five out of six of whom tea had become the chief article of diet. They depended upon it chiefly for their sustenance, and it had done very well for temperance. This House should, therefore, be very careful before it touched a thing of this kind. They were touching the wages of people who had to depend upon from 12s. to 16s. a week, and they were hitting them very hard. It was said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Cambridge University, in justifying the tax that these people supported the war, and they should pay for it. That was a cruel way of putting the question. The people did not begin the war. All they did was to back up their leaders when they found the country at war. It was Tommy Atkins' war not the officers', and now the Government proposed to tax Tommy's brother and sister. In common justice to the poor people and to our Colonies he asked the House not to sanction the placing of additional burdens upon them.

*MR. THEODORE TAYLOR said the last Chancellor of the Exchequer but one told them, in 1900, that the tax was a purely exceptional one, levied for the purposes of the war; and now that the war was over that the tax should be increased was absolutely contradictory of this. In 1902 the Chancellor of the Exchequer declined to increase it because, as he said, it was already taxing a necessary of life to the extent of 75 per cent. of its value. The Member for Bolton had just reminded them that it was now taxed over 100 per cent. of its value, and, if this tax were imposed at not so much per pound but if it were proposed to make it 120 per cent. *ad valorem*, nobody would vote for it. It was a strange thing that it should be acceptable in one shape and not in another, and strange, too, that it should be reserved to a Government supported by a Party strongly in favour of binding the Empire together by preferential taxes within the Empire to increase a tax on a commodity, a necessary of life, which came mainly from the poorest part of the Empire. They knew that the people of India were the poorest members of our Empire. If there was any part of the Empire which should be excused from having any further impediment put in the way of its trade, surely it was the country for the government of which this country was responsible and which could make no retaliation. They maintained that any tax whatever on any article, and in any country whatsoever, which increased the cost of an article to the consumer must to some extent restrict the amount consumed, and such a tax must be injurious to the producer as well as to the consumer. In the interests of the Indian people, who were very much apt to be forgotten, and in the interests of our fellow-Britishers, whose capital was invested there, he asked the House to pause before further increasing the tea duty. Twopence ought to be taken off instead of 2d. being put on. Everybody admitted that a tax on tea was practically a tax on a necessary of life to the poorest part of the community, and, if this were so, it was a tax on poverty and a tax on existence to which he strongly objected. They would have to do something in these days of diminishing rate of increase of population to relieve taxes on existence. They could not go so far as it was carried out in Canada, where, in the province of Quebec, families of twelve were exempt from taxation; but this country, along with other countries, would have to face a diminishing rate of increase of population, involving a diminution of importance and of power; and therefore they ought to pause, from this point of view, which was really Imperial, national, and patriotic, before they added to the burdens of existence. He was one of those who absolutely believed in a "free breakfast-table." He believed it was not to the interests of any class of the community to make existence expensive.

It would not pass the wit of man to devise forms of taxation that would not bear heavily upon the poor. For instance, the income-tax limit might be lowered. He had no objection to people with incomes of £100 a year bearing taxation. The one thing he cared for more than anything else was the lot of the poor people who were only just above the Poor Law line, and who with a little more taxation would be depressed below that line. He was sure it would be easy for a Chancellor of the Exchequer to devise the means of taxing, say, four-fifths of the community, leaving out those classes of the population who were quite poor and had a very great struggle for existence. The hon. Member for Bolton had told them that he and his competitors were devising kitchens for tea. In the business of which he (the hon. Member) was the head, they had three places where they made tea for their employees. The industrial population of Lancashire and Yorkshire took tea three times a day—personally, he admitted it was a mistake, and he wished they did not—and this tax fell very heavily upon them. It also fell upon the population of Lancashire in an indirect way, because, if they restricted the exports of India, they restricted the imports of India, and India was Lancashire's best customer. He was quite sure that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer were so minded, he could exempt these poor sections of the community from this class of taxation. He could never forget the speech of the hon. and learned Member for South Donegal as to how the poor people in the West of Ireland would feel this tax. If it came home to hon. Members at the same rate as to these poor peasants, he was sure that hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House would be more alive to the injustice of the tax to the consumers in Ireland and in Lancashire and Yorkshire and to the producers of the tea in India and Ceylon.

MR. GEORGE WHITELEY (Yorkshire, W.R., Pudsey) said that to increase the tea duty was one of the worst proposals that should have been suggested in the interest of our Colonies, when they were all advocating a closer connection with them. He was astonished that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should, in his first Budget, have made a proposal to strike a very severe blow at two of the British colonies which had no self-government. He joined his views with those of the last two speakers representing Lancashire constituencies in pleading for that particular class of their population who would be hit by this increased duty. They, and the working people of Yorkshire, would be more severely oppressed by this tax than any other section of the community. Tea was almost a constant article of their diet—one of their prime necessaries of life. His hon. friend said that in Lancashire and Yorkshire the workpeople took tea three times a day. He thought that was below the mark, and that the Lancashire workmen, their wives and children, went to the factories with their cans, with their tea and sugar, and these cans were constantly filled up the whole day long. It might be that that practice was injurious to the constitutions of these people, but it was their constant practice. He would like an inquiry into the Budget proposals generally so as to arrive at the high-water mark of taxation. There were two cardinal taxes which were being imposed—the income-tax and the tea duty. The one fell on the rich and the other on the poor; but the increase in the income-tax was only 20 per. cent higher than that before the war, while the increase on the tea tax was from 33 to 40 per cent. more than during the war. He contended that that was an inequitable rate of taxation. He was aware that the Government were in difficulties in regard to their vanishing revenue, and that they were at their wits' end to get a good Budget. But they might have left the tax alone. It was not for the Opposition to say how the Government might have arrived at a different scheme. The Government had dissipated its resources from the moment they crossed the floor of the House. They had been depleting the resources of the working classes of the country in order to benefit other sections of the community by means of the Agricultural Rating Act and other Acts. He ventured to think that this tea duty was the last straw, and he hoped the people of this country would take to heart the lesson which the present Government was teaching.

*MR. SHACKLETON (Lancashire, Clitheroe) said that it was hardly fair to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he should be left alone on the Treasury Bench to defend this unpopular tax. There seemed to be a conspiracy of silence on the other side of the House, and he thought it would be interesting to have some arguments by which hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite could support this tax. He wished to speak on behalf of the cotton operatives in Lancashire, upon whom this additional duty would bear very hardly. The House was very well aware that for nearly twelve months they had been fighting a battle along with their employers against the cotton corners in Liverpool and New York which had caused a serious reduction in their wages. He thought the Prime Minister as a Lancashire Member might have used his influence with the Chancellor of the Exchequer to have introduced another tax which would not have affected the Lancashire operatives in the way that this tea tax would do. Each family earning 22s. a week would have to pay 35s. a year in taxation from tea alone when the tax was increased to 8d. per lb. There ought to be an increased taxation derived from the land, and taxes on tea and sugar should be only put on as a last resort. It was said that the people who shouted for the war should pay for it; but those who did shout for the war did so out of pure patriotism; and very few knew the rights or the wrongs of the question. There was, therefore, nothing in that argument. He contended that this was a most unfair tax, and would press heavily on poor people and widows with families. He trusted that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had the opportunity of drafting another Budget he would take off the duty on tea and sugar.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN moved that the Question be now put.

*Mr. SPEAKER: I think the debate is nearly at an end.

Mr. PIRIE submitted that even if the Chancellor of the Exchequer's complaint was well founded that the same arguments as had been used on former occasions were being employed again, the Opposition were justified in repeating those arguments now that they had an opportunity of doing so at a reasonable hour. As representing a poor working-class constituency, he maintained that the first duty of the House of Commons should be to protect the weak, but of recent years there had been a growing tendency to use the great strength of the House of Commons to impose additional burdens upon those who were least able to bear them. For that reason he emphatically protested against the tax. Another ground for objecting to the tax was that it dealt a serious blow to the Ceylon tea-planting industry. After unprecedented struggles the planters of Ceylon had succeeded in establishing a prosperous tea industry, and it was very cruel that advantage should be taken of their success to handicap them in this way. There were no less than half a million acres under tea in Ceylon, and he thought the planters were justified in protesting against the tax and in organising a representative body in London, so that when next their interests were attacked they might have somebody in the House to speak on their behalf. The least the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as a member of a Government claiming to represent Imperialist feeling, could have done was to have consulted the Government of Ceylon as to the imposition of this tax. He should strongly support the Amendment.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 191; Noes, 107. (Division List No. 275.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hon. H. O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A J. (Manch'r
Balfour, RtHn. Gerald W(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H F (Middlesex
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J H M(Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V.C.W (Derbyshire
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, RtHn J A (Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cross, Herb, Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D(Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir JosephC.
Disraeli, Coningsby, Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir JohnE
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fergusson, Rt HnSir J(Manc'r.
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S(Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, SirEW(BryS Edmunds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.
Gretton, John
Hardy, Laurence(Kent, Ashford
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope, J. F(Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, John(Kent Faversham
Hozier, Hon. James HenryCecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt, Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T.(Denbigh
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John Grant(Yorks N.R
Lee, Arthur H(Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt Hn Walter(Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(EdinburghW
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.

Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William
Morgan,DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Mount, William Arthur
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Peel,HnWm.Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley,Hon. M. W.(Stalybridge
Ridley,S.Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
Saunderson,Rt HnColEdw. J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford, East)
Smith,RtHn J.Parker (Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col SirC E H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley,H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wilson,A.Stanley (York, E.R.)
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr.Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Burke, E. Haviland
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,CaptEC(S Andrw'sBghs.
Ellis, John Edward (Notts).
Fenwick, Charles
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Gladstone,Rt Hn Herbert John
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt,Lewis V.(Rossendale)
Hardie,J Keir(Merthyr Tydvil)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hobhouse,C E H (Bristol, E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,David Brynmor(Swansea
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy,Vincent P (Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex.(Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Norman, Henry
O'Brien,Kendal(Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Slack, John Bamford
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas,David Alfred (Merthyr
Thompson,Dr.E.C(Monagh'nN.
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Lewis and Mr. Shackleton.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL said the effect of the Amendment which he wished to move was to exempt Ireland altogether from the tea tax. He would not have addressed the House at that late hour if he had not felt it to be his absolute and imperative duty to protest in the strongest possible manner against robbing the poor because they were poor, for that was what he considered to be the gist of this tax. The plea that Ireland should be excluded from this tax was not an unreasonable one. The Irish poor constituted a much larger proportion of the population than was the case in this country. Mr. Bright once said that he would like everyone to agitate for a free breakfast table, by which he meant that the remaining duties upon tea and sugar should be taken off altogether. That was in 1868, and now, after nearly forty years had elapsed since Mr. Bright used those words, instead of the tea duty being sixpence they were discussing a proposal to put on an additional tax of twopence. When Mr. Bright used those words the consumption of tea per head of the population was two-and-a-half pounds, but now it was six pounds per head in this country, and in Ireland it was eight-and-a-half pounds. In Ireland tea was the food of the people as clearly and definitely as bread was the staff of life. He sometimes saw hon. Members shrug their shoulders and ask why Ireland should be treated differently to Yorkshire or Wiltshire. He would remind the hon. Members representing those counties that they had never had a separate Parliament like Ireland had once, and when Ireland was incorporated with this country it was on the condition that she should be taxed according to her relative capacity to pay.

He wished to say a word or two to those English Members sitting on the Opposition side of the House who might be inclined to think that his proposal was an unreasonable one. He would point out to them that this tax, rightly or wrongly, had been passed by a majority of the House of Commons against the wishes of a majority of hon. Members representing Ireland. In regard to this duty a majority of the Irish Members would go into the Division Lobby urging that Ireland should be exempt from this tea tax altogether. A majority of one in an Irish Parliament would have abolished this tea tax altogether. This tax had no moral power whatever in Ireland, and he would say what he had said before, that if Ireland had the opportunity she would be more than morally justified in resisting this tax by armed force. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was wrong in what he said as to the way in which this tax would affect Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman stated the addition to the tax would affect Ireland to the extent of between £230,000 and £250,000. It was computed by experts on whose calculations he could rely that Ireland would be affected to the tune of £300,000. When the tax on tea was 6d. the amount extracted from Ireland was £900,000, so that, assuming the consumption to remain the same, the amount would now be £1,200,000. When Ireland had a Parliament of her own up to 1798 the whole burden of taxation for the government of the country was only about £1,000,000, it rarely reached £1,500,000; but now the people of the country were to be taxed as much as that on one article which was largely used by the very poorest. Out of the whole population of Ireland there were 2,500,000 belonging to families whose weekly budgets per family were not 35s. as in the case of English operatives, but 6s., 7s., and 8s. He asked the House to consider what 2d. per pound additional on the price of tea meant to these families. Some time ago he examined the annual budget of a well-to-do farmer in Ireland. It amounted to £23, and out of that £5 10s. went for tea. In another case the budget amounted to £12 and out of that £3 went for tea. These people did not drink, but this taxation was making tea dearer to them than whiskey would be. The effect of adding 2d. to the tax meant for the poor who bought in small quantities an addition of 4d. per pound, because tea which they bought at 1d. an ounce would cost 1¼d. Tea would now be the only commodity taxed to the extent of double the cost of its production. This tea tax was a graduated tax on the poor, but it was graduated the wrong way. If there was an *ad valorem* duty of 100 per cent. it would not be so much felt by the poor. The tax would then fall more on the rich. In 1896, before the additional taxes consequent on the war, Ireland was overtaxed to the extent of £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 a year, according to the Report of the Financial Relations Commission. He would like some of the gentlemen who talked about thinking Imperially to go to some of the southern constituencies of Ireland and speak of the benefits of

Empire, and then go into some of the cottages and see the tea stewed and watered until the whole of the tannin was extracted from it. That was what was got by thinking Imperially, and of the "illimitable veldt." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking outside the House, had made a pioneer speech on the fiscal question. The proposal to add to the tea tax was the pioneer of dear food so far as Ireland was concerned. The Budget, and especially the tea tax, bore the impress of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. He might apply to it the words of Dryden—

> "We gaze delighted as we trace
> The parents' mien in its fair face."

Having regard to the infamous rule of the English towards Ireland, and especially to the Irish poor, and having regard to the fact that this Budget was the outcome of corruption from that English rule——

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The observations of the hon. Gentleman have no relevance to the tea duty.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL said he would content himself with pointing out that in the time of the old Irish Parliament, although tea was then a much dearer commodity, the tax upon it was much less than it was under this Budget.

Amendment proposed to the Bill.

"In page 1, line 17, to leave out the words 'or Ireland.'"—(*Mr. MacNeill*:)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he understood that the only question before the House was why this tea tax having been levied in other portions of the United Kingdom should not be levied in Ireland. The speech of the hon. Gentleman was not calculated to convince the House of the strength of his arguments as to the merits of the case, because those arguments were equally applicable to the poor of this country as to the poor of Ireland. Tea had become a practical necessity in every household and he could not accept a proposal to exempt any part of the United Kingdom from the tax upon it.

Mr. LOUGH pointed out that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had added a penny to the income-tax, which put on £2,250,000 of direct taxation, and the right hon. Gentleman wanted to balance that with indirect taxation upon tea and tobacco. That desire was in accordance with the recognised principles adopted by that House. But why did not the right hon. Gentleman act fairly towards Ireland? There never was a more unfair proposal to Ireland than that then before the House. Then they had a right to complain of the want of accurate statistics of the result of the tax in Ireland. They did not know exactly how the pressure of this taxation was falling upon that country. The pressure obtained there as it did in England, and there was no doubt that it dealt a serious blow to Ireland, which was a country rapidly diminishing in population.

Dr. MACNAMARA thought Ireland had a good ground for objecting to being taxed at all under this Budget. When the tax was raised on a former occasion the then Chancellor of the Exchequer justified the imposition by the war expenditure. The mandate to bring the war to a successful issue was given by the English people, but the Irish people almost unanimously declared against the war, and surely they ought not to be taxed in order to meet the expenditure upon it. He would vote with his hon. friend if he went to a division on the Amendment.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 170; Noes, 75. (Division List No. 276.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt Hn. Hugh O.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord

Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, RtHn Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Lt.-Col. H. F. (Middlesex
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J H M (Dublin Univ.
Cautley, Henry Strother
Cavendish, V C W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Ford Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, RtHnJ A (Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley
Davies, Sir HoratioD. (Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir WilliamHart
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fergusson, Rt HnSir J. (Manc'r.
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, SirE W(B'rySEdmn'ds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Harris, F Leverton (Tynem'th
Harris Dr Fredk. R. (Dulwich
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath James (Staffords, N.W)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hope, J. F (Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Hozier, Hon. James HenryCecil.
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T (Denbigh)
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John Grant (YorksN.R
Lee, Arthur H (Hants, Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt Hn Walter (Bristol, S
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth)
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mitchell, Edw (Fermanagh, N.)
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moore, William
Morgan, DavidJ. (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Mount, William Arthur
Murray, Rt HnA. Graham (Bute
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pease, Herbert Pike (Darlington
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Rankin, Sir James
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myles
Saunderson, Rt Hn. Col. Edw. J.
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, Rt. HnJ. Parker (Lanarks)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Walker, Col, William Hall
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E.R.
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. Geogre.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Benn, John Williams
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Burke, E. Haviland
Caldwell, James
Channing, Francis Allston
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cremer, William Randal
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Doogan, P. C.
Duncan, J. Hastings
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Hardie, J Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Horniman, Frederick John
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Joyce, Michael
Kennedy, Vincent P (Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George David
Lough, Thomas
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
Mansfield, Horace Reynall
Murphy, John
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Norman, Henry
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Malley, William

O'Shee, James John
Pease, J. A. (Saffron, Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Priestley, Arthur
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Shackleton, David James
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Sheehy, David
Slack, John Bamford
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Thompson, DrEC(Monagh'n, N.
Tomkinson, James
Ure, Alexander
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J.(York, W.R.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. MacNeill and Mr. Flavin.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In Clause 2, page 2, lines 11 and 12, to leave out the words 'was on the high seas consigned to a port of the United Kingdom,' and insert the words 'to have been in an importing vessel consigned to a port in Great Britain or Ireland.'"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN proposed to leave out of Clause 4, page 2, line 36 "August" and insert "July." He said that in deference to a wish expressed on both sides of the House he had consented to substitute July for August.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In Clause 4, page 2, line 36, to leave out the word 'August,' and insert the word 'July.'"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In Clause 6, page 3, line 16, at end, to insert the words 'The rate of charge on the delivery of spirits from an Excise warehouse under The Customs and Excise Warehousing Act, 1869, shall be reduced from five shillings to two shillings and six pence.'"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

MR. LOUGH said he did not understand the object.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he had accepted the suggestion to reduce the warehouse charge on imported goods by one-half, and, having done that, they must treat the Excise warehouse in the same way, in order to put their own people on the same footing.

Question put, and agreed to

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In Clause 6, page 3, line 16, at end, to insert the words 'The last paragraph but one of the Schedule to The Customs Tariff Act, 1876, beginning 'There shall be charged upon the delivery of the following goods,' and ending with the words 'under bond or not,' is hereby repealed.'"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Amendment agreed to.

*MR. HERBERT SAMUEL proposed "to leave out in Clause 7, page 3, line 21 'one shilling' and insert 'eleven pence.'" He did so in order to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he could not supply a Return showing the systems of graduated income-tax in force in other countries and in the Colonies. He trusted, if the information were not available at the Treasury, he would get it through the Foreign and Colonial Offices, and give them the Return as soon as possible.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In Clause 7, page 3, line 21, to leave out the words 'one shilling' and insert the words 'eleven pence.'"—(*Mr. Herbert Samuel.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he was making inquiries to see what information they had and what Return they could make.

Mr. HERBERT SAMUEL asked leave to withdraw.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Dr. MACNAMARA said he had an Amendment on the Paper to make a difference in the tax on incomes derived from trades and professions and those derived from investments. He asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the Committee on the income-tax would, by the terms of reference, be in a position to consider this question without prejudice.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In Clause 7, page 3, line 21, after the word 'shilling' to insert the words 'provided always, that all incomes under Schedule D derived from trades and professions, and not derived from investments, shall be subject to a rebate of four pence per pound.'"—(*Dr. Macnamara.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that the words proposed by the right hon. Gentleman would not come within the reference to the Committee on the income-tax. The hon. Gentleman was doubtless aware that a Committee of this House a great many years ago considered this subject, and reported very fully against it.

Dr. MACNAMARA said that in the circumstances he had no alternative but to withdraw his Amendment. He would raise the question in another form.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. LOUGH said he had an Amendment on the Paper, the object of which was to remove a hardship felt by friendly societies. He did not see why, on the principle of justice, exemption should not be extended to all limited liability companies and friendly societies, registered or unregistered, whose income did not exceed £160 a year. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

In Clause 8, page 4, line 6, after the word 'societies,' to insert the words 'or limited liability companies.'"—(*Mr. Lough.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the Bill."

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said he could not accept the Amendment. A limited liability company did make profit, or was supposed to make profit, and there was no reason to exempt the shareholders from paying income-tax on the dividends which they obtained from the company.

Mr. LOUGH said he was not at all satisfied with the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman, but he asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Bill to be read the first time this day, and to be printed. [Bill 281.]

ELECTRIC LIGHTING (LONDON) (RE-COMMITTED) BILL.

Considered in Committee, and reported, without Amendment; read the third time, and passed.

PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN (AMENDMENT) BILL [Lords.]

Read a second time, and committed for this day.

Adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 26th July, 1904.

EARL OF CORK AND ORRERY.

Report made from the Lord Chancellor that the right of Charles Spencer Canning Boyle, Earl of Cork and Orrery in the Peerage of Ireland, to vote at the election of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Metropolitan District Railway Bill [H.L.]. Commons Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Electric Lighting (London) Bill; Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill. Brought from the Commons.

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to.

Lothians Electric Power Bill [H.L.]. Returned from the Commons agreed to, with Amendments.

Lytham Improvement Bill. Returned from the Commons with the Amendments agreed to.

Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways Bill. Reported, with an Amendment.

Electric Lighting (London) Bill. (No. 163); Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill. (No. 164). Read 1^{a}; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 3236. Bulgaria.

AFRICA, No. 11 (1904).

Final Report of the Uganda Railway Committee.

INDIA (EDUCATION).

Progress of Education in India, 1897–1898 to 1901–1902. Vol. I. Fourth Quinquennial Review; Vol. II. Maps and tables.

COLONIES (MISCELLANEOUS).

No. 27. Selections from Colonial medical reports for 1901 and 1902.

CHARITABLE DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS (IRELAND).

Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Commissioners.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Calendar of the Stuart Papers belonging to His Majesty the King, preserved at Windsor Castle, Vol. II.

Report on the manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie, preserved at Alloa House, N.B.

RAILWAY RETURNS.

Returns of the capital, traffic, receipts, and working expenditure of the railway companies of the United Kingdom, for the year 1903; with a general report thereon, and summary tables for a series of years.

STATISTICS.

Statistical abstract for the United Kingdom in each of the last fifteen years from 1889 to 1903. Fifty-first Number.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury minute, dated 21st July, 1904, declaring that William Callow, gauger, Royal Laboratory, War Office, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department.

LAND REGISTRY.

Account of receipts and payments in respect of the Land Registry, for the year ended 31st March, 1904.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE AND COURT OF APPEAL, ETC.

Account showing the receipts and expenditure in respect of the High Court of Justice and Court of Appeal during the year ended 31st March, 1904.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

COUNTY COURTS BILL [H.L.].

Reported from the Standing Committee, with Amendments. The Report thereof to be received on Thursday next; and Bill to be printed as amended. (No. 159.)

ARMY COUNCIL BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to transfer to the Army Council certain statutory powers and duties of the Secretary of State and other officers, and for other purposes connected therewith—Was presented by the Viscount Hutchinson (*E. Donoughmore*); read 1a; to be printed; and to be read 2^a on Friday next. (No. 160.)

CONTINUATION SCHOOLS BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the Education Acts, 1870 to 1903, with respect to school attendance and to secure further attendance under certain conditions at evening continuation schools—Was presented by the Lord Bishop of Hereford; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 161.)

POOR LAW AUTHORITIES (TRANSFER OF PROPERTY) BILL. [H.L.].

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD **KENYON**: My Lords, I can explain the object of this Bill in a very few words. It was always considered that under the Act of 1870 if a Poor Law union or a district formed of combinations of unions was dissolved its property automatically passed to its successors. It has, however, been recently decided in the Courts that this was not the case, and the sole object of this Bill is to put that matter right. I beg to move that it be read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."— (*Lord Kenyon.*)

On Question, Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

OUTDOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES) BILL—PETITIONS AGAINST.

*THE EARL OF **NORTHBROOK**: My Lords, I have to present between 200 and 300 petitions from Poor Law guardians and others against the Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill; and to ask His Majesty's Government whether any opinions have been obtained upon the subject from the Poor Law inspectors; and, if so, whether they will be presented to Parliament. As the petition is a short one, I will venture to read it to your Lordships. The petition showeth as follows—

"That the Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill, which is shortly to be considered further by your right honourable House, proposes that in granting outdoor relief to a member of any friendly society the board of guardians shall not take into consideration any sum received from such friendly society as sick pay except in so far as such sum shall exceed five shillings a week.

"That no evidence has been produced and no sufficient reasons have been furnished for interfering, as this Bill proposes, with the discretionary power of boards of guardians in dealing with applications from members of friendly societies under existing Statutes and the Order of the Local Government Board.

"That it is stated that the proposed Bill is an extension of the principle of the Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Act of 1894.

"That the Act of 1894 was in principle discretionary, and was passed in order to legalise a practice, already adopted by many boards of guardians, of giving special assistance to members of friendly societies, and not as a permissive measure, accepted with a view to further legislation, limiting or withdrawing in these cases the discretionary power of boards of guardians.

"That the proposed Bill is thus contrary to the Act of 1894 and inconsistent with it.

"That the proposed Bill will react injuriously on friendly societies, for it will give to persons in receipt of sick allowances, which are often in practice old-age allowances, a statutory right to additional outdoor relief, and it will thus attract members of these societies to the Poor Law, and prevent the development of the societies as independent bodies competent to meet the needs of their members on the lines of sick and old-age assurance.

"That the proposed Bill is a serious infringement of the Poor Law, inasmuch as Poor Law relief is legally available for the destitute only and for the provision of the necessaries of life, and not as a reward for thrift and saving.

"That if the principle is adopted of granting additional poor relief to members of friendly societies as a statutory right, the claims of other persons who have been thrifty besides those who belong to a friendly society can hardly be resisted, and that such a far-reaching principle should not be accepted in regard to only one body of men, such as members of friendly societies, without a full investigation of the whole subject, and without regard to the extension of the principle in the future.

"Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your right honourable House that, as the proposed Bill affects such large public interests and leads to such large changes in the law, your right honourable House should not adopt the proposed Bill; but if the matter is further proceeded with, should urge on His Majesty's Government that a full and independent public inquiry should be made into the working of the present system of Poor Law relief and its adequacy in meeting all legitimate claims upon its resources at the present time."

This petition is signed by Sir Wyndham Portal, ex-president of the Hampshire Friendly Society; Sir John Hibbert, president of the North Western Poor Law Conference and one of the highest authorities in this country on matters affecting Poor Law; Captain B. T. Griffith-Boscawen, chairman of the Central Committee of Poor Law Conferences—a body recognised by the Local Government Board as representing Poor Law guardians all over the country; Mr. Joseph Brown, president of the Poor Law Unions Association; Sir William Chance, Bart., hon. secretary of the Central Committee of Poor Law Conferences; Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, and others. I may say that I had nothing whatever to do with the getting up of this petition. It was initiated by Sir William Chance, who, as hon. secretary of the Central Committee of Poor Law Conferences, had a perfect right to bring this matter before the various boards of guardians in the country. This petition, besides being signed by gentlemen who are not officially associated with the administration of Poor Law relief, has also been signed by the chairmen of between 200 and 300 boards of guardians all over the country. Sir William Chance received 316 replies to the circular he sent to the different boards of guardians, only sixteen boards expressing an opinion in favour of the Bill. Now, my Lords, who are these chairmen of boards of guardians? They are the gentlemen who throughout the country are giving their time to the administration of the Poor Law, and if the opinions of any persons are to be taken on matters affecting the distribution of relief, surely the opinions of these gentlemen should be considered with respect and attention. Almost without exception the petition has been signed by the chairmen of all the boards of guardians in the Metropolis—by the chairmen of Chelsea, Bethnal Green, Edmonton, Fulham, Hackney, Greenwich, Kensington, Lewisham, Paddington, St. George's-in-the-East, St. George's, Hanover Square, Marylebone, Southwark, Stepney, Strand, and Whitechapel boards of guardians. It is signed also by the chairmen of boards of guardians in the most important towns in the Kingdom, including Liverpool, Manchester, Salford, Bradford, Brighton, Burnley, Cardiff, Chester, Derby, Dover, Durham, Reading, Southampton, Sunderland, and Swansea.

I do not intend to again go into the arguments of this Bill, which has already been before your Lordships, and been fully discussed. I will confine myself to presenting these petitions, and to asking His Majesty's Government whether any opinions have been obtained upon the subject from the Poor Law inspectors, and, if so, whether they will be presented to Parliament. His Majesty's Government were kind enough to present to your Lordships' House the opinion of Mr. Brabrook, the Registrar of Friendly Societies, which was unfavourable to the Bill, and after this demonstration of opinion from Poor Law guardians against the Bill, I think inquiry should be made as to the opinions of the Poor Law inspectors. If your Lordships do not see your way to comply with the prayer of the petition, and reject the Bill, I trust that His Majesty's Government will make a full inquiry into the working of the present system of Poor relief, and that as a result they will somewhat modify the position they have hitherto taken in respect to this Bill. The Bill has been read a second time in your Lordships' House; but owing to an expression of opinion on the part of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, that it touched the question of privilege of the House of Commons inasmuch as it involved an increase in the rates, the Bill has not been further proceeded with in this

House. I do not think it is likely that it will come before your Lordships again this session; but I trust that His Majesty's Government will procure the opinions of the Poor Law inspectors upon the subject, and lay them before Parliament in case this or a similar Bill is presented for consideration next year.

Moved, "That the petition of Sir Wyndham Portal, Baronet, and others, be printed."—(*The Earl of Northbrook.*)

*LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD: My Lords, having taken some interest in this Bill, I should like to put one or two Questions to my noble friend the President of the Board of Agriculture before he replies to the noble Earl. There seems to be a demonstration in force against the Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill which was before your Lordships, the object of which demonstration I do not quite appreciate, because, as my noble friend said, this Bill was withdrawn from the consideration of the House on the ground that it was a breach of privilege. So far as I know, it is not intended that the Bill should be again considered in this House until it comes up to us from the House of Commons, and therefore the great industry which has apparently been involved in obtaining these signatures serves no practical purpose whatever. My noble friend stated that the petition was largely signed by chairmen of boards of guardians. I should like to ask him whether the petition has been signed in these cases by any vote of the board of guardians as a whole, or whether the support is merely the individual support of the chairmen.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: Some chairmen have signed on behalf of the board of guardians, and some individually.

LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD: I wish to ask my noble friend Lord Onslow, who represents the Local Government Board on this occasion, whether he has any return of the boards of guardians who have accepted the principle of this Bill, and carried it into effect by refusing to make any deduction in respect of the amount received from a friendly society by the applicant for outdoor relief. I understand that three-fourths of the

The Earl of Northbrook.

boards of guardians have accepted the principle of this Bill. If that is so, it would be interesting to know how far the boards of guardians themselves have been parties to these petitions. My noble friend is anxious to have the opinion of the Poor Law inspectors on this Bill. I should like to know, whether when the House accepted the principle of the Act of 1894, there was any such interest shown in the opinion of the inspectors. The opposition to this Bill has preceded from one source. The Charity Organisation Society are for some reason antagonistic to it, and they have spared no trouble in setting their great machinery to work to oppose the Bill in every possible way. I am not, however, very much frightened by their opposition. This Bill has twice passed through the House of Commons without any substantial opposition being raised against it. The Charity Organisation Society have not been able to find one representative in the other House willing to bring forward their views. I am confident that the more public opinion is tested the greater will be the support which this Bill will receive, and it is bound sooner or later, and, I hope, at no distant date, to become the law of the land.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES (The Earl of ONSLOW): My Lords, I am sure you will not wish me to enter into any discussion of the merits or demerits of a measure which has already been before your Lordships, and the debate upon which, according to the Minutes of your Lordships' House, stands adjourned. I believe that we are waiting for a measure of a similar kind to come up from another place for our consideration; and I may say, in passing, that if that Bill is successful in getting through the House of Commons and coming up to your Lordships' House in the course of the present session, it will have had a fate which the promoters of many Bills this year will heartily envy. I am not going to offer any opposition to the Motion of my noble friend that the petition should be printed and circulated with the Votes. My noble friend behind me, Lord James of Hereford, inquired whether the Bill had not already been approved by three-fourths of the boards of guardians in the country. I do not think it would be correct to say——

LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD: I said I understood that three-fourths of the boards of guardians had accepted the principle of the Act of 1894.

*THE EARL OF ONSLOW: No doubt it may be said that the Act of 1894, which left discretion to the guardians, has the support of three-fourths of the boards of guardians in the country, but a curtailment of that discretion would no doubt be looked upon in a very different light. At the same time it is correct to say that a very large number of boards of guardians have, until quite recently, either been wholly indifferent to this Bill or in favour of it. The Somersetshire Board of Guardians sent out circulars some years ago to 650 unions, and the replies showed that ninty-eight were in favour of the proposal, thirty-six were against, whilst eighty-six were neutral and the remainder took no notice whatever of the circular. I believe that some six boards of guardians have made representations to the Local Government Board against this Bill, and about the same number in favour of it. I think that clearly shows that there has not been, until quite recently, any very active interest shown in the matter by the boards of guardians, who appeared quite content to leave it in the hands of Parliament. But lately the matter has been brought more prominently to their notice, and the result is the somewhat formidable packet of papers which I see by the side of the noble Earl. My noble friend asked whether any opinions had been obtained from Poor Law inspectors, and to this the reply is that the Department are constantly receiving reports, and these reports are treated with the utmost confidence. It is most undesirable to lay before Parliament the opinion of inspectors for or against any particular measure, and I do not think the Local Government Board would be well advised to depart from the practice of treating these reports as confidential, the Government being responsible for any action taken by the Department. My answer to the last Question, therefore, must be in the negative.

*THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: My noble and learned friend Lord James referred to the principle of the Act of 1894 having been very generally accepted by boards of guardians, but I must be excused for saying that he did not fully state the case. The petitioners object to this Bill as interfering with the principle of the Act of 1894. That Act was, in principle, discretionary, and was passed in order to legalise the practice, already adopted by many boards of guardians, of giving special assistance to members of friendly societies, and did not limit or withdraw in these cases the discretionary power of boards of guardians. This Bill is contrary to, and inconsistent with the Act of 1894. My noble friend said that the boards of guardians throughout the country had accepted the principle of that Act. There is no doubt they have, and rightly so. Those who oppose this Bill have never objected to the Act of 1894, and are glad that boards of guardians have made use of it. My noble and learned friend said the Bill was not opposed in the House of Commons. I would remind him that it was opposed in the first instance by the Government, and that it was also opposed by a very prominent Member of the House of Commons, Sir John Dorington, and others.

LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD: I said on the last two ocasions it went through the House of Commons unopposed.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: The noble and learned Lord may be correct as to that; but I believe the Bill slipped through after midnight and unnoticed. I would not for a moment press the head of any Department to produce papers if he thought that that course would be in the least degree injurious to the public service; but as the President of the Local Government Board did not object to giving the report of Mr. Brabrook, the Registrar of Friendly Societies, I did not anticipate that the production of the reports of the Poor Law inspectors on this matter, which is not confidential, could involve any important principle.

On Question, Motion agreed to, and ordered accordingly. [No. 162.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Five o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 26*th July*, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Portmadoc, Beddgelert, and South Snowdon Railway Bill [Lords] (King's Consent signified). Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Belfast and North East Ireland Electricity and Power-Gas Bill [Lords] (by Order). Read a second time, and committed.

Dundee, Broughty Ferry, and District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill; Barnet District Gas and Water Bill; Thames River Steamboat Service Bill; Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill; Surrey Commercial Dock Bill; Torquay Tramways Bill, with Amendments.

Amendments to—Bournemouth Corporation (Tramways) Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

The Earl of Northbrook.

PETITIONS.

EAST INDIA (ARMED EXPEDITION TO TIBET).

Petition from Newcastle, for inquiry; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Anerley; Avoch; Borough, S.E.; Braunton; Dulwich (two); Lower Weston; Lytham; Runcorn; and Sheffield; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petition from Dulwich, for alteration to lie upon the Table.

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE.

Petition from Dunfermline, for extension to Women; to lie upon the Table.

VALUATION BILL.

Petition from Ravensthorpe, against; to lie upon the Table.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897.

Petition from Harrogate, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

SUGAR DUTIES.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 15th March; *Mr. Lough*]; to lie upon the Table.

PUBLIC INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 18th May; *Sir Henry Fowler*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 277.]

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented, of Treasury Minute, dated 21st July, 1904, declaring that William Callow, Gauger, Royal Laboratory, War Office Department, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Head of his Department [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

LAND REGISTRY.

Account presented, of Receipts and Payments in respect of the Land Registry for the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 278.]

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE AND COURT OF APPEAL, ETC.

Copy presented, of Account showing the Receipts and Expenditure in respect of the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal during the year ended 31st March, 1904 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 279.]

AFRICA (No. 11, 1904).

Copy presented, of Final Report of the Uganda Railway Committee [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 3236 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Copy presented, of Calendar of the Stuart Papers belonging to His Majesty the King, preserved at Windsor Castle. Vol. II. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Copy presented, of Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie, preserved at Alloa House, N.B. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CHARITABLE DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION (APPLICATION OF FUNDS BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES).

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 4th August, 1903; *Sir William Anson*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 280.]

COLONIAL REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS).

Copy presented, of Report No. 27 (Selections from Colonial Medical Reports for 1901 and 1902) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT (UNITED KINGDOM).

Copy presented, of Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom in each of the last fifteen years from 1889 to 1903, Fifty-first Number [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

RAILWAY RETURNS.

Copy presented, of Returns of the Capital, Traffic Receipts, and Working Expenditure of the Railway Companies of the United Kingdom for the year 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL TAXATION LICENCES, 1903–4.

Return ordered, "of the amount received in respect of each administrative county and county borough in England and Wales for Local Taxation Licence Duties and Penalties, under The Local Government Act, 1888, in the year ended the 31st day of March, 1904 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 293, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Grant Lawson.*)

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.

Return ordered, "(I.) of the Companies registered during the year ended the 31st day of December, 1903, which filed a prospectus and to which certificates to commence business have been granted, stating—

(1) The date of registration.

(2) The date of the prospectus.

(3) The amount of the nominal capital.

(4) The amount of each share.

(5) The amount issued or to be issued otherwise than for cash.

(6) The amount offered for subscription in cash.

(7) The amount underwritten.

(8) The commission for underwriting.

(9) The minimum subscription required.

(10) The amount allotted before commencing business.

(11) The amounts per share payable on application and allotment.

(12) The total directors' share qualification, if any; and

(13) The date of the certificate to commence business.

(II.) Of the Companies registered during the year 1903, which filed a prospectus, but to which certificates to commence business have not been granted, stating the particulars specified in (I.) so far as they are applicable.

(III.) Of the Companies registered during the year 1903 which filed a declaration that the Company 'does not issue any invitation to the public to subscribe for its shares.'

(IV.) Of the Companies registered during the year 1903 which have not filed a prospectus or a declaration that the Company 'does not issue any invitation to the public to subscribe for its shares,' and stating the particulars specified in (I.) so far as they are applicable.

(V.) Of the Companies which were dissolved or struck off the register during the year 1903.

(VI.) Of the total number of Companies dissolved during the year 1903 (1) by order of the Court; (2) after voluntary liquidation; and (3) pursuant to the provisions of Section 7 of The Companies Act, 1880, and Section 26 of The Companies Act, 1900.

(VII.) Of the total number and nominal paid-up and considered as paid-up capital of the Companies registered during the year 1903 in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin respectively, distinguishing Limited Companies from unlimited, and Companies registered with a nominal capital from Companies registered without such capital.

(VIII.) Of the total number and paid-up capital, including the amounts considered as paid on vendors and other shares, of all Companies having a share capital which were on the register on the 30th day of April, 1904, except such Companies as were in course of liquidation or removal from the register under the provisions of Section 7 of The Companies Act, 1880, and Section 26 of The Companies Act, 1900.

(IX.) Of the total number and nominal capital of the Companies registered in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, in every year since the commencement of The Companies Act, 1862, to 1903, inclusive.

(X.) Of the fees and capital duty paid in respect of Registered Companies during the year 1903 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 357, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

REGISTRATION OF NURSES.

Reported from the Select Committee, with Minutes of Evidence [Inquiry not completed].

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Appointments to Clerical Staff of Congested Districts Board in Ireland.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE (Antrim, N.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if, in view of the fact that appointments to the clerical staff of the Congested Districts Board in Ireland have of late years been controlled by Civil Service competitive examination, and that appointments have been recently made to these positions in the case of which this rule has been relaxed or suspended, he will state if the persons so appointed were nominated or recommended by the Under-Secretary to the Commissioners who have the appointment; if this rule has ever been relaxed in the case of a Protestant candidate; and under what circumstances it was relaxed in the present case at the instance of the Under-Secretary and to the exclusion of Protestant candidates.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Appointments to the permanent clerical establishment of the Congested Districts Board are filled by means of competitive examination conducted in the ordinary manner by the Civil Service Commissioners. The last occasion on which such appointment was made was in 1898. The Question presumably refers to a class of official described as temporary clerks, the appointment of whom rests with the

Board. A Sub-Committee of the Board was formed in May to select candidates for vacancies in these temporary positions. Of the five persons appointed since May, four were recommended by the Committee, on which the Under-Secretary did not sit. All five nominations were approved by the Board. There is no official record of the religious denominations of the candidates.

The Retention of Immature Raw Potable Spirits in Bond.

Mr. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the leading physicians and the medical officers of health of the United Kingdom have unanimously condemned the consumption of immature raw potable spirits as injurious to the health of those who drink them; and whether he will take steps to compulsorily retain such spirits in bond for a period of at least three years, as is done in Canada and other countries.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) I do not quite know to what the first paragraph in the hon. Member's Question is intended to refer. With regard to the latter part of the Question, I must ask the hon. Member to refer to an Answer which I gave to a Question of his on the same subject on the 15th of February last,† to which I have nothing to add.

Reports on Art Instruction in Secondary Schools.

Mr. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby): To ask the Secretary to the Board of Education how many reports on the Art instruction in secondary schools have been made to the Board during the last twelve months by Science inspectors; whether it is with the approval of the Board that such inspectors should inspect the Art work at such schools in the absence of the Art master, and when no Art instruction is going on, and report thereon to the Board; and whether he will place upon the Table the full report by the Science Inspector on the Art instruction at the Kendal Grammar School, which led last year to the dismissal of the Art master from his appointment at that school, and the report of the Art Inspector sent to re-inspect the work done there.

(*Answered by Sir William Anson.*) There is no division of the Board's inspectors which can accurately be defined as "Science" Inspectors; if only for this reason, therefore, I am unable to give the information asked for in the first part of the Question. Any such definition would be seriously misleading. I do not think that there is any sufficient reason for laying upon the Table the two reports referred to in the last paragraph of the Question, but I shall be happy to show them privately to the hon. Member if he desires it. So far as my information goes, the report of the Board's inspector was not, as the hon. Member seems to suggest, the only cause of the dismissal of the Art master.

Charges on British Vessels entering United States Ports.

Sir THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): To ask the President of the Board of Trade, seeing that the charges made on British vessels entering United States ports are estimated to produce upwards of £70,000 annually, and that the United States, like other countries, will benefit by the reduction of 12½ per cent. made in the light dues on vessels entering British ports, will he say whether arrangements have yet been made with the Foreign Office with a view to secure a compensating reduction in the charges made on British vessels entering United States ports.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) My hon. friend will recollect that I promised him in July, 1903, that I would have the figures carefully gone into, and consider whether any representations could usefully be made to the United States Government, and that I informed him in August last year that I had come to the conclusion that there was not a sufficient case to justify a representation. Nothing has since occurred which enables me to modify that opinion.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxix., 1326.

Exemption of Abstractor and Assistant Clerks from Retirement at the Age Limit.

Mr. THORNTON (Clapham): To ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that upon their promotion to the establishment the senior assistant clerks of the abstractor class were not, in many cases, made aware that they would be compulsorily retired at the age of sixty-five, either by the Treasury or by the heads of their respective departments; and, if so, whether he can take any steps to prevent their compulsory retirement at this age.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) The Treasury has no power to exempt abstractors or assistant clerks from the operation of the Order in Council of the 29th November, 1898, which prescribes compulsory retirement at the age of sixty-five.

Installation of Post Office Telephones in County Cavan.

Mr. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will state whether, in view of the success of the experiment in installing telephones in county Cavan, he will extend facilities for private installation by reducing the charge below the amount of £7 10s. per annum now charged for connection with six small villages and the county town; will the remaining towns in the county be connected; and will he further state the cost of private installations in rural Switzerland, Sweden, and Denmark.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) During the nine months ended 31st May last, 959 calls were made from the telephone call offices established at Cavan and the seven rural post offices in the district. The receipts were £7 17s. 9d., and the cost of the service for the same period was about £30, without including any interest on the capital cost of establishing the call offices, which was about £150. The arrangement has, I understand, been of advantage to the district, but it is not a remunerative one to the Post Office. There does not appear to be any appreciable demand for the establishment of telephone exchanges in connection with this arrangement. If there were, I should be happy to consider whether the message rate subscription of £3 a year, with a fee of one penny for each originated call, could be offered to subscribers. The present arrangement provides only for communication between Cavan and rural post offices in the neighbourhood. If the system were connected with the general telephone system of the country, the cost of the service would be very greatly increased. I have no information as to the existence of small telephone systems of this kind in Switzerland, Sweden, and Denmark, or of the charges which would be made in such cases. The cost of any such arrangement must, however, necessarily depend upon local conditions.

Fraudulent Wines.

Mr. ALBAN GIBBS (London): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the diminution in the duty payments on cheap foreign wines is partly caused by the manufacture, free of duty, in this country of wine from dried currants and raisins, which manufacture is blended with the cheap classes of imported wines, and that such mixtures are almost invariably sold under the designation of some foreign wine; and, if so, whether he proposes to take any steps to protect the Revenue and safeguard the public from this species of fraud.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) I am aware that allegations have been made in the sense of the Question, but the information at present at my disposal is not sufficient to enable me to determine what measure of truth may be contained in them. I am, however, satisfied that a case for inquiry exists, and I propose in the course of the autumn to institute further investigation of the subject, and, if necessary, to consider whether measures are required for the protection of the Revenue. As regards protection of the public from fraud, it is open to any purchaser who may be defrauded by a false trade description to take proceedings under the Merchandise Marks Acts; and, for this purpose, members of the trade are really in as good a position to take action as any public Department, though, for both, the difficulties in the way of establishing proof of an offence are great.

Alcohol for Industrial Purposes.

Colonel DENNY (Kilmarnock Burghs): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what is the current price per gallon of alcohol used for industrial purposes in Great Britain, France, Germany, and Belgium respectively.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) I regret that I have not the information required to answer this Question.

Retarded Promotions in the Indian Army.

Sir SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that in some recent cases the promotion of officers of the Indian Army, formerly the Staff Corps, as provided for under the regulations, viz., to captain after eleven years service, to major after twenty years service, to lieutenant-colonel after twenty-six years service has been retarded by order of the Commander-in-Chief, although they have completed the terms of service above set out, and have satisfied the conditions of service in operation during that period, and have passed the tactical examination; whether it is stated in the regulations that promotion is to be governed by such regulations as the Secretary of State may make from time to time; whether on the existing regulations stated, the Commander-in-Chief, while vested with full powers as to promotions in regimental appointments, in staff appointments, and in the Army departments, has also been authorised by the Secretary of State to retard promotions of officers in the Indian Army after time service; and, if so, when and where the new regulation has been published.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) Under Royal Warrant promotions in the Indian Army are made under such regulations as may be laid down from time to time by the Secretary of State for India in Council. Acting on this authority my predecessor in Council approved of the retardation of promotion in the case of officers who, notwithstanding that they may have completed the required length of service, have proved themselves to be inefficient. Such cases are determined by the Commander-in-Chief in India, subject to the approval of the Government of India, and are reported to the Secretary of State in Council. Up to the present the promotion of four officers has been retarded. The Government of India has been directed to publish the new regulation in Indian Army Orders. I may observe that the ordinary periods of service for promotion to captain and major are nine and eighteen years respectively, and not as given in the Question of the hon. Member.

Water Storage in India.

Mr. H. J. WILSON (Yorkshire, W.R., Holmfirth): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he will state what has been done, or is now being done, in India for carrying out the recommendations of the Scott-Moncrieff Commission for the increase of water-storage works of comparatively small size and cost; what surveys for actual work have been made, more especially in Northern Gujerat and the Deccan; what definite projects have been prepared and sanctioned and in what locality has actual work been done; and is any water actually being impounded during the present monsoon.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) May I refer the right hon. Gentleman to the reply made to the hon. Member for Flintshire on Monday, the 25th instant.†

German Locomotives on the East Indian Railway.

Sir ALFRED HICKMAN (Wolverhampton, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether in view of the fact that the East Indian State Railway have lately placed an order for locomotives in Germany, and that the employment in the engineering trades is reported by the Board of Trade to be dull, and that the percentage of unemployed trade union members is more than double what it was this time last year, he can take steps to secure a portion of this or similar orders for this country.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I am informed by the East Indian

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† See page 1034.

Railway Company (which is not correctly described as a "State Railway") that no orders for locomotives have been placed in Germany since 1902. Their latest orders were given to firms in this country.

Bicycle Riding on the Footpath at Kanturk.

Mr. FLYNN (Cork County, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Police Constable Lett, who summoned a civilian at Kanturk Petty Sessions on the 16th instant for the offence of riding a bicycle on the footpath near the town, admitted in Court that he himself had committed a similar offence a short time previously; and, if so, will he state what notice will the constabulary authorities take of the policeman's conduct.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The facts are correctly stated. The constable gave an explanation of his action to the magistrates, who accepted it as satisfactory. The Inspector-General, under the circumstances, does not propose to take official notice of the constable's conduct on the present occasion.

Net Fishing on the Bann.

Colonel SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that net fishing has been practised recently on the Upper Bann contrary to the law; and, if so, will the Government take immediate steps to put an end to this illegal conduct.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Department has received complaints relative to alleged illegal netting in the Upper Bann, which were communicated to the conservators of the district in whom the enforcement of the inland fishery laws is vested. The Department has recently decided to make a grant towards the funds of these conservators for the purpose of the protection of the fisheries of Lough Neagh and its tributaries. This will enable better supervision to be effected.

Nationalist Band at Banbridge.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can state under what circumstances was a Nationalists' band from Ballyvarley allowed to parade the road leading from Banbridge to Scarva for almost the entire day on the 13th instant; and whether, in view of the fact that the police authorities prohibited Protestant bands parading on this road, he will, in the interest of the public peace, give instructions against similar band parades in future.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) The Nationalist band paraded the road between Rings End and Ballyvarley School, in accordance with its annual practice, on the 13th July. The band did not leave its own locality. No Protestant band attempted to play on this portion of the road.

Militia Reserve Men in the South African War.

Dr. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how many men were supplied from the Militia Reserve to their linked Line battalions during the late war in South Africa; also how many men of the Militia Reserve fought in the actions of Colenso, Pieter's Hill, and Spion Kop.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) 13,014 Militia Reserve were posted to Line battalions during the late war in South Africa; a large majority to their linked battalions, but some few to other corps. The exact number of the latter cannot be stated without reference to each Militia unit. No men of the Militia Reserve were at Colenso, as they were not called up till December 1899. 440 Militia Reserve were posted to battalions which fought at Spion Kop, and 1,041 to battalions which fought at Pieter's Hill, but it cannot be definitely stated how many were present at each engagement.

Distribution of War Trophies.

Mr. WHITMORE (Chelsea): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the refusal of the London County Council to take charge of the guns allotted to London has been communicated to him; whether he has received an offer from the Council of the city of Westminster to take charge of them; and, if so, whether he will entertain this offer favourably.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The refusal of the London County Council has been communicated to the War Office through the General Officer Commanding Fourth Army Corps. The allotment of the trophies referred to within the area of the Fourth Army Corps is for the General Officer Commanding to decide, but I understand that one gun has been allotted to the city of Westminster.

Volunteer Review in Hyde Park.

Sir THOMAS DEWAR: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is proposed to recommend His Majesty to hold a review of Volunteers in Hyde Park prior to the close of the London season.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) No, Sir. No such proposal has been submitted to the King.

Parasitic Fevers in India.

Sir WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether any steps are being taken to investigate the mode of infection in dum-dum and other allied parasitic fevers in India, with the view of preventing the heavy mortality and invaliding from these fevers among British soldiers in India, and so diminishing the annual draft now necessary.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) Steps are being taken to investigate the mode of infection in dum-dum fever; but it will be some time before the investigation will be completed, and further evidence must be awaited before anything in the nature of special preventive measures can be intelligently formulated. Assuming that by "other allied parasitic fevers" malarial fevers are referred to, preventive measures have been adopted at military stations in India where such fevers are prevalent. It may be added that, as regards other fevers, a special Commission is investigating Malta fever, the occurrence of which in India is becoming more recognised, and a special Committee is investigating anti-typhoid inoculation.

The Arrest of Captain Harry Lambart.

Sir JOHN ROLLESTON (Leicester): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that Captain Harry Lambart, Kimberley Light Horse, late Commandant of Klerksdorp, Transvaal, was arrested and placed in solitary confinement, contrary to King's Regulations, and that his services were dispensed with from His Majesty's Army without a trial; will he explain why applications for the reason of this treatment have been ignored and applications for a re-opening of his case refused; and whether, considering the services of this officer, for which he received the written thanks of Lord Roberts and other generals, he will order an inquiry, at which Captain Lambart can attend, to inquire into the charge of misappropriation of public money.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The proceedings of Courts of inquiry on officers serving with Colonial corps have not been forwarded to the War Office. The only document bearing on this case is a short narration of the surrender of Klerksdorp with a marginal note to the effect that "Captain Lambart's services have been dispensed with —Pretoria, 5th October, 1900." As regards the charge of misappropriation of public money, no report on the subject has reached the War Office. Captain Lambart was given information to the above effect in January last. I can see no grounds for instituting the inquiry suggested in the Question.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Swimming Instruction for Boys in the Navy—Caning Inattentive Pupils.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is aware that on board H.M.S. "Lion" at Devonport boys are constantly subjected to floggings with birches and canes for inability to swim a required distance; by whose authority, and on whose instigation, are these punishments inflicted; and whether it is intended to take any steps for the abolition of the punishment of flogging in the Navy for deficiency in physical strength.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The Answer to the first part of the Question is in the negative; but, by the direction of the commanding officer of H.M.S. "Lion," certain boys who, through laziness and inattention during swimming instruction, failed to make sufficient progress, were after due warning punished by caning. In no case was any punishment inflicted where failure was due to deficiency in physical strength.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: After what investigation was it done? What inquiries were made into the conduct of the boys? Were they simply laughing?

MR. PRETYMAN: After careful investigation by the commanding officer and after due warning.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: How many boys were flogged?

MR. PRETYMAN: I do not know how many were flogged, but I do know that before this light punishment was inflicted there were 126 boys who, after thirteen months instruction in swimming, had failed to profit by it—that was in January last—and now there are only seven, showing it is better that boys should be caned than run the risk of drowning.

Military Occupation of South Africa—Expenditure.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what is the annual cost of the military forces now maintained in South Africa, and what is the capital cost incurred for barracks and hutments.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. BROMLEY DAVENPORT, Cheshire, Macclesfield): The annual cost of the present garrison in South Africa is about £3,100,000. The capital expenditure incurred up to 31st March last on barracks and hutments is approximately £2,550,000.

MR. WHITLEY: And is that expenditure on barracks, etc., still going on?

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: Yes.

MR. WHITLEY: Can the hon. Gentleman give an estimate of how much more is to be spent?

MR. BROMLEY DAVENPORT: That is impossible, but I should say it would be about £1,000,000.

The "Tweeddale's" Cargo of Coolies—Treatment on Arrival in South Africa.

DR. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he has yet received the despatch from Lord Milner, asked for by cable on 23rd June, relative to the arrival and landing at Durban of coolies from the steamship "Tweeddale" and their transmission to Johannesburg; and, if so, whether he will state the terms of Lord Milner's report.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): I have received the despatch which encloses a report by the Superintendent of Foreign Labour, Mr. Evans, who has had a prolonged experience of Chinese labourers in the Straits. The report is somewhat lengthy, and, if the hon. Member concurs, I propose to give the paragraphs which are relevant in the form of a written Answer.

Appended is the written Answer referred to:–

Extract from a report by Mr. W. Evans, Superintendent of the Foreign Labour Department, Johannesburg, on the arrival at Durban of Chinese labourers by the s.s. "Tweeddale."

On the arrival of the ship she was boarded at the outer anchorage by the port health officer and my boarding officer, and on the return of the health officer I went aboard myself with some of the representatives of the Mines Labour Importation Agency. I went all over the ship with the surgeon-superintendent and spoke to many of the men. They all seemed cheerful and eager to get up to the mines and begin work. Owing to the bad weather outside I obtained permission from the Port Authorities to bring the ship in and moor her in the bay. Police were posted on board to prevent any communication with the shore. At daylight on Monday, 20th inst., she was taken alongside the wharf at the Bluff and as soon as possible my staff took charge of the decks and made the best possible arrangements for carrying out their work on board, as the depôt was not yet ready. During the three days, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, the 1,049 men were checked, their contracts were registered, their passports were issued to them, their marks of identification including finger prints, were taken and they were each photographed. The surgeon-superintendent or his assistant was present during the whole of the work, and all those who had passed through his hands for beri-beri were ordered to stand down for further examination. Finally, out of the 1,049 who arrived, 1,006 were passed as fit, three died while the ship was at the wharf and forty who were suffering from beri-beri were sent back to China by the same ship. On Tuesday, the 21st inst., 299 men who had been passed and registered on Monday were entrained, and left for Johannesburg at 8.15 a.m., arriving at their destination, East Rand, at 12 noon on the 22nd inst. They travelled in a train specially set apart for this purpose, composed of ordinary third class carriages, with the centre compartment closed in and arranged with sanitary conveniences. Electric light and drinking water were provided for each carriage. On Wednesday 360 men were sent off at the same hour, and on Thursday 347. A conductor accompanied each train, and I myself went up with the last train. The rationing of the men on the journey was done by contract, the contractor being the present railway department contractor. Meals were served at Pietermaritzburg (1 p.m.), Estcourt (6.30 p.m.), and Standerton (6.30 a.m.). The rice and rations were served in tin cans and dishes holding sufficient for eight men, and one of each was passed into each compartment, the men carrying their own rice bowls and chopsticks. The food was of excellent quality, sufficient, and nicely served. No disturbance occurred either while the ship was at the wharf or during the train journey, and the arrangements made by the railway and police authorities were perfectly carried out.

Transvaal Estimates.

Mr. WHITLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if there is any provision in the Transvaal Estimates for the year 1904-5 for the repayment to the Imperial Treasury of the £1,250,000 on account of material, and the £900,000 on account of transport and stores, outstanding since the transfer of the railways from military to civil control; and when he expects to obtain a settlement of these claims.

Mr. LYTTELTON: The first sum of £1,250,000 is still in dispute. It will be seen on reference to page twenty-six of Cd. 2102, that whatever amount is finally settled to be due will be found out of the loan and not out of Transvaal funds proper. The second sum of £900,000, or rather £843,000, on account of transport and stores supplied for repatriation purposes, Lord Milner has intimated that he expects to be able to pay off before the end of the calendar year (see page forty of Cd. 2102) by the sale of remaining supplies and stock.

Mr. WHITLEY: Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that he expects to obtain a settlement of both sums before the coming year?

Mr. LYTTELTON: I said nothing about the settlement of the first sum, but I certainly expect one in the case of the second.

Mr. WHITLEY: The first sum named in my Question has already been two years under consideration. Cannot the right hon. Gentleman give us an assurance?

Self-Government for the Transvaal.

Dr. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is in a position to state to what extent the Legislative Council under the proposed scheme of local self-government for the Transvaal will be elective, and to make any statement as to the nature of the proposed franchise; whether he will be in a position to lay the details of the scheme before the close of the present session; and, if not, whether any operative steps will be taken in the matter before Parliament has had an opportunity of discussing the proposals.

Mr. LYTTELTON: I would refer the hon. Member to my Answer to the similar Question put to me yesterday,† in which I stated that I was not in a position to give details at present. I fear that it will not be possible for me to do so before the close of the present session, and I cannot undertake to delay action in the matter until Parliament reassembles.

Dr. MACNAMARA: Will the right hon. Gentleman give a pledge that no steps shall be taken before Parliament has an opportunity of dealing with the matter?

Mr. LYTTELTON: No, Sir, I cannot give any pledge with regard to that.

Dr MACNAMARA: Then I shall ask Mr. Speaker to receive a notice of a Motion for adjournment on this subject.

*Mr. SPEAKER: It will be of no avail. No such Motion can be made today, as it is a day allotted, under the Resolution of the House of the 5th July, to the Licensing Bill.

Canada and Treaty-making Powers.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN (Galway): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any correspondence has passed between His Majesty's Government and the Canadian Government relating to a desire on the part of Canada for more extensive power in treaty making when Canadian interests are involved; and, if so, will he lay the correspondence on the Table of the House.

Mr. LYTTELTON: No such correspondence has taken place.

Rio Grande du Sol—British Consul and the Canadian Flag.

Mr. CHARLES DEVLIN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any protest has been received from the Canadian Government respecting the action of the British Consul at Rio Grande du Sol, Argentine Republic, in ordering the removal of the Canadian flag from the mast of a vessel commanded by Captain Taylor; and, if so, what action has been taken by His Majesty's Government.

Mr. LYTTELTON: No protest has yet been received from the Canadian Government in regard to the incident referred to by the hon. Member, but the matter has been raised in the Canadian House of Commons, and it appears that the Government of Canada proposes shortly to communicate with me on the subject, which will be carefully considered when the facts are before His Majesty's Government.

Immature Spirits.

Mr. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the leading physicians and the medical officers of health of the United Kingdom have unanimously condemned the consumption of immature raw potable spirits as injurious to the health of those who drink them; and whether he will take steps to compulsorily retain such spirits in bond for a period of at least three years, as is done in Canada and other countries.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.): The Board of Inland Revenue are not aware of the alleged condemnation. With regard to the latter part of the Question, I must ask the hon. Member to refer to an Answer which I gave to a Question of his on the same subject on the 15th of February last,† to which I have nothing to add.

The "Ras Bera"—Wilful Disobedience of Crew.

Mr. NANNETTI (Dublin, College Green): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has received any report from His Majesty's Acting Consul-General at the port of Yokohama, Japan, of the proceedings of the Naval Court which was summoned by the Acting Consul-General at Yokohama, on 12th April, 1904, to inquire into the charge of wilful disobedience to lawful commands preferred by the master of the ss. "Ras Bera" against twenty-one of the crew of that vessel; whether he is aware that twenty-one men refused to proceed on the vessel on the ground that she was carrying contraband of war; that at the trial the crew of the vessel produced His Majesty's proclamation of neutrality; and that the Naval Court ordered the twenty-one men to be dismissed from their ship and to forfeit their wages; and whether, in view of the results entailed by the refusal of assistance to these men by the Acting Consul-General, he will state if this official was justified in acting in this manner; and if he will cause inquiries to be made at once into this matter.

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† See page 1042.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxix., 1326.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): Yes, Sir; I have received the report of the Naval Court held at Yokohama in April to investigate the complaint made by the master of the "Ras Bera," that certain members of the crew were guilty of continued disobedience to lawful commands, and continued wilful neglect of duty and general insubordination subversive of discipline. The Naval Court, having heard evidence on both sides, found the charge proved, and passed the sentence referred to in the Question. From the information I have received, it appears that the vessel did not carry contraband of war. The matter was dealt with by a duly constituted Court with the Acting Consul-General as President, and the Executive have no power to interfere with the finding.

Girls Public Day School Company and the Government Education Grant.

SIR GEORGE BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education what amount of grants have been paid out of public taxation to the Girls Public Day School Company since the 31st March last; whether that company still pays its shareholders 4 per cent. dividend; whether these public grants to dividend-paying companies are to be continued; and, if so whether they will be extended to other educational adventures for private profit.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Oxford University): No grants have been paid since 31st March, 1904, to the Girls Public Day School Company, but grants will be paid for the year ending 31st July, 1904. I believe the last dividend declared by the company was 4 per cent. For the future a school owned or conducted by a company will only be eligible for recognition if the company is wound up and its property vested in trustees on trust for the purpose of secondary education. The amount of the share capital, so far as actually expended on site, buildings, or equipment, can in such cases be treated as a charge on the property, subject to the repayment of principal with interest at the rate of not more than 4 per cent. within a limited period of time. It may be necessary to allow certain companies who are taking steps to comply with these conditions another year under existing conditions, in order to give them time to make the necessary alterations in their constitution. As regards the last paragraph of the Question, I must refer the hon. Member to Article 20 of the new Regulations for Secondary Schools, which expressly lays down, as a condition of recognition, that a school must not be conducted for private profit.

Technical Instruction in England—Return of Officials employed by County Boroughs.

MR. JOYCE (Limerick): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Board of Education whether he will grant a Return dealing with officials employed by county boroughs in England with populations between 20,000 and 100,000 in carrying out the provisions of the Technical Instruction Act.

SIR WILLIAM ANSON: The Technical Instruction Acts were repealed by the Education Act of 1902, and as a consequence were no longer in force on 1st June, 1904, in any county borough, with three exceptions. Hence the Return asked for by the hon. Member cannot be supplied. I do not consider that the Board would be justified in granting any Return on the lines of the Return asked for. Technical instruction in county boroughs is now being provided as part of schemes for the general provision of education other than elementary, and consequently the arrangements are at present in a very transitional stage The salaries of teachers in this kind of instruction depend largely upon the very varying lengths of time for which they are employed; any general statement under this head would therefore be of little value. On the other hand, the making of such a Return would involve county borough councils and this Board in a large amount of labour and expense to which the value of the Return would be wholly incommensurate.

Cahircivane to Coppal (Kerry) Road.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that an application was made by the Congested Districts Board for assistance in constructing a road from Cahircivane to Coppal in the Cahirciveen Union, county Kerry; can he state the reason of the delay in entertaining the application, in view of the fact that two years have elapsed since it was sent in; and whether the Board will now give the required assistance.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): The cost of the road was estimated by the applicants to amount to £1,582. There are many other works with prior claims on the available funds of the Board, and it is unable to entertain the application for assistance in the present case.

D. J. Burke's Estate.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that Mr. H. Lewis, of Loughrea, was informed by the solicitor having carriage of the proceedings in the Land Judge's Court, that he would recommend a proposal by him for the purchase of his Court tenancy on the estate of the trustees of D. J. Burke, at the sum of £700, or twenty-three-and-a-half years purchase of the rent; and that the Congested Districts Board made an offer over the head of the occupying tenant, Mr. Lewis, to purchase this holding at £1,100, or thirty-six-and-two-third years purchase of the rent; and, if so, will he state who are the members of the Board who were present when it was decided to pay this sum for the farm; and what explanation is forthcoming for an offer by the Board so much in excess of the value arrived at by the solicitor having carriage of the sale.

MR. WYNDHAM: Mr. Lewis has informed the Board that the solicitors having carriage of the sale stated they would recommend Mr. Lewis' offer. They did recommend its acceptance to the owners, by whom, however, it was considered insufficient. Mr. Lewis held Lot 1 on a lease pending the sale—*i.e.* a Court letting—at £30 a year. The Poor Law valuation is £66 5s. a year. The Board's offer of £1,100, or sixteen-and-three-fifths years purchase of the valuation, was reasonable. The land is held to be well worth the money. It is no part of the Government policy to establish tenancies which do not exist. It is part of the Government policy to purchase untenanted land for the purpose of relieving congestion. The members of the Board present at the meeting when it was decided to make the offer were Sir Antony MacDonnell, Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Geoghegan, Mr. Kennedy, and the Rev. Denis O'Hara. The decision was in conformity with the usual practice of the Board.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman how it was in the interests of the estate that Mr. Lewis should hold the farm at 50 per cent. under the Government valuation?

MR. WYNDHAM: I think the hon. Gentleman is quite familiar with re-lettings of the Court lands. When an estate is in the Land Judge's Court, in order to derive some revenue from it, it is let from year to year for any sum that can be obtained.

AN HON. MEMBER: For the advan- of the receiver.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if the Congested Districts Board became the purchasers of Lot 2 of the estate of the trustees of D. J. Burke; who are the parties described as trustees; did the Congested Districts Board decline to purchase Lot

2 unless they were also accepted as purchasers of Lot 1, in the occupation of Mr. Lewis; and, if so, whether, seeing that these lots are situate in different counties and separate from each other, he will state under what circumstances did the Board determine to deprive Mr. Lewis of his holding.

MR. WYNDHAM: (1) The reply to the first query is, Yes. (2) The trustees under the will of the owner are the Most Rev. Dr. Healy and the Rev. J. Cahalan. The reply to the third query is, Yes. There were two lots: Lot 1, untenanted, and leased pending sale on a Court letting to Mr. Lewis; Lot 2, tenanted and congested. The Board would not have bought Lot 2 unless they could also secure Lot 1 to relieve the congestion in Lot 2. Their action was in strict accordance with all previous legislation dealing with the relief of congestion by migration as embodied in the Act of 1891 and amending Acts.

Irish Land Purchase—Warden Estate, Sneem.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that more than one-half of those on the Warden Estate, at Sneem, are weekly or future tenants or caretakers who never had an opportunity of having a fair rent fixed, the Estates Commissioners will inquire carefully into the proposed terms of purchase of the whole estate before the terms are sanctioned.

MR. WYNDHAM: No application in respect of the sale of this estate is before the Estates Commissioners. In the case of non-judicial holdings it is always their practice to have the estate inspected before sanctioning advances.

Irish Board of Agriculture—Portal Veterinary Inspectors.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the decision of the Treasury on the application of the Portal Veterinary Inspectors of the Board of Agriculture in Ireland to be placed on the same terms as to pension as all the other officers of that Department.

MR. WYNDHAM: Pension rights have been conceded in the cases of sixteen of these inspectors. In four other cases an increase of pay has been granted.

River Riffey Drainage—Edgeworthstown Floods.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state what steps are being taken to provide for the drainage of the River Riffey, in consequence of the overflow of which last year two men were drowned near Edgeworthstown.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have nothing to add to my reply to the hon. Member's previous Question of the 24th February on the same subject,† except to say that I have ascertained that the flooding of the townlands named in that Question is not due to any defects in the condition of the adjoining drainage district of Inny, for which the trustees would be responsible.

MR J. P. FARRELL: Will the right hon. Gentleman refer this matter to the Board of Works, so that an inspector may visit the place?

MR. WYNDHAM: My Answer is based on information supplied by the Board of Works.

Edgeworthstown Loan Fund Society.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, in consequence of the failure of the auditor of the Loan Fund Board in Ireland to require debentures to be compared with entries in the books of the Edgeworthstown Loan Fund Society, a number of people have lost their life's savings by reason of the issue to them of bogus debentures by the late secretary to that society; and what steps he intends taking to afford relief to these people.

MR. WYNDHAM: The losses sustained by the persons referred to are not due to the reason alleged in the Question. They lodged their money with an official of the society who was not authorised to receive it, and who not only failed to notify the lodgments to his committee, but failed to record the receipts in the books of the society. Obviously, a comparison of properly issued debentures with the books of the society would not have enabled the auditor to trace the fraudulent conduct of this official. No responsibility in the matter attaches to the Loan Fund Board, and the Government is not called upon to take action in the direction suggested.

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† See (4) *Dates*, cxxx., 842.

Irish Loan Fund Board.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state what are the functions and powers of the Loan Fund Board for Ireland; whether it is compulsory on their auditors to summon debenture holders before them in order to compare their debentures with the entries on the local society's books; and, if so, are entries made by such auditors in verification of such debentures.

MR. WYNDHAM: The functions and powers of the Board are enumerated in the Act 6 and 7 Vic. cap. 91. The reply to the second part of the Question is in the negative. Such an arrangement would be impracticable, as many of the debenture holders live at a considerable distance from the offices of the local loan fund societies.

Gortnabinni and Tulloha Schools, Kerry —Instruction in Irish.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that an extern teacher of Irish is employed in the Gortnabinni school, in the parish of Bonane, county Kerry; and whether, in view of the fact that this teacher would be available for giving instruction in Irish as an extra subject in the Tulloha school, in the same parish, he will state what is the reason for refusing facilities for instruction in their native language to the children attending Tulloha School.

MR. WYNDHAM: The reply to the first part of the Question is, Yes. The school referred to in the second part of the Question is under different management. The appointment of an extern teacher of Irish is a matter for the manager of the school, with whose discretion the Commissioners cannot interfere. The teaching of Irish is not compulsory in national schools.

MR. BOLAND: Will the managers reconsider their decision if the school children leave the school in a body?

MR. WYNDHAM: That is a matter for the managers.

Marlborough Street Training College.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will grant the two Returns relating to Training Colleges in Ireland, standing on to-day's Paper.

MR. WYNDHAM: The information will be prepared and communicated to the hon. Member. I hardly think it is of sufficient public importance to embody in a formal Parliamentary Paper.

The following are the Returns referred to:—

Marlborough Street Training College (Building Grants)—Return showing—(1) The total amount awarded as grants for building and equipment to each of the training colleges under local management in Ireland in accordance with the letter of Mr. Arthur Balfour to the Commissioners of National Education of the 25th day of November, 1890; and (2) The amount which each such total grant would give as a capitation grant on the number of students for which each such college was recognised.

Marlborough Street Training College.—Return showing—(1) The total number of students admitted for the first time to Marlborough Street Training College in each year from 1892 to 1903, both inclusive; (2) The number of Presbyterian students admitted for the first time to Marlborough Street Training College in each year from 1892 to 1903, both inclusive, and the percentage of such number to the total number admitted; (3) The percentage of Presbyterian pupils on the rolls of national schools in Ireland in each year from 1892 to 1903, both inclusive; (4) The percentage of national schools under Presbyterian managers in each year from 1892 to 1903, both inclusive; (5) The number of Methodist students admitted for the first time to Marlborough Street Training College in each year from 1892 to 1903, both inclusive, and the percentage of such number to the total number admitted; (6) The percentage of Methodist pupils on the rolls of national schools in Ireland in each year from 1892 to 1903 both inclusive; and (7) The percentage of national schools under Methodist managers in each year from 1892 to 1903, both inclusive.

Mr. A. M'Guire's Estate, County Leitrim.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received any proposal for the sale of the estate of Mr. Arthur M'Guire, situate at Miltron, Carrigallen, county Leitrim; and, if so, what steps have they taken to bring about the reinstatement in his holding on that estate of an evicted tenant named Thomas Rourke.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have referred this Question to the Estates Commissioners, but so far have not received their report. Perhaps the hon. Member will repeat it to-morrow.

Castlerea Rate Collector.

MR. TULLY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Local Government Board have considered the special circumstances of the case of Rate Collector Hanson, Castlerea, to whom the Roscommon County Council admit they owe the sum of £166 15s. 6d., as arrears of poundage; and whether the Local Government Board still refuse their sanction to the payment of this debt.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Board has given the matter careful consideration, but is satisfied that the circumstances are not such as would justify the granting of further concessions to this collector.

Irish Saltless Butter for England.

MR. JOYCE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to further complaints respecting the detention of Irish saltless butter shipped for the English markets; and whether he will consider the advisability of getting the Department in Ireland to move with the railway companies to facilitate the export of Irish produce so that it may be placed on an equal footing with foreign produce coming to the same markets.

MR. WYNDHAM: Complaints have been received and are being investigated by the Department.

Irish Department of Agriculture—Veterinary Branch.

MR. DELANY (Queen's County, Ossory): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that for a period now extending into the fifth year the Veterinary Branch of the Department of Agriculture has been worked from La Touche's Section of Dublin Castle; and, seeing that this is the only administrative branch of the Department which remains segregated from the Department's own offices in Merrion Street, whilst other administrative bodies more recently transferred have been accommodated in Merrion Street, whether he can say when practical effect will be given, with a view to the due supervision of that branch, to the provisions requiring the transfer to the Agricultural Department of the veterinary powers of the Castle authorities as contemplated by Act of Parliament.

MR. WYNDHAM: There is no accommodation in Merrion Street for the Veterinary Branch of the Department. The provisions of the Acts of Parliament transferring the powers of the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council to the Agricultural Department have been duly carried out, and there is no difficulty of supervision such as suggested in the Question.

Lisnagade Disturbances.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, on the 13th July, a man named Samuel Ewarts, accompanied by his wife and four children, were driving home from Scarva when, coming to Lisnagade School, a number of persons stopped the car and used abusive language to the occupants; whether, in view of the fact that Ewarts was struck on the head several times and that one of his children was struck, he can say why District Inspector Bell, who witnessed the assault, made no arrests; and, as the offenders are known to the Crown, will he order a prosecution.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am making further inquiry in this matter, and shall be glad for a postponement of the Question until Thursday next.

Portumna Railway.

MR. THORNTON (Clapham): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the present derelict state of the Portumna Railway is owing to the loss of a security for £32,420, through the negligence of a Department of the Government, and that this loss has been the cause of the difficulties that have befallen the railway, including a loss to the Treasury of their loan on mortgage of £12,000 and interest; and, if so, whether the Government will take the necessary steps for renewing the permanent way, and get the line re-opened for traffic for the benefit of the district at an early date; or, failing the above, whether he will cause a full investigation into the circumstances referred to.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am in communication with the Public Works Loan Commissioners in reference to this Question, which I will ask my hon. friend to postpone until Thursday next.

American Mail Sorting at Queenstown.

MR. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that 1,952 sacks of mails landed at Queenstown from New York, from the White Star liner "Teutonic," on Wednesday week were delivered in London unsorted, and to the fact that only eighteen men were despatched from Dublin to sort these sacks; whether he will explain why the officials in Dublin who were responsible for this duty did not take more adequate steps to meet the requirements of this heavy mail; whether it is usual to send men to perform this duty who are unacquainted with the work; whether he will say how often within the past twelve months the American mails from Queenstown have been delivered in London unsorted; and whether, in view of the inconvenience caused, he will take such steps as will prevent the American mails passing through Queenstown to London arriving in that city unsorted in future.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): The hon. Member has, I think, been misinformed. The number of bags of unsorted letters from the "Teutonic" received in London on the 14th instant, was five, not 1,952; and the delivery of these letters was not delayed. The number of men sent to Queenstown was eighteen. An outgoing American mail was due to pass through Dublin the following morning and some of the regular staff were absent on annual or sick-leave. It was, therefore, not considered safe to reduce the force available at Dublin by sending a larger number to Queenstown.

Dublin Castle Telegraph Office.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he can explain why Constable Woulfe, of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, was appointed to the telegraph office, Dublin Castle, over the heads of other members of the force who had obtained first and second-class certificates; and whether, in view of the police orders that no such appointment will be given to any person having only third-class certificate, he will inquire why Woulfe was selected for the position.

LORD STANLEY: I am not in a position to answer the hon. Member's Question. The appointment to which he refers is not a Post Office appointment.

Irish Postmasters and the Irish Language.

MR. BOLAND: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he has been asked to receive a deputation, consisting of prominent members of the Gaelic League, which desires to submit the necessity for appointing postmasters in Ireland with a knowledge of the Irish language; whether he has returned any, and, if so, what answer to the request; and whether, in view of the fact that in the cases of vacancies in the Carmarthen and Criccieth post offices quite recently it was specified that a knowledge of Welsh was necessary, he will state why Irish is not accorded the same treatment in Ireland as Welsh is in Wales.

Lord STANLEY: I have been asked to receive a deputation from the Gaelic League to deal with the subject mentioned by the hon. Member, and I have replied to the effect that I had already carefully considered the question which it was proposed to raise, and that in my judgment there would not be any advantage to be gained by receiving a deputation on the subject. As regards the use of the Welsh language in Wales, I would refer the hon. Member to my Answer to his Question of the 12th instant.†

Mr. BOLAND: But is the noble Lord aware that in many parts of Ireland delay is caused to correspondence by letters addressed in Irish having to be sent to Dublin to be deciphered?

Harcourt Road, Dublin, Sub-Postmaster.

Mr. NANNETTI: I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will explain why the arears of salary from 1st May, 1902, which he has now directed to be paid in the case of the town sub-postmaster of Harcourt Road, Dublin, and which are alleged to have been withheld purely through inadvertence, were not allowed in May, 1903, when the Postmaster-General's attention was specifically directed in an official report to the fact that the payment was being designedly withheld; and if he will state who is responsible for the allegation that the withholding of the payment up to the present has been due purely to inadvertence.

Lord STANLEY: I am making further inquiry into the subject of the hon. Member's Question, and I will communicate the result to him.

Russian Cruisers and the Dardanelles and Bosphorus Passage.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the Treaties of 13th March, 1871, and 30th March, 1856, whereby the Great Powers of Europe affirmed and engaged to respect the prohibition for ships of war of Foreign Powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus, and of the fact that in December, 1902, and January, 1903, four Russian torpedo boats, flying the commercial flag and said to be carrying no cannon or war material, passed through those Straits, and that on 1st January, 1903, His Majesty's Ambassador addressed a Note to the Porte calling attention to this infraction of the treaties, he will now state whether any, and, if so, what, action has been taken by His Majesty's Government, since the presentation of that Note, to prevent further such infractions of the treaties; have further infractions in fact taken place, by the passage through the Straits of Russian armed vessels, then or subsequently claiming to be and to exercise the rights of duly-commissioned ships of war; and, do His Majesty's Government now propose to take any steps to prevent still further infractions of the treaties.

The PRIME MINISTER and FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.): Until the recent passage of the "Peterburg" and the "Smolensk" no action has been taken by His Majesty's Government since the presentation of the Note to which the hon. Member refers in his Question, and we have not heard of any infractions of the treaty.

The Dardanelles and Bosphorus—Russo-Turkish Convention.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, having regard to the official statement on 21st October, 1902, that there were no negotiations going on upon the subject of the passage of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles by ships of war, His Majesty's Government have since been made aware that in 1901 a convention on the subject was made between Turkey and Russia, providing special conditions for the passage of special Russian ships; and, if so, have the terms or stipulations of that convention been communicated to His Majesty's Government; and will they lay the communication upon the Table.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: We are not aware of any convention of the kind referred to by my hon. friend.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: Will inquiries be made by the right hon. Gentleman?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have asked the Foreign Office, and they are not aware of any such convention.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxvii., 1366.

Privateering—The Declaration of Paris—Russian Volunteer Fleet's Status.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is aware that Article 1 of the Declaration of Paris, 1856, declares that privateering, *la course*, is, and remains, abolished, and Article 2 that the neutral flag covers enemy's merchandise, except contraband of war; whether Lord Clarendon, in agreeing, on 8th April, 1856, to the Declaration, declared, on behalf of Great Britain, that he only agreed to Article 2 provided that privateering were equally abolished for ever; and whether, on 14th April, 1856, Count Orloff, on behalf of Russia, while announcing that he had received power to sign the Declaration, added, nevertheless, that his Court could not engage itself to maintain the principle of the abolition of privateering; whether the ships of the Russian Volunteer Fleet, being private ships commissioned by the State, differ in any material respect from privateers; and whether, in view of the reservations made by Russia as to Article 1 of the Declaration at the time of its signature, of her subsequent recent action in commissioning vessels of the Volunteer Fleet, and of the consequent violation of the express condition under which Lord Clarendon accepted Article 2 of the Declaration, His Majesty's Government will now consider the propriety of announcing that it will no longer feel itself bound by the Declaration of Paris, and will reserve its right to capture, in war, enemy's property carried at sea under a neutral flag.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think the general statement of law contained in the first two paragraphs of the Question is seriously at variance, if at variance at all, with the treaties, though I must not be taken as giving an authoritative decision on that point. With regard to the third paragraph, and in part to the fourth paragraph, the whole question of the *status* of the Volunteer Fleet is under discussion between the Government of this country and the Government of Russia, and I think it would be undesirable for us to discuss it across the floor of the House by way of Question and Answer. If I understand my hon. friend's general principles aright, it is the last sentence of the Question to which he attaches the greatest importance. He has always strongly objected to the provisions of the Declaration of Paris which changed international practice, but I cannot hold out any hopes that we are going to make recent occurrences the occasion of any remonstrances to the other Powers upon that broader subject.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: May I ask, in due course, whether we may expect some statement of the result of the negotiations going on with respect to the *status* of these vessels? I presume we shall have Papers laid on the Table.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am very reluctant to lay Papers on the Table. Of course, if questions of practical importance leading to grave national issues were at stake, the House of Commons would rightly insist on being made fully acquainted with all that occurred; but I do not think it would be desirable that I should promise at this moment to lay Papers on this subject before the House.

The Sinking of the "Knight Commander."

***Sir CHARLES DILKE** (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I wish to ask the Prime Minister whether the Government has received any information of the sinking of the British ship the "Knight Commander," carrying American goods; and, if so, whether he has any statement to make on the subject.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: We have received a rumour to the effect the right hon. Gentleman refers to, but we have at present no means of authenticating it. I need hardly say that we are making all the inquiries in our power; and until the result of these inquiries is known it would perhaps be inconvenient that I should say anything further.

Education Estimates—Physical Deterioration Committee's Report.

Dr. MACNAMARA: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether it will be possible to arrange a time for the discussion of the Report laid last Thursday of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. May I at the same time also ask the First Lord of the

Treasury when it is proposed to take the Education Estimates.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot enter into any engagement on the subject of these two Questions.

Scottish Education Bill.

MR. CROMBIE (Kincardineshire): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when the Committee on the Scotch Education Bill will be resumed.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I cannot fix a day.

MR. CROMBIE: When will the right hon. Gentleman be able to say?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There are limits to the session, and I think, bearing those in mind, the hon. Member will be able to restrain his natural and justifiable impatience.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): But is it the intention of the Government to proceed with the measure this session?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope it will pass this session.

Navy Estimates—Flogging in the Navy.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Admiralty Vote will be put down for discussion before the close of the session, to enable public attention to be directed to the practice and the methods of flogging men and boys in the Royal Navy.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir; I cannot say when the Navy Estimates will be taken.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: My Question is, will they come on before the close of the session?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have said I cannot give the hon. Gentleman the information he desires.

Sittings of the House—Suggested Rearrangements.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will consider and propose such Amendments to the Rules of the House as will enable it to adjourn not later than eleven of the clock at night.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I should be very glad that our proceedings should end at eleven o'clock. My recent experience has shown me that even twelve o'clock is hardly the hour at which the House always desires to terminate its proceedings. If the hon. Member will exercise his individual influence among his friends, I hope we shall reach, if not the ideal which he contemplates, at all events something near it.

MR. BROADHURST: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will give further consideration to the question of making such alterations in the commencement and close of the sessions of Parliament as will avoid the necessity for sitting during the months of July and August.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not at all reject the idea that we might distribute the portion of the year given up to the Parliamentary session in a more convenient, and I would almost add a more rational, fashion. But there are two very great difficulties in the way. One is that the date at which our financial business for the year comes to an end is 31st March. If we have to begin Supply, as we do now, on 1st April, and have to conclude that and all other matters at the early date which the hon. Gentleman suggests, I think it would require a considerable re-arrangement of our business, and I am not sure that it would not involve altering the financial year. My right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer contemplates with legitimate dismay the prospect of having three Budgets in two years. There is another reason even more important. It is quite easy for the House to determine that it will meet in November. By what measure are you going to make it impossible that, having met in November, it will not go on till the present date in August? If you had a legal termination of the session, which is common to a very large number of foreign Legislatures, you would of course get over the difficulty. But imagine how great a change that would involve in the ordinary procedure of this House!

MR. BROADHURST: May I suggest to the right hon. Gentleman whether he thinks an inquiry into the whole subject by a Select Committee would be of any assistance to him.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I certainly would not think of refusing a Select Committee. But it would be an elaborate inquiry, and I do not think that I could take part in it. The labour thrown on those who have to administer public affairs is so great that to add to the necessary work done outside the House the necessity of attending and presiding at a long elaborate inquiry of this sort really makes the proposal almost impracticable; and whether the House would care for a Committee which did not have upon it the Leader of the House for the time being and the Leader of the Opposition, I think there may be some doubt.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): May I ask which three days are to be devoted to Supply next week?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I propose to take Supply on two days next week. I am not yet in a position to indicate the Votes that will be set down for discussion, but my hon. friend the Member for the Wellington Division of Somerset will endeavour to ascertain, through the ordinary channels, what Votes it is most desired to discuss. It would not be fair that Tuesday should be an allotted day for Supply purposes, as part of the sitting will be taken up by the discussion on the Motion for the suspension of the Twelve o'Clock Rule.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): May I point out that only two days have been given to the Irish Estimates? I hope another opportunity will be provided for the discussion of Irish affairs in Committee of Supply.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I quite recognise that some further time must be given to Irish Estimates, and I will inquire what particular Estimates can be taken to suit the general convenience.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: We on these Benches have already expressed a desire that the Vote for the Queen's Colleges be taken, as upon it the whole question of University education in Ireland can be discussed.

MR. LONSDALE (Armagh, Mid.): I hope that no promise will be made to the hon. Member for Waterford which will preclude a full discussion of the case of Constable Anderson.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: If the right hon. Gentleman has to make up his mind between the relative merits of the case of Constable Anderson and University education in Ireland I hope he will take a serious view of the matter.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I feel at a loss between these opposing Irish claims, but I shall try, as I always try, to make the best arrangements as to the business of the House, irrespective of Party.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I shall put another Question on the Paper for Thursday.

POST OFFICE SITES BILL.

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Question [1st July], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed. Debate resumed.

Question put, and agreed to. Bill read a second time, and committed to a Select Committee of five Members, three to be nominated by the House, and two by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented five clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee; that the petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents be heard against the Bill, and Counsel heard in support of the Bill.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That three be the Quorum.—(*Lord Stanley.*)

POST OFFICE SITES [EXPENSES].

Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of all sums payable by the Postmaster-General under any Act of the present session to enable His Majesty's Postmaster-General to acquire lands in London, Southgate, Blackpool, Leeds, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne for the public service and for other purposes, and of all expenses incurred in carrying into effect the provisions of such Act (King's Recommendation signified), this day.—(*Lord Stanley*.)

LICENSING BILL.

[5th ALLOTTED DAY.]

As amended, considered.

*MR. SPEAKER: The first clause on the Paper, that standing in the name of the hon. Member for South Salford cannot be moved as a new clause, but may be proposed as an Amendment to Clause 1 at the end of line 1. With regard to the clause standing in the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North-East Manchester it requires some alteration in order to make it relevant to the Bill. It would be necessary in order to bring it into order, to insert after "1872" the words "from administering this Act."

SIR. J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N. E.) said he would of course make that alteration and would move the new clause in the following form: "A justice shall not be disqualified under Section 60 of the Licensing Act, 1872, from administhis Act by reason only of his holding shares in any such company as is mentioned in that section, unless he is also a director or otherwise directly concerned in the managment of the company." He said it dealt with a case of very great hardship. At one time the law did not allow a shareholder in any railway company which had refreshment rooms of its own to sit as a licensing justice; but that disqualification was considered too extreme and was removed; and he thought that the section of the Act of 1872 which provided that a magistrate having shares in a great brewery company was disqualified from acting as a licensing justice ought also to be abolished, especially as it was a common practice for magistrates with extreme temperance opinions to adjudicate at licensing sessions. To these men the trade was so obnoxious that, like Nero, they wished it had only one neck which could be cut through. To say that a man who held brewery shares was unfit to perform the ordinary duties of licensing justices was not only unnecessary but unjust. He did not think he need labour the point as the reasons for removing the disqualification were so obvious.

A Clause. (Provision as to disqualification of justices.)

"A justice shall not be disqualified under Section 60 of the Licensing Act, 1872 from administrating this Act by reason only of his holding shares in any such company as is mentioned in that section, unless he is also a director or otherwise directly concerned in the management of the company." — (*Sir J. Fergusson.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CARSON, Dublin University) said the Amendment to the clause on the Paper which was suggested as necessary by the Speaker showed how impossible it was to accept any Amendment to the Bill of that kind. This Bill did not lay down any new qualification or any new disqualification of the magistrates who were to administer the licensing law, and if they were to make an addition to the qualification for administering one Act as against another the system would be rendered absolutely unworkable. He was bound to say that the right hon. Gentleman seemed to be under a misapprehension as to the existing state of the law. He seemed to suppose that a magistrate holding shares in any brewery company was disqualified from acting as a licensing justice. The 60th Section of the Act of 1872 only disqualified a magistrate from acting as a licensing justice who held shares in a brewery operating in his licensing district. Whatever might be thought of the law as it stood—and he thought there was more to be said for it than against it—it was impossible to accept an Amendment to this Bill which would not be applicable to the general licensing law, and which would prove absolutely unworkable and unpracticable. He strongly deprecated the practice of magistrates who had expressed strong temperance views administering the licensing laws; but there was no other course but to leave it to the good feeling and sense of justice of those magistrates whether it was right, after they had made up their minds, to go on the bench and adjudicate in licensing cases. Such conduct could only lead to agitation in the district, which would do more to destroy the power of the magistrates as an administrative body than anything he could possible conceive. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would realise the desirability of leaving the law as to qualifications and disqualifications where it stood at present, and would not attempt to set up any special jurisdiction.

Sir J. FERGUSSON said the Solicitor-General had given the House a very important interpretation of the law. He was bound to say he did not read it in that light.

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The right hon. Baronet is only entitled to make a personal explanation. He cannot proceed to argue the matter.

Mr. BROADHURST (Leicester) said he felt much relieved at the attitude taken up by the Solicitor-General, But he would like to point out to the hon. and learned Gentleman that it was not unknown that magistrates who were practically the owners of public-houses were to be found at times sitting on the bench when licensing cases were under consideration, and he was glad the Solicitor-General had put his foot down upon that practice. With regard to his observations as to temperance men going on the bench with their minds already made up against a licence, he would like to point out that there was no similarity between the two cases, as the temperance reformers had no direct interest in the licence as the brewer had.

Sir EDWARD CARSON: I take it the hon. Member does not dispute my proposition that a man ought not to adjudicate upon a matter on which he has made up his mind beforehand.

Mr. BROADHURST: Certainly not, on general questions.

Sir EDWARD CARSON: Or on this question?

Mr. BROADHURST: I do not think it applies to this question.

Mr. WHITTAKER (Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley) observed that the Solicitor-General appeared to be troubled about people with preconceived opinions in favour of temperance. He had no condemnation for the magistrates who went on the bench with a preconceived determination not to take a licence away unless compensation was given.

Sir EDWARD CARSON: I say that is just as disgraceful as the other.

Mr. WHITTAKER noted that that remark was only made by the hon. and learned Gentleman when it was drawn from him, and it was not cheered by the supporters of the Bill. There were Gentlemen in that House and magistrates all over the country who had again and again declared that licences ought not to be taken away unless compensation was given. That was not the law. They went on the bench with a preconceived determination not to take away licences without securing compensation, and yet there was no condemnation from the Government for that conduct. He quite agreed that men should not sit on a bench upon a definite case upon which beforehand they had announced a definite decision, but it was a little wearisome to hear these objections thrown at only one particular class of magistrates with preconceived opinions. During the sittings of the Royal Commission it transpired that on one bench there was a gentleman sitting regularly on licensing matters who was solicitor to five brewers in the town. Had he no preconceived opinions? He quite agreed with the reading of the law just given by the Solicitor-General as to the extent of the existing disqualification, and he thought that was sufficient.

MR. GROVES (Salford, S.) reminded the House that the origin of the Bill was to be traced to the drastic and ill-advised action of certain magistrates with preconceived opinions in connection with licensing matters. That had led the Government to introduce this legislation, and had it not been for that action the law might have remained untouched for a long period of years, for they would have continued in the future to rely upon justice and equity. They had been told that unless a man had a direct personal interest in the immediate district he was not disqualified from acting as a licensing magistrate, but it frequently happened that a man preferred to make his investments in breweries with which he was personally acquainted. He quite agreed that if a man had a direct personal interest he ought to be disqualified by law, if not by his own conscience, from adjudicating, but that was a very different thing to saying that from every bench of magistrates should be eliminated its most active members probably, because they happened to have a small or general interest in the trade. It was the extreme absurdity and one-sidedness of that position which had induced his right hon. friend to put this clause on the Paper. He knew of a case in which an honorary official of a society for the total suppression of the liquor traffic continually sat on a licensing bench, and all attempts to point out to him the impropriety of such action had failed. It was such cases as these that emphasised the inequality and burning injustice of the present state of the law. If this Bill was to become a working success—as he hoped it would—and a greater measure of temperance reform than many anticipated, the Government would do well to give their careful attention to this question of disqualification.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is now discussing the question whether magistrates holding strong views against the granting of licences should act as licensing justices. That is not the proposal contained in the new clause, which is strictly limited to the question of disqualification through holding shares

SIR J. FERGUSSON: After the statement of the Solicitor-General I will, with the permission of the House, withdraw my Motion.

Motion and clause, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) moved an Amendment to limit the duration of the Act to 1st January, 1919. He said this was a different way of getting at a sort of time limit to any which had hitherto been proposed. The object was to make the Bill a temporary instead of a permanent Act of Parliament. As the question had been discussed before, he would not take up much time. It was clear that this Bill would not be a final settlement of the licensing question. It would not effect very much one way or another except in the way of establishing vested interests which would interfere with legislation in the future. If this Government had not the time, resource, or political courage to deal with a question of that magnitude in the way it should be treated, they ought not to stand in the way of future Governments dealing with it. It was a question which needed dealing with drastically. The Bill had been introduced to meet a temporary political difficulty—to retain for the Government the support of the brewers; therefore let the Bill be of the same character as the difficulty which created it, and let the Government consent to make the Bill a temporary measure. To make a Bill of this character permanent was introducing a very serious obstacle in the way of temperance reform in the future. There had been no end of methods adopted in America and our Colonies to deal with the temperance question, but if the present Bill became law without introducing some time limit, methods to the same end could not be applied in this country. The Bill would convert a licence into a property. But by making the Bill temporary in its operation the trade would enjoy fourteen years wherein to clear out. That was a generous estimate, and it ought to be considered satisfactory. The Government had inserted a provision with regard to new licences at the end of seven years, and providing that the licensees should not have a reasonable expectation of renewal. The new licence-holders under the Bill, therefore, were not in the same position as the holders of old licences. The House could not deal with this great problem in this trivial and small way. There must be a clean slate. There were only two ways of doing it. Either the Government should say that if the publican's property was taken away in the public interest the public must pay for it—that would be the courageous view—or they might say that a time limit would be enforced in the way he suggested by his Amendment, for the public would say, "We are asked to buy our own property; it is public property; and we say that we are not going to buy what is our own property." Thus they gave the publicans fourteen years, and if either of those suggestions was adopted the Government would be provided with a clean slate in approaching the consideration of the problem. But the policy adopted by the Government was rather to put off the evil day and to make the eventual handling of the question more difficult than it was before. They could not accept the grossly antiquated proposition that the trade was going to provide the compensation. The licence duties were sufficiently low in all conscience. Let them take the United States of America. Why, in New York City alone—and the population there was a million less than the population of London—licensed houses paid more than half a million a year more for duty than the whole of the licensed houses in the United Kingdom! He knew he was leading a forlorn hope in this matter, but the Opposition, at any rate, could not accept the Bill as a final settlement, or even as a serious contribution towards the solution of the licensing problem.

A clause. (Duration of Act.)

"This Act shall continue in operation until the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen."—(*Mr. Lloyd-George.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's) said he was afraid that he must agree with the hon. Member that his attempt to impose a time limit was a forlorn hope. The Government had given its reasons on several occasions why it could not accept a time limit, and he did not think that the hon. Member had brought forward any fresh argument to induce the Government to alter the decision it had stated over and over again. It should not be forgotten that the compensation money was to be provided by the trade itself and not by the public. A time limit, therefore, would not be fair to those who were contributing towards the compensation fund. It would, indeed, be hard on licensees who insured their premises under the Bill if the period of insurance were limited to fourteen years. A licensee at the end of one year's insurance might receive full compensation, whereas the licensee who contributed for ten years, or a longer period, might find that he had been contributing to the benefit of his rivals but to the eventual loss of himself. This was merely one of the grounds on which the Government had come to the conclusion that a time limit was outside the scope of the Bill. The hon. Member in moving his clause had admitted that he was leading a forlorn hope. No doubt he would desire to test the opinion of the House, and he hoped the debate would not therefore be unduly prolonged.

MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.) said he regretted to hear the speech of the Home Secretary, and he was sure that in days to come the supporters of the Government would regret it. The right hon. Gentleman had produced no new argument against the need for a time limit, and he himself in rising was not possessed by any feeling of vanity that he might succeed where both the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Member for Carnarvon had failed. But he protested against the assumption that underlay the right hon. Gentleman's speech—the assumption that, if this period of mutual insurance lasted only for a limited time, at the end of that period some injustice would be done to the trade. That would not be so for two reasons. In the first place, if this Bill had the effect which its promoters attributed to it, and if it would reduce unnecessary licences, it was quite clear that at the end of the period the area of reduction would be much narrower than it was at present. In other words, there would not be the same reason on the part of the licensing authorities to interfere in anything like the same drastic manner with licence-holders. That rested on the assumption that the Bill would have the effect attributed to it by its authors—an assumption which he himself did not share. The second point was equally clear. It was that the survivors who had contributed to the compensation fund during the period would have obtained a diminution of competition and an enhanced value of the premises in which they were interested, which would be an ample *quid pro quo* for what they had contributed to the fund. Therefore, people who had contributed to the fund, and who had not themselves been made victims of the process of reduction, would have an enhanced value of their premises and a diminished risk. The matter went to the very root of the whole argument; and he again wished to express his deep regret that the Government had not seen fit, even at the eleventh hour, to incorporate in the Bill a provision which, although it would not destroy many of the objectionable features of the Bill, would, at any rate, limit its operation.

MR. CRIPPS (Lancashire, Stretford) said he thought that the right hon. Gentleman was under a misapprehension as to the effect of the time limit. The right hon. Gentleman said that after fourteen years the number of redundant licences would be much less. He entirely agreed. But why should a person after fourteen years had elapsed not receive the same measure of treatment as he would have received during the fourteen years. They had to consider the individual effect in these cases. It was totally unjust and unfair to say that an individual who after fourteen years was deprived of his property in the public interest ought not to be placed in the same position as a similar individual who had been deprived of his property just before the termination of the fourteen years. The fact was they could not apply the time limit if they wanted to deal fairly and justly as between the State on the one hand and the individual on the other. The right hon. Gentleman also said that after fourteen years the survivors would have property enhanced in value. It was a question whether that would be so or not; but, in any event, what argument was that? If the argument were to work fairly, they ought to increase the compensation in that case. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would feel that that was not a sound argument; because if what was right was right now or next year it would be equally right in the future. In reply to the hon. Member for the Carnarvon Boroughs, he would point out that no one assumed that all temperance reform could be dealt with in one Bill. This Bill would, however, reduce the number of redundant public-houses; and there was no temperance reformer who would not agree that that was at least one of the directions in which they should proceed if they desired a true measure of temperance reform. What would be the effect of the Amendment? It would reduce the fund which would be available for buying out redundant public-houses which ought to disappear according to every temperance reformer. That ought to be carried out on the very lines that his Party had always adhered to, and always would adhere to, viz., that they could not do justice in one direction if they did conscious injustice in another. The whole basis of a time limit was a fallacy. The principle on which they should proceed was that there was a case for fair treatment whenever private property was taken away in the public interest.

*MR. BOUSFIELD (Hackney, N.) said that a great many hon. Members on both sides held the view that in order to meet the temporary emergency which this Bill sought to deal with, it was not necessary to establish a permanent system of compensation. They recognised, however, that there was a temporary emergency which ought to be met by legislation. The magistrates in the past took a certain view of their duty; the magistrates of the present had, in response to public opinion, changed that policy, and had come to the conclusion that licences granted in the past ought not now in the public interest to be retained. That change in policy called for some system of compensation for houses which were closed in the public interest. But they had not agreed, and did not agree, to a permanent system of compensation to meet a temporary emergency. That would not be a right thing, or a thing that could remain permanently on the Statute-book. Taking that view, he could not but regret that the hon. Gentleman opposite had thought it right to move his Amendment. There were two forms of what might be called a time limit. The Amendment was a form of time limit which sought to render the Bill transitory, and which sought to disable it as a permanent settlement. That being the nature of the Amendment, he could not support it; and he thought many of his hon. friends who were in favour of the principle of a time limit would not be able to support it either. The object to be aimed at was not to render the Bill transitory or nugatory, but to secure a fair and final settlement. If it were to be final, it must be fair, and if it were to be fair it must be final. That was where he took issue with the hon. Gentleman opposite. If a new system of licensing were to be introduced in which capital was to be invested, it could not be fair unless it gave the security which a permanent Act of Parliament gave. Fairness and finality went together; and they were not without hope, even yet, that the Bill might be so amended as to afford a permanent settlement of the matter.

The other class of time limit was of a totally different character, and sought to secure a permanent and final settlement of the matter. He recognised that there was a great deal of force in the argument that, if they were asking people to pay into a compensation fund for fourteen years, they could not regard that as an insurance fund, which would be completely exhausted by the protection received during such period; and that it would not be fair that a man who had been paying into the fund for fourteen years should have his own licence abolished in the fifteenth year without receiving any compensation at all. That would not be a fair settlement. He had put down on the Paper a competitive Amendment. The two were covered by the generic term of time limit, which was, however, inappropriate as a description of two Amendments of a very different character. Many of them thought the matter of such importance that it ought to be dealt with apart from Party considerations. This was not the last stage of the Bill. Amendments might be made in another place; the Bill might come back to that House in a different form; and their business at that stage was to leave it as far as possible in a form which would permit of the alteration they desired in order that it should be a permanent settlement. Therefore, he thought that the hon. Gentleman had been ill-advised in bringing forward his Amendment. It would destroy the Bill, whereas his object was to make the Bill a final settlement. He appealed to his hon. friends who were interested in the trade to give further consideration to that matter, and to see whether it would not be desirable in their own interests to make some concession which would render the Bill a permanent settlement. The present form of the Bill was so disputable that it could not be regarded as final. The Amendment he had put down would be moved in another place; and he hoped that ultimately the Bill as passed would be a final settlement.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) said that the hon. Gentleman had stated that fairness and finality went together, and that if the Bill were fair it would be final.

*MR. BOUSFIELD said he simply laid down the proposition that the two things must go together; that any Bill that was final must be fair, and that a Bill to be fair must be final.

MR. BRYCE expressed his obligation to the hon. Member for having corrected the impression he at first created. He had created the impression that this Bill contained so many disputable elements that it could not be final, and it was because the Opposition held that view that this Amendment had been moved in order that it should not be final. The House should recognise that this matter must be dealt with again, and dealt with on different lines, and the Government would do well to recognise the views of many moderate men of their own Party who felt that the Bill could never be permanent. Another reason why this measure must be a temporary measure was that it was brought forward to meet and deal with a temporary evil. This was not a measure founded on the principles of eternal justice. Had it been so it might have been introduced many years previously when licences were being taken away without compensation being paid. If eternal justice demanded that compensation should be given in these cases, compensation was required to be given just as much then as it was now. The hon. Member for Salford had given the true explanation of the introduction of this Bill, an explanation which had been often given by hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House and one they were glad to find confirmed by hon. Gentlemen opposite. The hon. Gentleman had let the cat out of the bag. He said if they were going to take away the owner's property after fourteen years it was just as bad to take it away then as now. The hon. Gentleman had shown what was the real fallacy on which the whole case for this Bill rested. In his view a licence granted for a year, to expire at the end of a year, was property; in his view the licensing bench of magistrates when it granted a licence made a gift of a property to the recipient of that licence. He admitted that, if that was the correct view to take, those opposing the Bill were entirely out of Court, but in their view it was not a property; in their view the most that could be said was that a reasonable expectation had been given that what had been done before would be done again. But that expectation could not last for ever and it was absolutely put an end to by a plain declaration removing all hope in the future. The question was how long the notice should be? His hon. friend had put it at fourteen years. Such a term was surely long enough to enable people to escape from the delusion that a licence for one year meant a licence to be continued year after year without end. The hon. Member for Stretford had argued that at the end of fourteen years the value of the property would be enhanced, and that the owner ought to get a better price, but the hon. and learned Gentleman forgot that the owner had had the benefit of that enhancement during that time. He quite agreed that if it was a property it would be a more valuable property in the end and that the owner, therefore, ought to receive greater compensation, but if it was not a property at all but only an expectation, then that expectation got less as years went on after the notice was given. The Home Secretary had not added any new arguments; he had not given any argument at all. The right hon. Gentleman could not find the slightest answer to the case as to whether this was a property or only an expectation. If it was a property the compensation ought to come out of public funds; if it was merely an expectation then the time limit did not affect it. He thought the best way that the House could mark its sense of the temporary character of this Bill, was by enacting that it should be in force for only a fixed number of years.

Mr HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, E.) expressed his regret that the question of the time limit had been put forward in so crude and unsatisfactory a form. To make the Bill temporary would produce an entirely wrong effect, because the effect would be that, before a certain day, there would be full compensation under the Bill and that after that date there would be no compensation at all. Such an arrangement did not appeal to him. This Bill was clearly not a permanent settlement of this question. What he had always thought they wanted was a sliding scale of compensation, or the establishment of the principle of valuation, based on the non-renewal of a licence after a certain day, and on the absence of any expectation. That would not be done by making this Act temporary. He could not help thinking that if something of that kind had been introduced into the Bill by the Government in the first instance, it would have been accepted by reasonable men on both sides. It was true that this was a measure of temperance reform, but he considered that too high a price was being paid for it.

Sir EDWARD CARSON said that the particular form of time limit proposed in this Amendment was about the worst possible that could be conceived. The right hon. Member for Aberdeen had said that this Bill could only be a temporary measure, but one of the favourite arguments in the previous debates was that the Government were preventing any new legislation on the subject. The right hon. Member for Aberdeen took a different view of the power of Parliament, with the nation behind it, from that taken, he thought, by the right hon. Member for Berwick. There was, however, no use legislating in this way by throwing out threats as to whether a Bill would be permanent or temporary. The Bill would be permanent until the House desired to change it; but let them not put clauses in the Bill which would not only render it difficult to carry on the system of licensing in this country, but would subject it to the uncertainty which would be caused by the idea that Acts of Parliament could be torn up by the mere fact that the different Parties walked across from one side of the House to the other. If the Amendment were carried, what was to happen at the end of the fourteen years? The Amendment set up no system, and he submitted with confidence that the licence-holder would be in a great deal stronger position at the end of the fourteen years than he was in now. The ante-1869 houses were brought within the scope of this Bill, but at the end of fourteen years they would be said to be outside the Bill. The Amendment, if passed in its present form, would throw the whole licensing system into a state of absolute chaos at the end of the period. He would not again go over the arguments with regard to a time limit—whether there ought to be compensation at the end of the limit, or whether the time limit itself ought not to be the compensation, which to his mind was the only real alternative—but the proposal that after making the man insure they should say at the end of the period that everything was at an end and that the old system should revive was an absolutely hopeless Amendment. The hon. Member for Carnarvon had asked where was the unfairness of a fourteen years time limit seeing that the Bill had set up a period of seven years for new licences. New licences and old licences had nothing whatever in common. The holders of new licences would possess none of the existing interests, and because there would be a clear field the Government had determined that no monopoly should be permitted to arise in connection with new licences. But what had that to do with old licences which had a recognised interest, saleable in the market, recognised by the State for purposes of taxation, and recognised as possessing an easily assessable value? The time limit Amendments which had been rejected were attempts to solve the question in relation to the licence itself; but the present Amendment proposed to apply a time limit to the Bill, and that he felt was absolutely impossible of acceptation.

Sir EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick) said the Solicitor-General had stated that another Parliament would be absolutely free to reverse legislation passed by the present Parliament. That, of course, was perfectly true, since every new Parliament had, in theory, a perfectly clear start, but what had been done in one Parliament might make it more or less difficult for another Parliament to feel itself free in the matter. Much of the Solicitor-General's speech was, in effect, an exemplification of the manner in which, if the Bill passed without a time limit, it would, year by year, become increasingly difficult for the House to adopt any alternative system of temperance reform. The right hon. Gentleman argued against the adoption of the time limit on the ground that, by the Bill, licence-holders were to pay an insurance calculated on the assumption that their licences were never to be taken away in the public interest without full compensation, and that, as long as that went on, it would become more unjust to impose a time limit on the remaining licence-holders. The right hon. Gentleman therefore argued that anything in the nature of a time limit was unsuitable to the Bill and to the system which that Bill would establish and would become increasing unsuitable as time went on. That was precisely the reason why they on the Opposition side regarded it as of the essence of the case that a time limit should be introduced. If the Bill was passed, the Solicitor-General and the Government supporters generally would be the first to argue that, inasmuch as a system of insurance had been set up all over the country and an expectation created that there would be no time limit, therefore, from that point of view, any future Parliament would be in equity bound by what was done by the present Bill. He submitted that the manner and the special circumstances under which the Bill was being passed would make it unusually little binding either in reality or in equity upon any future Parliament. He noted a very significant omission from the Solicitor-General's speech. The right hon. Gentleman opposed the Amendment before the House on the ground that it was the most unsuitable form in which the question of the time limit could be raised, but he did not say that he or the Government would regard with any greater favour some other Amendment in what they conceived to be a more suitable form but asserting the same principle. The Amendment before the House was a forlorn hope, but was the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hackney any less so from the Government point of view? The only allusion of the Solicitor-General to a more suitable form of dealing with the matter was where he said that other Amendments had already been rejected by a large majority. If that was so was it really worth while for the hon. Member for Hackney and the right hon. Member for East Somerset to quarrel with the form of his hon. friend's Amendment. If the Government had given any indication that they would be prepared to accept the time-limit principle in any other form he would have paid great attention to what the hon. Member for Hackney had said.

*MR. BOUSFIELD said he quarrelled not with the form but with the substance of the present Amendment, the effect of which was practically to render the present Bill not a settlement of the matter at all, whereas the object of his own Amendment would have been to render it a permanent settlement.

SIR EDWARD GREY said the impression on his mind was that the hon. Member disapproved of this particular method of seeking to introduce the time limit. There was much in the hon. Member's Amendment, but, as the Government had not the remotest intention of supporting it, the question as between the various forms of introducing the principle became a very little one. The objection of Members on that side of the House to the Bill had been admirably stated from the Government Benches. The hon. Member for Salford had begun by saying that the Bill was introduced because certain magistrates had taken away licences without giving compensation.

MR. GROVES said that that had brought the matter prominently to the front.

SIR EDWARD GREY replied that the hon. Member had gone further than that; he had said that if magistrates had not taken away licences without giving compensation the Bill would not have come before the House. But the hon. Member for the Stretford Division had gone even further and said there must never come a time when magistrates should again be able to take the course of extinguishing licences without compensation. That was really the main ground of his (the speaker's) objection to the Bill—that it would close the door, as far as it was possible for the present Government to close it—against any alternative method of temperance reform. The creed of the Government's supporters was based on the fact that they regarded licences granted for a year only as perpetual property. So that if, after the passing of the Bill, any attempt was made by a future Parliament to raise the question, members of the present Government would be the first to say that the matter could not be freely dealt with because a legal title had already been given. That was why he regarded the Bill as having no binding effect, and he submitted that the Opposition should place on record on every available opportunity their view that the Bill, having been passed at the fag-end of a session and by the methods which had been adopted, could not be recognised as permanent by future Parliaments.

*MR. SPEAR (Devonshire, Tavistock), who said that he unfortunately had had an Amendment for a graduated time limit ruled out of order, expressed disappointment that the Government had not seen their way to introduce a time limit into the Bill. In his constituency there was a very strong wish for the reduction of licensed houses and a feeling that that would not be accomplished except somewhat on the lines of the present Bill, namely, by having compensation raised from the trade. Of that part of the Bill he entirely approved. While it might be contended that the licence-holder had only one year's legal holding, he submitted that custom had given him a considerable moral holding, and that the levying of death duties especially afforded a strong reason against licences being taken away without compensation, except for misconduct. He had, however, a strong objection to the holding being turned into a permanent vested interest. He was not concerned to defend the legislative action or policy of the temperance societies of the country; they had done much social good by the propagation of temperance principles, but he believed that too often they had hindered legislatively the cause they had at heart by their extreme attitude. Throughout this debate a somewhat different spirit had been manifested. The justice of compensation had been recognised, and he could not help believing that an opportunity had arisen which might have been utilised in the interests of temperance reform without inflicting any injustice upon licensed victuallers. He thought it was very unfortunate, therefore, that the Government should be passing a Bill which was extremely offensive in this particular to temperance reformers of all degrees. He appreciated the altered attitude of temperance societies on the matter of compensation, and regretted the Government had not seen fit to meet this by giving a time limit and thus promoting a lasting and just settlement of this difficult and complex question.

Another reason why he advocated a time limit was that the holders of the best class of licences would contribute very heavily to the compensation fund from which they would never receive any return, because there was no danger of their licences being withdrawn, whereas the plainer class of house, which would contribute much less, would receive grants from the fund or such increased trade as would more than compensate them for the contribution they made to the fund. While it was a necessary arrangement in order to secure the reduction of licences on a just principle it was a system which ought not to be permanent in its character, but after a reasonable number of years, when the redundant licences would have been withdrawn, they might expect that State regulated compensation should cease, and it should be a condition in granting renewals that there should be a mutual insurance fund into which the holder of each licence would pay in proportion to risk and liability of losing his licence. It would be unjust to the holders of the better class houses that they should have permanently to contribute heavily to a fund from which they would never receive any return. He asked the Solicitor-General to consider whether it would not be wiser in the interest of the trade to have a time limit. He was anxious to do justice to the licensed victuallers, but he was aware that they could not control the Government. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh, oh!"] All he could say was that the licensed trade had suffered more from temperance reforms at the hands of the Party which supported the Government than they had at the hands of the Party opposite. It was true that every bit of temperance reform for the last twenty-five years had come from his side of the House. He wanted this to be a lasting settlement which would secure justice to the publican and yet appeal to the good judgment of all sections of the people. He hoped the Government would yield on this point, and, if they did, he felt sure they would be rendering a service to temperance reform which future generations would bless them for.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.) said that on two occasions legislation granting the Principality of Wales popular control of licences had been passed by this House. Evidence on this point was brought before the Licensing Commission, and in the Chairman's Report it was recommended that at the expiration of seven years Wales should have a large measure of popular control. The Amendment provided that this Bill should cease to operate in fourteen years, and that would at any rate hold out to the people of Wales some hope that at the end of that time the way would be open to them to pass legislation on this question in accordance with the prevailing sentiment of the country. The House would understand the strength of the opposition of Wales to this Bill and how earnestly the Welsh people would support any Amendment which would have the effect of enabling the Principality, within a certain number of years, to work out its own salvation in accordance with the prevailing convictions of the people.

*Mr. THEODORE TAYLOR (Lancashire, Radcliffe) said that he would like, even at that late hour, to endorse the remarks made by the hon. Member for Tavistock. He was profoundly convinced that the Government might yet make a better bargain in the interests of the holders of licensed property if they adopted a time limit than if the Bill was not altered in that respect. Whatever was said by mere partisans, they all knew that there was a sufficiently large body of opinion in the country opposed to this Bill which would make itself felt hereafter. Indeed, the vast majority of the people of the country were unalterably opposed to the Bill. He was one who would do justice to every interest concerned, but he believed that in order to effect a settlement of this matter the Government could have extorted from the opponents of the Bill more than justice, and that might have led to a permanent settlement. It would be bare justice that they would get in the future, he was certain, because if the Bill was passed in its present form against the entreaty of all the Members on the Government side who had prayed them to allow some time limit, reinforced by the solid opposition to the Bill in the country, they might depend upon it that the people of the country would not admit the principle that any Government, by whatever majority they passed a Bill, should be allowed to permanently thwart to such an extent the wishes of the people at large. Being himself a licensing magistrate, he was certain that this Bill, merely from the administrative point of view, would cast on quarter sessions such difficult duties that it would require amendment. If the Bill was so good a measure as the Government thought, surely they might trust to the working of it to convince the Legislature of the future, when the subject came up for examination, that it was best to carry out the same principle again—supposing a time limit was put into the Bill. If a time limit was not put into the Bill, it was a slap in the face to Members on the Government side of the House—who yet voted in the Lobby for the Government, however—and it was a slap in the face to the large body of Unionist temperance opinion, which would reassert itself at the polls, perhaps not by active opposition to the Government but by a slackening of the moral fibre of those who fought in the interests of the Unionist Party.

Although a temperance man himself, he had tried to approach this matter from an absolutely impartial standpoint—a very difficult thing for a Party man to do. The main object of the Bill was to make safe the financial interests of the owners of licensed premises. At all events, they were all agreed that that was one of the objects of the Bill; and he put it to the guardians of that interest in the House, that they were making a great mistake—how great the near future might prove—in neglecting the opportunity of making a settlement of the question. As Party men it suited him and other Liberals much better for the Bill to become an Act as it was. It would be Party capital for them, and would enable them to win votes from quarters from which they would not expect them. He was honest when he said that he believed the Liberal Party would gain from this Bill going to the country as an Act of Parliament; but, of course, they would have the question to deal with later on. It would, nevertheless, be a Unionist Party advantage to have it settled now. He believed it would tend to the settlement of this question if the Government, if not in this House then in another place, were to accept something in the nature of this Amendment.

Mr. BARRAN (Leeds, N.) said he wished to call attention to some of the differences between compulsory insurance regulated by the State and compulsory insurance not so regulated. That was really the difference which this Amendment would produce in this Bill. The existence of the Bill for fourteen years would mean a compulsory insurance during that time. The State would undertake the regulation of it, but at the end of that period it would be quite as compulsory an insurance as before. There would, however, be this great difference. During the fourteen years when it was regulated by the State it would be confined to comparatively small localities, whereas at the end of that period the area would be widened practically to the whole country. In other trades, and more especially dangerous trades, there was at the present time, to all intents and purposes, compulsory insurance. Employers were bound to expend a large sum in insurance, and any large employer who failed to do so would be courting certain disaster under certain circumstances. The trades which were put under that law got nothing from the Government, as the licensed trade did. The licensed trade got a very valuable asset, and that was an additional reason for insisting that licence-holders should be put under such disadvantages, if he might use the term, as would make their own insurance at a later period absolutely essential. During fourteen years, of course, they would have security or compensation. At the end of fourteen years there would be a very largely decreased number of public-houses. That meant that at the end of the period the trade would have a stronger monopoly than they had at the present time. They would have a combination more powerful even than any of those trusts of which the disadvantages in other countries had been seen. This combination would enable them to take from the consumers whatever funds they might require for compensation, either by an advance of prices or by what the trade understood equally well—the question of quality. This Bill would give to the monopoly greater power still. There was no limit put to the continual increase in the value of these licences. No arrangement was made while the Bill was going through Committee to limit the amount of the valuation. Therefore they were giving to the licences an enormously added capital value in the future.

Mr. BRIGG (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley) said he wished to speak on behalf of a body of people whose views had not been voiced in the House, so far as he knew. They would hail with delight the acceptance by the Government of such an Amendment as that proposed by the hon. Member for Carnarvon. As he read the Bill, a time limit was foreshadowed in regard to new licences. it seemed to him that there would be very great difficulty, speaking from the quarter sessions point of view, in dealing with the two kinds of licences.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 138; Noes, 220. (Division List No. 277.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Ellice, CaptE.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Evans, Sir Fran. H. (Maidstone
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hain, Edward
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Hardie, J. Keir (MerthyrTydvil
Harwood, George
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Norton, Capt. Cecil William

Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Doherty, William
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parkes, Ebenezer
Parrott, William
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Slack, John Bamford
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Spear, John Ward
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (Yorks., W.R.)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr. Whittaker.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch)
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Burke, E. Haviland
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A (Worc.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Cohen, Benjamin Louis
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dewar, Sir T. R. (Tower Hamlets
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Greene, Sir E. W (B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Hayden, John Patrick
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, Rt Hn. Sir H. E (Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Muntz, Sir Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nannetti, Joseph P.

Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. JohnP.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Dowd, John
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Pease,Herbert Pike(Darlington
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renwick, George
Ridley,Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel,Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Smith, Abel H.(Hertford,East)
Smith,RtHn J.Parker(Lanarks
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUniv.
Thompson,Dr.E C(Monagh'n,N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tully, Jasper
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

*MR. LAWSON WALTON (Leeds, S.) said he begged to move the clause which appeared on the Paper in his name. He need not trouble the House by reading the clause, which was somewhat clouded by legal phraseology; but he would like to state in popular language what was the object of the proposed Amendment to the Bill. He wished to make it possible for an existing licensee, the period of whose licence was for one year, to elect to take a new licence for seven years. He would point out to the House that the situation of this clause had very materially changed since first placed upon the Paper, and while the Bill was going through Committee. At that time the Government had not adopted the view that the best system of licensing was to sweep away the annual term and to grant every licence for a period of seven years. They had apparently now come to the conclusion, in regard to all new licences, that the term of their duration instead of being one year should be seven years, subject of course to the discretion of the magistrates, who might fix it at a less period. As he understood it, it was open to them to grant licences for seven years, but not for more. He congratulated the Government upon the courage with which they had adopted this ultimately universal system for dealing with this trade, regulating it, and bringing it into accordance with utility and good sense. It was obvious that a seven years term would satisfy both classes which were interested in the granting of licences. It satisfied the licensee because it gave him a fixed period during which he had comparative security of tenure, subject of course to forfeiture for bad conduct; and at the end of that period his chance of renewal would not be for one year, but for seven years. The result was that a term would be given long enough to form the subject-matter of insurance which might be effected on mutual lines. Therefore, from the point of view of the licensee, they put the trade upon a reasonable basis. All that was asked on behalf of the friends of temperance was that there should be some opportunity for readjusting the number of houses to the public wants. At the end of the seven years under that system this opportunity would arise. By this proposal they would accomplish the three-fold object of regulating the trade on businesslike principles, of satisfying the public requirements, and of giving security of tenure for a limited period, which would enable the licensee to make his own insurance and relieve him from the obligation of coming under the cumbrous system of insurance by public authority. If that was a good system in regard to new licences, he hoped the Solicitor-General would tell the House whether it would not work equally well with regard to existing licences.

The proposal of the Government as it stood was in an imperfect and truncated condition. It suggested an admirable provision in regard to new licences, but it made no provision for the licences now in existence. He hoped that he would not be met by a plea of *non possumus.* His suggestion was that they should provide a mode of merger which created no conflict with the operation of this Bill. The Bill would continue in the case of the old licensees who preferred the machinery the Government provided for insurance, but in the case of the old licensees who did not prefer that machinery, it should be possible for them to take new licences in lieu of the old. It would be said by some of his friends that the effect of this clause would be to entirely destroy the Government scheme, and for two reasons. In the first place, it had been said that the existing licensees of large properties would elect to take a seven years licence because they would be relieved from a contribution to the fund, and thus licences in large properties would not be brought within the scope of the operation of the fund. On the other hand, the small licensee would be kept out because it would be said that if they continued under the existing system their contribution to the fund would be increased by the fact that the holders of the large licences would keep out and elect to take a seven years licence. The result would be that there would be no fund and no mode for compensating the houses suppressed, and, therefore, no suppression would take place. What was the answer to that? In the first place, he did not think it was clear that they could prevent the Government scheme being destroyed in the case of large hotels, because they could easily arrange with the magistrates to take a new licence for seven years, and thus be kept out of the operation of the Bill altogether. If in the course of a few years so large a number of licence-holders elected to take up new licences for seven years as practically to bring the existence of the fund to an end, they would then be exchanging the new system for the old by the simple option provided under this clause. Parliament would then see that the seven years system had been a success, and the cumbrous machinery of insurance by public authority would be abolished. He put this suggestion before the Government because he did not think that the law could be left for any appreciable period in the present state of confusion. They could not have working side by side in a satisfactory way a seven years system and an annual system. The seven years system was a rational one which commended itself to all those engaged in the trade, and if the Solicitor-General could not accept his suggestion he would like him to suggest some other method.

A clause (Seven years licences).

"Upon the proposed grant to any person after the passing of this Act of a new licence, or upon the application by any licensed person for the renewal of an existing licence, such proposed grantee or applicant shall declare whether he elects to have such licence granted or renewed, as the case may be, for one year, or whether he prefers in lieu thereof to have issued to him a seven years licence. In the latter event, Sections 1, 3, and 4 of this Act shall not apply to such licence, and the same shall operate in all other respects as an annual licence save only that the duration thereof shall be seven years instead of one year and that during the currency of such period the licensing justices may, if they think fit, forfeit such licence upon the ground that the licensed premises have been ill-conducted or are structurally deficient or unsuitable or upon grounds connected with the character or fitness of the holder of the licence, and upon the expiration of the said period and of each succeeding period of seven years the said justices may in their discretion grant the renewal of the said licence or may refuse the same without any obligation to pay or provide compensation, and in such manner as licences are now renewable subject only to forfeiture upon the grounds above stated."—(*Mr. Lawson Walton.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

SIR EDWARD CARSON said the first proposal of the hon. and learned Member was in regard to the granting of new licences, and he proposed that instead of the system under the Bill which provided that a person could only get a new licence by paying the full monopoly value, subject to conditions as to tenure which the magistrates might lay down, that the brewer or the publican who already held a licence might elect to take out a new licence for seven years in place of it without paying anything for its monopoly value and without any of the restrictions which the magistrates could place upon new licences. Such an applicant would be in a vastly superior position to an ordinary licence-holder. The view of the Government was that they ought not to grant a new licence without making the holder pay the monopoly value, which was the difference between the value of the premises with and without a licence. What his hon. and learned friend sought to do for the trade by this Amendment, as opposed to the proposals of the Bill, was to give the brewers an option. Instead of adhering to the system under the Bill, the hon. and learned Member proposed that the brewer, the publican, or the applicant might elect to take a new licence for the same period without paying anything for the monopoly value which would be conferred upon them. If he were to have regard to the cause of the brewer or the publican only, he would say that this Amendment could not possibly do them any harm, for it would enable them to create a new monopoly. Such an applicant for a new licence would be placed in a greatly superior position than was the case at present, because he would enjoy a run of seven years without interruption, and without having paid a shilling for the monopoly that was given to him. This proposal would destroy the compensation basis of the Bill, and the Government could not accept the Amendment.

Mr. CRIPPS said that upon this very important question, he quite agreed with what the hon. Member opposite had said, that looking at the future licences there must be uniformity of system. It was impossible to suppose that they could have two classes of licences, one an annual licence subject to compensation, and the other a seven years licence, upon which the monopoly value was not subject to the compensation clause. The vice of this Bill was in suggesting a new system which was wholly inapplicable, having regard to the conditions they had to control, and which must operate badly. Our licensing system should be placed upon the best basis possible. The Government proposed to adopt the principle of a possible seven years term. From his experience as a licensing magistrate, he would never consent without a protest to the withdrawal from the supervision of the licensing justices of any licence granted by a magistrate for so long a period. A licence ought to come up for supervision every year, in order that the justices might see that the holder was taking all precautions and acting in accordance with public well-being and public morality. It was not a question of illegality, but let them consider what might happen. Take the case quoted in the House of a publican refusing to serve soldiers in uniform. Under this seven years system he submitted that such a thing could be done with impunity for the whole of that period. That was a fatal blot on this system. The seven years system gave no security that the result of a title of this kind might not be that, instead of the public getting what they wanted, they would either get the big brewer who wanted to make a large profit out of the house in the seven years and the tied-house system, or municipal public-houses. He could not conceive the advisability of granting a licence, the nature of which made a tied house a necessity. Nothing could be worse; and he would look with suspicion at anything which introduced a system which might conduce to municipal public-houses. The conditions the Government imposed in this case would not permit any ordinary man to apply for a licence. A man who wanted a new licence nowadays had to go to a large expense, and had to make a very good title for a new licence for particular premises. The justices were not likely to grant to the applicant a redundant licence, but only a licence required in the public interest, and one which would not be likely to be interfered with in the future, and that was the real security the licensee obtained. If the Government wished to intercept monopoly value in the future—and he did not think the licensee should have it—it ought to be done by a proper scale of Imperial duties. By putting up licences to auction the worst possible class of men might be obtained, if only they offered the best price. That was a bad principle, and he hoped it would not be sanctioned for the first time by a Unionist Government which was supposed to have particular regard for the principles of local government. He agreed entirely as to the desirablity of having a uniform system with regard to licences, but he hoped the Amendment in its present form would not be accepted.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) was a little surprised to find how much he was in agreement with the hon and learned Member for the Stretford Division. He agreed that this question ought not to be dealt with in a temperance Bill, and he could hardly conceive that anybody could regard it as a temperance reform. In his opinion it ought to be done in a Finance Bill, and this was an attempt to do in an indirect way what ought to be completely and uniformly done in some future Finance Bill. He agreed with the hon. Gentleman that they ought to have one uniform system, and that the proper way of dealing with the monopoly value was not to cast upon local magistrates the difficult task of finding out how much duty ought to be imposed on the granting of a new licence. The duty was an Imperial asset, and it ought to be levied by the Imperial Government. It ought to be ascertained by the Inland Revenue and be exacted from all licence-holders, new or old. He welcomed the Bill because it introduced into our legislation for the first time the very principle for which the hon. and learned Member had contended. For the first time the principle was being recognised that it was the right and duty of the State to exact from every licensed holder of a public monopoly the full value of that monopoly. Clause 4 made the Bill a totally different measure, and he could not imagine that it would be possible for Parliament to go on with the anomalous position which it would create by having not merely two distinct sets of licences, but three totally different classes of licensed victuallers. How could the finances be properly dealt with if there were three different sets of duties, each having a separate origin and a separate destination? He regarded Clause 4 as a most important new departure in respect of the great principle to which he had alluded—so important that he was rather inclined to diminish such resistance as he had offered to the Bill. The clause would have enormous effects. The time would come when the Chancellor of the Exchequer would take the matter into his own hands, and, instead of receiving £1,500,000, he would get the £10,000,000 which he (the speaker) believed ought to be produced. His hon. and learned friend the Member for Leeds wished to exclude from the application of Clause 4 the licences dealt with in his Amendment and that deterred him from supporting it. If they levied compensation, they reduced the monopoly value, so that it was immaterial whether the new seven years licences paid compensation money or not. The important point was that the only new licences which would be possible would be subject to the monopoly clause and the whole value of the monopoly would be devoted to public purposes.

*MR. BOUSFIELD sympathised with the desire of the mover of the Amendment to obtain a uniform system of licensing after the lapse of a sufficient number of years. From the point of view of a final settlement, he did not think the period of seven years for new licences was sufficiently long to secure the object the Government had in view, viz., that of giving a man such a term as would enable him to recoup himself for the capital expenditure he had made. If the term was inadequate the magistrates, at the end of the period, would say, as they said now, that the man, though he had no legal right, had a moral right to a renewal inasmuch as he had not held the licence for a sufficiently long period to recoup himself for the expenditure he had made on the premises. So strongly was he impressed by that argument, that he believed Section 4 would not be operative unless the Government saw their way to extend the term. He would be glad if, by some means the provision of Clause 4 could, after a term of years, be applied to all licences. The scheme of compensation was based upon having as large an area as possible for compensation purposes, and as the Amendment would necessarily tend to restrict that area by diminishing the number of houses by which the fund would be supplied, and thereby reduce the advantages to be derived from the operation of the Bill, he regretted that he would be unable to give it his support.

MR. LAWSON WALTON intimated that under the circumstances he would not press the Amendment to a division.

Motion and clause, by leave, withdrawn.

*MR. BOUSFIELD, who had given notice of the following new clause, "After the end of fourteen years after the passing of this Act existing on-licences shall not be renewed, but in place of every existing on-licence which is still in existence after the end of such period there shall be granted at the next licensing sessions a new licence for the term of seven years, subject to the provisions of Section 4 of this Act, but without the imposition of any payment or conditions under such section other than the conditions (if any) attached to the existing licence. Provided nevertheless that such new licence may be refused on the same grounds and subject to the same terms and conditions as the renewal of the existing licence might have been refused"; said he had put the Amendment on the Paper as a supporter of the Bill, and in the hope that it would tend to make the Bill a final settlement of the question with which it dealt He agreed, however, that at present the Amendment had no chance of acceptance, but he felt that if it came before the House at a later period, having at its back the voice of a stronger authority the Government would be compelled to re-consider their position. He had reason to believe that the Amendment would be moved in another place; and in the hope that it would be then carried and come back to this House at a later stage, he did not propose to move on the present occasion.

*MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR (Lancashire, Blackpool) said he had put down this Amendment in order to call the Solicitor-General's attention to what appeared to him a doubtful point under the Act of 1872. The effect of Section 60 of the 1872 Act was to provide that no justice should act for any purpose under that Act in respect of any premises in the profits of which such justice was interested or of which he was wholly or partly the owner, lessee, or occupier. There was a doubt under the present Bill whether that disqualification of a justice to act might not be made hereafter to apply to circumstances which were not contemplated at the time when that section was passed. His Amendment had particular reference to two clauses of the present Bill. Clause 5 gave power to quarter sessions to divide their area into districts, and Clause 3 required them, if it was necessary, to impose the charges which were made in the Bill on all the licensed premises in the whole of their area or in a given district. It was doubtful whether the words of Section 60 might not prevent the owner of a house from acting even in the limited administrative sense that was implied under the two clauses to which he referred. Strictly speaking he would not be acting in respect of his particular premises, but on the question whether an area should be divided into districts. If his house happened to be in one of those districts it might be held that he was disqualified from acting although he thought no one could seriously suggest that there would be the slightest objection, in fact, to his so acting. Again, in respect of imposing a charge on all the licensed premises in the area, his own licensed house might be one among hundreds and possibly it might be held hereafter that he was disqualified from acting in that matter. If that were the case it would disestablish scores, almost hundreds, of county gentlemen who were regular attendants at quarter sessions, and it was to clear up the point that he had put down his Amendment.

A clause (Provision as to Disqualification of justices)—

"No justice shall be disqualified under section sixty of The Licensing Act, 1872, or otherwise, to act with reference to the imposition and levying of charges on licences in any area or district, or the division of any area into districts, under this Act by reason of his being wholly or partly the owner of any licensed premises within such area or district."—(*Mr. Worsley-Taylor.*)

Brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the clause be read a second time."

SIR EDWARD CARSON said the point raised by the hon. and learned

Member was whether the provisions of this Bill setting up the compensation fund, would debar a member of quarter sessions from taking part in those proceedings because he happened to be interested in public-houses in the district where the fund was being set up. He had looked at the section referred to, and it seemed to him clear that Section 60 of the Act of 1872 was intended to prevent any justice acting in a matter which specifically affected a particular house in which he was interested. It would be a far-fetched construction to extend that prohibition to the duties which the hon. Member had mentioned. If, however, he was assured that there was doubt in the matter he would see that words were inserted to meet the case.

*MR. LAWSON WALTON did not think that there could be any doubt that the circumstances mentioned by the hon. Member for Blackpool would not disqualify justices, because it was only in cases where their own houses were actually being considered as a matter of specific investigation that the disqualification would arise.

MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR said that what had been said would relieve all anxiety on the point, and every justice would feel that he was entitled to sit under the circumstances he had described. He therefore begged leave to withdraw his Amendment.

*MR. WHITTAKER asked if in a case where a landowner owned a public-house and the local justices recommended that it should be one of the public-houses in that district which should have their licences refused that landowner would be disqualified from acting in such a case at quarter sessions.

SIR EDWARD CARSON: No.

Motion and clause, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs), in moving to omit Clause 1, said that as originally drawn it provided that there should be a permanent vested interest in new licences. That was held from the very beginning to be a fatal defect in the Bill. The Government did meet the general feeling in regard to that, and introduced an Amendment which made it clear that, so far as new licences were concerned, there was to be nothing in the nature of a vested interest created in them. Subsequent Amendments were introduced to carry that into effect. He was bound to say that he had considerable doubt as to the way in which they would be ultimately construed. Whether the Amendment would go further than to prevent the creation of any vested interest in new licences was a question on which there might be considerable difference of opinion. Clause 1 contained a number of extremely objectionable provisions. It made a very great difference in the administrative powers the magistrates would possess in future as compared with the powers they possessed at the present time. He could not agree that the words introduced with regard to the conduct of the house and of the licensee covered the whole ground covered by the administrative jurisdiction of the magistrates. At present the magistrates had powers with regard to back-doors and side-entrances, and some of the best work they had done in Liverpool and other large towns had been in the making of premises more easy of police supervision, and in preventing secret and illicit drinking and improper practices. It appeared to him that under this clause it would be extremely difficult for the magistrates to continue that excellent work. He regarded that as a very great blemish on the Bill.

In regard to the tenants of tied houses, the Government had a great opportunity of doing something to improve their position. It would have been possible, by giving the magistrates certain powers, to have destroyed some of the worst features of that very bad system. The Government, however had not availed themselves of the opportunity of dealing with that system. He doubted whether such an opportunity would arise for a long time to come. Nor had the Government dealt with the question of transfer. Owing to the existence of the tied-house system public-houses passed from hand to hand with great rapidity, and with great deterioration in many cases to the character of the houses. He knew of instances where what were called free houses had been converted into tied houses, with the result that instead of remaining places of refreshment they had become mere drinking dens and nothing more. In this country there were 20,000 transfers of tied houses every year. What they meant in the way of bankruptcies, and other very objectionable things in the tied-house system, it would be difficult to enumerate. He regretted that the Government had not introduced in the first clause a provision to enable the magistrates to put some restriction on the enormous number of transfers and changes of tenantry. It was one of the most scandalous parts of the licensing system at the present time. He regretted the Government did not accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Plymouth, who wished to make it clear that quarter sessions were to act under the Bill as administrative bodies. The result of that refusal would be that they would not have that free discretion which local justices now possessed to deal with the licences that came before them. Another important question raised by the first clause referred to the payment of compensation. A great deal had been said with regard to the sympathy which the public felt for the licence-holder. There was no doubt that the public felt a considerable amount of sympathy for the licence-holder who was dispossessed. But what justice did the licence-holder receive under this Bill? He was placed in an extraordinary and an anomalous position. It was the desire of the public that the licence-holder should receive his fair share of compensation, and it was their impression that he would receive the greater part of the compensation. That was a delusion from which before long there would be a rude awakening. His compensation was limited to one year's tenancy in the licensed premises.

Sir EDWARD CARSON: That is not so.

Mr. J. H. LEWIS said 85 per cent. of the licence-holders of this country were tenants of tied houses. This Bill contained nothing to prevent such tenants from contracting themselves out of their interest for a longer period than one year. The Solicitor-General had said that the Government did not propose to interfere with their right to contract themselves out of their liberty.

Sir EDWARD CARSON dissented.

Mr. J. H. LEWIS said the practical result would be that a man who had been in a public-house for a few weeks might receive the same amount of compensation as a man who had been a tenant of a similar house for twenty or thirty years. That was the anomaly he was drawing attention to.

Mr. CRIPPS, on a point of order, asked whether the matters to which the hon. Member was referring did not arise on Section 2, and not Section 1 of the Bill.

*Mr. SPEAKER: Section 1 only settles the principle that licences can only be refused, in certain cases, on payment of compensation. The amount of compensation and the mode of ascertaining it arises on Section 2.

Mr. J. H. LEWIS said he would not pursue the subject any further. His only object was to show that the compensation to which this clause referred would be likely to work very injuriously to the licence-holder. Those who believed that the conception of the Bill was unsound would by voting against Clause 1 record their opinion that the Bill had been introduced in the interest of a portion of the licensed trade, and that the portion which deserved their sympathy least of all.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 5, to leave out Clause 1."—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the words of Clause 1, to the word 'on,' in line 5, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. WHITLEY (Halifax) said that a good part of the clause had not been discussed owing to the operation of the closure. It was clear that the clause did destroy the existing discretion of the magistrates with regard to all those minor points of conduct of licence-holders which were so important in making the difference between good and doubtful conduct of the premises. They had never yet had an explanation from the Government why they did not carry out on the first clause the intentions they declared on the First Reading of the Bill with respect to the discretion of the local justices. To have drafted the clause in this way would have saved a great deal of discussion, and at the same time would have avoided the great evil which the Government had quite unnecessarily introduced in this Bill, viz., that they were destroying the beneficial powers of the local magistrates not exactly to make by-laws, but to make such conditions upon renewal of licences as would have all the effect of by-laws, ensuring good conduct on the part of the licensee. He thought that the Government had gone out of their way to destroy the discretion of the local magistrates, which they themselves, on the First Reading of the Bill, declared they did not intend to do. For his part, he very greatly deplored that fact, and it was one of the greatest evils to be found in the Bill. The second matter to which he wished to refer was that the Government had persistently refused to meet all the efforts on that side of the House to make the operation of this clause tend in the direction of minimising the prevailing method of tying up these houses in the hands of the brewers. He knew that the Government had not a free hand; they had a certain command to obey, and it would have involved a revolt of a small section of their supporters if they had done anything to set free the tenant as against the owners of the licensed premises. If the Government had had at heart a measure of licensing reform, here was an opportunity, so far as moulding the machinery of the clause was concerned, to restore the position of the licence-holder to that which he had before the great brewers began their campaign of buying up the licensed premises. That had a very important effect on the method of estimating the amount of compensation that was to be paid. The tied-house system had introduced not only a great evil in the administration of the law, but had also given a fictitious value to the licence. Unfortunately, it was on that fictitious value that the Government had made their estimate for the purposes of compensation. The Government might have produced a reduction of the number of licences if they had taken the opportunity of destroying the monopoly power of the tied-house system, and left the Bill on the basis of giving compensation to those persons who lost their employment because of the operation of the Act. If the Government had done that, this Bill would have gone through practically by common consent. The Government had, however, chosen the other way; and he felt sure that on both these points the country would not be satisfied with the proposal that they were now about to carry, and that the country would, at some time in the future, insist on restoring to the magistrates the discretion, which had been of great benefit of recent years, and would insist on an effort being made to destroy the evil system of tied houses. He was glad to see that the free house licence-holders had had the courage to separate themselves from that portion of their fellow-traders who were bound to the tied houses and who were satisfied to go on in the miserable and degrading position of parting with their freedom in carrying out the public duties which were imposed on them by a licence to sell intoxicating liquors. He regretted that the Government had persistently refused to accept all Amendments which would have improved their Bill, and he believed that they would greatly lose in persisting in that course.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 232; Noes, 140. (Division List No. 278.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)

Chamberlain,Rt Hn.J.A(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Craig, CharlesCurtis(Antrim,S.)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, SirHoratioD.(Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt.Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doogan, P. C.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants.,W.)
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F.Leverton(Tynem'th)
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford,W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse RtHn H(Somers't,E

Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J.(Midd., Tottenham)
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt.Hn.Sir John H.
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T.(Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long,Col. Charles W.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Iver,Sir Lewis(Edinburgh,W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell,RtHn.Sir H.E(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moore, William
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col.JohnP. (Galway,N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Dowd, John
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl

Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel,Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seely, Charles Hilton(Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Smith,RtHn J.Parker(Lanarks
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson,Dr.E C(Monagh'n,N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tully, Jasper
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)

Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.

Asher, Alexander
Asquith,Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry

Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Bell, Richard
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Evans, Sir Fran. H. (Maidstone
Fenwick, Charles
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby, Co.)
Gladstone, Rt.Hn.Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt.Hon.Sir E.(Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Hain, Edward
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale)
Harcourt, RtHn.Sir W(Monm't
Harwood, George
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Levy, Maurice
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M‘Arthur, William (Cornwall)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh,N.)
Morley, Rt.Hn.John (Montrose
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Doherty, William
O'Malley, William
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Seely, Maj.J.E.B.(Isleof Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehy, David
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson(Leeds,S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Lewis and Mr. J. H. Whitley.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'an' to insert the word 'existing.'"—(*Mr. Akers-Douglas.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'existing' be there inserted."

MR. DISRAELI (Cheshire, Altrincham) said that this was not a drafting Amendment. It raised the whole question of old licences *versus* new licences. A protest had been already made against the alteration in the Bill providing for two kinds of licences; and he also wished to protest against it. The insertion of the word "existing" would draw the line between existing licences and licences granted after 1905. They all now deplored the ante-1869 licences; but in future they would have the ante-1905 licences. He could not understand why the Government had altered their mind in the matter. Licensing Bills were thrown down on the floor of the House to be wrangled over by the trade on the one hand and the teetotalers on the other; but the Government would be well advised to take the opinion of an intermediate and moderate section of the House. Hon. Members who acted on quarter sessions and petty sessions held the opinion that to set up two kinds of licences was to alter the Bill very materially for the worse. In the case of a new licence, if the house were well conducted, it would not be necessary for the licensee to appear before the magistrates annually, which was a disciplinary measure of the greatest advantage. It appeared to be assumed that benches of magistrates were always granting new licences; but as a matter of fact, it was extremely difficult to obtain a new licence at present. Application after application was refused, and perfectly rightly refused, unless it could be shown, beyond any doubt, that the licence was wanted. The Government had consented to the introduction of a time limit, which they had refused in another part of the Bill, and in order to do away with one kind of interest, they allowed the trade to build up another—a seven years interest—because it could not be said that no interest would accumulate during the seven years. Not only would a vested interest accumulate, but it would accumulate seven times or seventy times seven times as much as the interest would under the old system. He could not let this matter pass without protesting against it.

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. GROVES said he was encouraged to move the Amendment standing in his name by an expression which fell from the Home Secretary at an earlier stage, holding out hope that off-licences would be included within the scope of the Bill. Off-licences were of great variety, and all of them could not be included, but he asked the Government to give consideration to those off-licences which came on all fours with the beerhouse licences already within the scope of the Bill. Otherwise, a very considerable number of licences up and down the country would be left out of the operation of the Bill, and he strongly pressed on the Government that there was a real claim on the part of the humbler beersellers of the class described to be included in the Government's proposals. He did not say that they should have a full measure of compensation, but compensation on a reasonable and modest scale. He trusted the Government would not give a negative reply without taking time to consider the question, and that they would see if some measures could not be adopted now or in another place to give effect to a modest request on behalf of a modest class. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words 'or a licence for the sale of beer not to be consumed on the premises.'"—(*Mr. Groves.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

*Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS said on the last occasion on which this particular question was discussed he thought it was clear that the Government had thoroughly made up their mind that they could not include these licences in the scope of this Bill, because in their opinion they were on an entirely different footing and were not such as could come within its terms. There were at least eight or nine different classes of "off" licences, and very few comparatively of the total number of "off" licence-holders would hold licences for the sale of beer only. He understood that the holders of beer "off" licences were not anxious to come into the Bill as it stood, but that it was proposed that they should pay less towards the compensation fund and on a different basis. That, however, would introduce a further complication. At the present late period he was not prepared to re-open the question, and he could only regret that the hon. Member should have received the impression that he had held out any hopes of reconsidering the matter.

Question put, and negatived.

Mr. J. H. LEWIS, in moving to except tied houses from the operation of the Bill, said he strongly objected to the State giving the sanction of its support to that particular form of carrying on the liquor trade. There was no reason why these houses should be included in the Bill at all. Brewers owned these houses in large numbers, and could themselves, by establishing a system of mutual insurance, easily effect privately what this Bill proposed to do publicly. This House had no right, by intervening in the matter, to make it easier for the present bad system to continue. Unfortunately the system had grown to such an extent that 85 per cent. of the licences were for tied houses, while in one county the percentage was actually 93. The tenants were practically tenants at the will of the landlord; they were compelled to buy all the articles they sold from the brewers to whom they were tied. The results of the system to the publican were disastrous. He was ground to the lowest possible point; to make a living he was compelled to force his goods upon the public, and very often to have resort to illegal inducements to secure custom. It was not to the advantage of the public that such a system should continue, and he submitted that houses of this character should be exempted from the operation of the compensation clauses of the Bill. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words 'other than a licence the holder of which is subject to conditions requiring him to purchase the commodities or goods which he sells or uses from any particular person, firm, or company.' "—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. BROADHURST remarked that a proper share of the compensation, if any were to be given, should go to the tenants at will of tied houses. Frequently the tenant at will was led, if not by force, at any rate by misleading statements, into investing his savings, perhaps the savings of a lifetime, in a beerhouse, and frequently he lost what he invested in it. This tied-house system was at the root of almost all the discredit which had been brought upon the drink traffic in the last twenty or twenty-five years. When these tenants realised the facts, they often discovered to their horror that it was impossible to make a living if they carried on the business of the house in an honest straightforward way in accordance with the law. The Government should step between these unprotected tenants and the big rich brewery companies and say that these tenants should have proper reward if their houses were closed in the public interest. He remembered Mr. Goschen's scheme, which was defeated, and that the money which was to have been used for compensation was switched on for technical education purposes, under county and borough councils. That scheme was mainly opposed because it made no efficient provision for the tied-house tenant. It was exactly the same case here. The tenants at will should be the objects of the commiseration of the House of Commons, and that House should see that there was ample provision for securing the interests of the unhappy victims of the tied-house system. Since he introduced this subject ten or twelve years ago he had received thousands of letters from all over the country pointing out the hardships and injustice that were perpetrated under the system. One man had lost £300 in such a business and he had had to leave without a farthing of compensation. These people should be protected against the despotism and almost slavery to which they were subjected.

SIR EDWARD CARSON said the hon. Member opposite appeared to be most anxious to protect the manager and the licensee of tied houses.

MR. BROADHURST: Certainly.

SIR EDWARD CARSON said the effect of this Amendment would be that all the protection they had at present would be abolished without their receiving a penny. That was the reason why he found some difficulty in reconciling the speech of the hon. Member with the Amendment. It was hardly necessary to go into the merits or the demerits of the tied-house system. He did not agree with the view which was so often put forward—frequently somewhat recklessly put forward—as to the demerits of the system. He knew one instance in which the managerial system, under a good brewery where strict inspection obtained, had been most effective in promoting the proper conduct of public-houses.

MR. BROADHURST: Where is that good brewery?

SIR EDWARD CARSON said the hon. Member's opinion was that there were no good breweries. Whatever might be the merits or the demerits of the tied-house system, it was really Parliament who had been accountable for allowing the tied-house system to grow up. They had brought it about by the very legislation they had passed in relation to licensing. If they took the trouble to go back to see what was the origin of the tied-house system, they would find that it was simply this. The magistrates under what was called the yearly licensing system had told the people that if their licences were to be continued they must spend so many hundreds of pounds in putting their premises into proper condition and making them suitable places for the renewal of the licences. The result was that the people were driven to go to the brewers to borrow the money to enable them to carry out the behests of the magistrates. The further result of that was that compacts were entered into with the brewers who took the risk of the yearly tenancy, binding the licence-holder to take goods from them, and so by degrees the tied-house system grew up. That had rendered it absolutely impossible for any man without considerable capital to take these licensed houses and to carry them on. It was a perfectly legitimate arrangement, and to accept the Amendment would mean that magistrates having to get rid of a redundant licence, in making a choice, would naturally select the tied house in preference to the free house, because no question of compensation would arise. There was no ground whatever for the limitation, which would be to the disadvantage of the licensees for which the hon. Member was champion.

*MR. REA (Gloucester) said the Solicitor-General had told them that the merits of the tied-house system were not raised by the Amendment before the House, but he did not observe that the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman related to anything else but the merits of that system. The Solicitor-General said this Amendment would exclude the tied-houses from the operation of the Bill, and that 75 or 80 or perhaps even 90 per cent. of the licensed houses of the country were tied. Of course, to exclude such a percentage would be to stultify the Bill. He himself contended that would not be the effect of carrying the Amendment, because he did not believe that the brewer landlords would consent to lose the benefits of the endowment which the Bill gave. He would make another arrangement with his tenants. He agreed that the tied-house system was a great evil. Tied houses differed in various localities. A tied house in London was a house where probably a brewer was an indulgent creditor. In Liverpool a tenant was a mere servant, and in various parts of the country a tied house was something between the two. It was quite possible for the tie to be more onerous and more enslaving than any agreement for paid service. In his own constituency he found that a large number of the tenants of tied houses had parted with their personal, political, and economic freedom. The conditions of the tie were really in many cases quite degrading, and altogether contrary to public policy. It was a common thing, for instance, that the tenant was bound to keep his house open during all legal hours. It was astonishing when they examined this question to find what a great proportion of six-day licences were held by free men, and what a very small proportion of these licences were held by the tenants of tied houses. In his part of the country it was a condition of the agreement in many cases, that the brewer landlord had the privilege of entering the premises at any hour day or night, and searching them to see if there were anything there he had not supplied. An Englishman's house was supposed to be his castle, but it was not so if it were a tied house. The conditions were onerous and degrading in other respects. The tenant was not permitted to even question the measure of the goods supplied to him, and, if he could not question the measure, how could he question the quality. The tenants were bound to do nothing to injure the licence, and in many instances, to "annoy" their landlord meant forfeiture of their tenancy. Beyond that, in cases which he himself knew of, they had bound themselves to appear before the licensing magistrates and support their own dismissal, and to transfer all their rights in the licence to another person. The proof of this was in the number of transfers that took place. He had in his mind an instance of a house which had had four tenants in sixteen months. A friend of his own, a large employer of labour, told him that three of his men had left him to take up public-houses under the tied-house system; and they all came back to him seeking employment, after a few months, broken men. Old workmen, who thought they had enjoyed many happy hours in the public-house, imagined that if they had a public-house of their own they would be in a paradise; but they soon found that they had nothing of the kind. He maintained that if this Amendment were accepted, it would do a great deal to reduce, if not to end, the tied-house system and free the tenants.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton) said that the right hon. Gentleman opposite said that the tied-house system had its merits, but he was very careful not to say what these merits were. The tied-house system, as now in vogue, was popular with no section of the constituencies, except that of the brewers. He himself had never heard one single voice lift d up in praise of it.

SIR EDWARD CARSON: Have you read the Majority Report?

MR. LAMBERT said he had, and he did not think it had spoken glowingly of the system, and if it did report in favour of it, it went against the universal sentiment of the country. The Solicitor-General told them that the origin of the system was that the licensees were not able to carry out the alterations which the magistrates deemed desirable for the conduct of the business of a licensed victualler. That was wholly erroneous, and there was nobody outside Ireland who could, he should have thought, have put forward such a plea.

SIR EDWARD CARSON: I refer the hon. Member to the history of the subject.

MR. LAMBERT asked if the right hon. and learned Member would tell him that history now. He would rather have it now than later. He maintained that the origin of the tied-house system was the insane competition of the brewers to get hold of public-houses in order to make bigger profits from the sale of their liquor.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON (Hackney, S.): It was long before that.

MR. LAMBERT: Really we are getting some new versions of history. The hon. Member said that the tied-house system came in vogue long before the brewers.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON: What I said was, long before the brewers thought to buy up the houses.

MR. LAMBERT said he would be very glad if hon. Gentlemen opposite would not give different versions of this history. There was no doubt in the minds of impartial people that it was the endeavour of the brewers to get larger profits on the sale of their liquor that had created this system of tied houses. Possibly they might get another version of the history of the tied-house system from the hon. Member for Manchester. He would suggest that if the Amendment of his hon. friend were carried it would prevent an injustice being done to the holder of a free licence. The Solicitor-General told them that if there were redundant houses, the free houses would be suppressed and that the tied-houses would be continued. He did not believe it. The magistrates were as fully alive to the evil of the tied-house system as any body of men could be. What were they going to do by the Bill? They were going to make the holder of the licence of a free house pay an annual sum for compensating the brewer who owned the tied houses. Besides, they knew perfectly well, that the price of the materials from which beer was made had gone down very considerably. He wanted to know whether the price of beer had gone down. On the contrary, it had been kept up by the tied-house system. The brewers charged the public what they liked, and compelled them to consume their beer, no matter how bad it was. If the Solicitor-General could reduce himself to an ordinary beer-drinking citizen he was certain the right hon. and learned Gentleman would never pour down his throat the concoction the brewers turned out. No matter how bad it was, however, the public had to drink it, wholly owing to the tied-house system. That was not right or fair. No wonder the people of the country who were not teetotalers were against the system, and believed that it was a bad system for the morality of the district in which they resided. Why should the brewers have a monopoly and compel the people to take their beer, no matter how bad it was? The public were rebelling against the system, and he did not believe that a public meeting could be got up in favour of the tied-house system.

And it being half-past Seven of the Clock, the debate stood adjourned till this evening's sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

LICENSING BILL [5th Allotted Day.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [26th July] proposed to the Bill on Consideration, as amended—

Which Amendment was—

"In page 1, line 5, after the word 'licence,' to insert the words 'other than a licence the holder of which is subject to conditions requiring him to purchase the commodities or goods which he sells or uses from any particular person, firm or company.'"—(*Mr. Herbert Lewis.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. LAMBERT, continuing his remarks, said that not only were the public injured by being supplied with drink of an inferior quality, but the ratepayers lost a certain amount by way of the returns on the rateable value which should attach to a licensed house, because the brewer kept down the nominal value of the house and sought to get his profit by means of the beer and spirits which he compelled his tenants to buy. With regard to the Solicitor-General's references to the history of the tied-house system, he expressed a doubt whether it had arisen from the necessity brewers were under of advancing money for the purpose of repairs, and pointed out that the Majority Report of the Peel Commission attributed it rather to competition. He added that while the Report admitted that under a good and careful brewer the system might operate advantageously, and good results might follow, yet under less satisfactory conditions the tie might have quite the contrary effect. The Minority Report went further and said the general effect of the tied-house system was to push the sale of liquor. If hon. Members opposite believed that to be the case, but yet wanted the Bill to be a measure of temperance reform, how

Mr. Lambert.

could they explain the attitude they were taking in regard to the Amendment before the House?

Sir EDWARD CARSON said, as a matter of personal explanation, the hon. Member having challenged his statements with regard to the origin of tied houses, he might say he got his facts from the "History of Liquor Licences," by Sidney Webb.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTSON said that the tied-house system arose principally through persons in the trade obtaining loans from brewers, distillers, and mineral water manufacturers, a man wanting a loan very often going to a brewer and offering the additional recompense, beyond the interest, of agreeing to sell his beer. But the system was due in a great measure also to contract. The publican went to the brewer, or the brewer to the publican, and it was arranged that only a certain beer should be sold on the condition that it was supplied at a reduced rate, an arrangement which the brewer was only too glad to fall in with. No one could deny that that was a perfectly legitimate arrangement. He did not believe the tying of houses led to the sale of bad beer. Such a thing he believed was quite contrary to the experience of hon. Members of this House, because on the whole it was with good brewers that contracts such as he had mentioned were made. From a purely theoretical point of view he was not a friend to the tied-house system, and he acknowledged the desirability of the publican being able to deal where he liked. At the same time he recognised that that was practically an impossibility, because the publican was sure to be in some need of the brewer, the distiller, or the mineral water manufacturer. But if he were asked whether the free or the tied house had been the better conducted he would be bound to admit that as a rule the tied house was the better conducted of the two. He had always found that where a brewer was the freeholder or the leaseholder of a house and had let the house to a tenant it was always better conducted than what was called a free house. A considerable portion of this debate had taken place upon this clause and upon the sub-section of Clause 2, which dealt with the amount to be paid to the actual licensee, the desire being that the actual publican should get as large a share of the compensation as possible. He agreed with the Solicitor-General that if the Amendment were carried practically no licences would be suppressed. It was stated by the hon. Member for the Flint Boroughs that 85 per cent. of the houses were tied; and it was manifest, therefore, that only 15 per cent. would come within the scope of the Bill, if the Amendment were accepted. Therefore, the Amendment would nullify the Bill altogether. The hon. Member for South Molton said that if the Bill were passed, the persons who held the tie would free the houses; but that was not in the least degree likely. A large number of the houses were tied by loan, and they certainly would not be freed. Houses tied by lease might be freed; but they would be the worst class of houses, and they could not even rely on that. He was not one of those who thought that a reduction in the numbers of public-houses would bring about a millennium; but he was most anxious that the experiment should be tried. If the Amendment were accepted the Bill would be reduced to a very small compass; and he, therefore, earnestly hoped it would be rejected.

MR. JOSEPH WALTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley) said there was no question which he should like to see dealt with more than the tied-house question. He should welcome any Bill which provided for the total abolition of the tied-house system, because he believed the system did much to lessen the sobriety of the people. In the district for which he acted as a licensing justice nearly the whole of the public-houses in certain villages were owned by two brewery companies. The tenants were bound to take their beers, spirits, aerated waters and even tobacco pipes and sawdust from certain brewery companies. In the interests of the public the tenants of these houses ought to enjoy the blessings of free trade. The House of Commons seemed to have entirely lost sight of the rights and interests of the British public. A house was licensed not for the benefit of the licensed holder, but for the convenience of the public. The people, therefore, had a right to demand that they should drink the beers and the spirits they desired and not be compelled to take them from one source. In Yorkshire men had been known to walk many miles from home to get beer fit to drink. Hon. Gentlemen opposite might think that the payment of compensation would settle the tied-house system; but he ventured to predict it would be no settlement at all. The Bill was a brewery company's endowment Bill, not a Bill in the interests of the licensed holders. If hon. Gentlemen opposite were temperance reformers, they would insist that every man holding a licence should be responsible for the proper conduct of the house, and be liable to have his licence removed for misconduct. They were told that tied houses were better conducted; but, surely, the responsibility of a manager was less than that of an owner. Whenever a tied house was badly conducted, and a case was brought before brewster sessions the representative of the brewery could say how extremely sorry the company were, that they had an excellent character with the man, but that they were misled, and that it was entirely contrary to their desire that the house should be misconducted. The company would then ask that the licence be transfered to another manager. He believed this was one of the most important questions involved in the measure, and that the great majority of the people of this country, and of licence-holders themselves, urgently demanded that the iniquitous tied-house system should be utterly abolished. He claimed that on the principles of free trade publicans should be able to buy in the best and cheapest market and so provide purer liquor than they now supplied.

MR. RENWICK (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said they had been occupied for a considerable time in endeavouring to settle the extremely difficult question of compensation to publicans who lost their licences through no fault of their own, but he put it to the House that to accept this Amendment and bring 15 per cent. of the licence-holders within the Bill and leave 85 per cent. out, would be to get justice by doing an injustice to the greatest number. They had heard some pretty strong statements from hon. Members opposite, but he had an idea that publicans were sufficiently wide-awake when a house was offered to them to inquire into the matter and discover whether it was a good bargain or not. They were told that a tied house had to sell bad beer which no free house would take. For many years he had been an advocate of pure beer, and had presented his views from many a platform during elections in populous working-class constituencies, but he had been opposed by teetotalers and extreme Radicals. He was once violently assailed by teetotalers who said that if they had purer drink working men would have to spend more money to get drunk and so an injustice would be done. He believed they were more likely to get purer beer from the great brewers than from small free houses. The breweries had a great reputation to uphold. They were extremely careful that their houses should be well conducted, that good liquor should be supplied, and that no black mark should be put against their licences. They had no temptation whatever to sell bad drink. In many, if not in most cases, the big, well-conducted houses belonging to brewery companies had the largest trade because their customers were good judges of what was good beer. He trusted that the House would reject the Amendment by a large majority. They were most anxious for a settlement, but were not likely to get it by leaving 85 per cent. of the licensed victuallers outside the benefit of the Bill. He did not believe that the brewers would, as had been stated, charge rack rents, because competition would have a levelling influence. He hoped the Amendment would be rejected by a large majority.

Mr. HARWOOD (Bolton) said that the tied-house system had one recommendation of a practical kind, and that was that where the houses were in the hands of a few holders they could be given up. In one district in Manchester, fifty houses were surrendered. It paid the brewery companies to give them up, because they were not worth keeping on. But they would be worth keeping on now, because of the compensation. Under the old order of things it might have been worth while keeping up the tied-house system for the licences that were sometimes surrendered without compensation, but now that that advantage was to be taken away the House were justified in considering the system as a whole. He had said again and again that he was in favour of public-houses and should be sorry to live in a country where there were none. He believed they were a necessary adjunct to our civilisation, and that the people would never give them up altogether. But there were three conditions under which public-houses should be carried on—they should sell good liquor at a reasonable price, and under proper conditions of sobriety and good conduct. The tied-house system operated against all these conditions. The point of view of the public had not been sufficiently considered. Only the other day he was in a public-house taking a glass of beer and complained that it was horrible stuff. "Yes," said the manager, "you cannot get a decent glass of beer within six miles of this place, because all the public-houses are owned by one firm." ["Name."] The name did not matter. There were several places in the country in which the whole drinking supply of the community was in the hands of one firm. The danger of a monopoly and syndicates was impending, and the public would be robbed. He believed in liquor being good and cheap; but if it was not cheap, at any rate let the State get the advantage of it. He did not agree with the difference in price going into the pockets of private firms. The day would come when the people of England would rise up on this matter. [Ironical cheers.] It was all very well to jeer, but if a working man wanted a glass of beer for his dinner—and he had a right to it—he was entitled to have good honest liquor at a decent and fair price. Neither of those conditions was secured by the tied-house system. The time had come when the House ought to give some attention to the rights of the people in this matter. Was the tied-house system a good system for sobriety and comfort? He was largely in favour of public-houses because they were the only free clubs that the people possessed. They had Liberal clubs and Conservative clubs, but he did not believe in a man associating socially with people who agreed with him. As an employer of working men—and he spoke from experience — he did not believe in a working man who did not associate with his fellows. It was not the business of a man to work all day and to crouch over his fireside at night. The only place he could go to now was the public-house, which ought to be made a working man's club, where he could have his drink with comfort, and amid proper surroundings, with no inducement to go to excess. How did the tied-house system operate in that respect? The manager of a tied house had no particular reason for inducing a man to sit all night over one or two glasses of beer. His business was to get him to drink as much as he could, and then get somebody else to take his place. He could instance case after case where public-houses had been practically turned into drinking bars. The tied-house system was in favour of the drinking bar and against making the public-house a working man's club. After all, they wanted a condition of things in which a working man might be freely supplied and yet would not be tempted to drink more than was good for him. The manager of a tied house would be discharged if he did not make a certain turnover. He did not care about his reputation; he wanted to do so much business. He foresaw, therefore, that they were drifting to a great danger. They were drifting to a point where they were going to be in the hands of a terrible monopoly, a monopoly which was going to rob life of some of its greatest pleasures. Members of the House were sent to Paliament to consider the welfare of the people as a whole and he warned them against the development and continuance of a system which was inimical to the true well-being and comfort of the people.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 110; Noes, 199. (Division List No. 279.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Aisnworth, John Stirling
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Channing, Francis Allston
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Ellice,CaptEC(S.Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Hammond, John
Harcourt Lewis V. (Rossendale
Hardie,J.Keir (MerthyrTydvil)
Harwood, George
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hn. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Ed. (Fermanagh, N.)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Doherty, William
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reid, Sir R. Threshie(Dumfries
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas, Prestwich (Leigh)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Slack, John Bamford
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips,
Ure, Alexander
Walton, John Lawson(Leeds.S
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J.(York, W.R.)
Yoxall, James Henry

Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.Hn.HughO.

Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hn. A.J. (Manch'r
Balfour,RtHnGerald W.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell,J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbys.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Chamberlain, RtHn.J.A.(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon, Thos. H.A.E.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Craig Charles Curtis (Antrim S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton
Crossley, Rt.Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies,SirHoratio D.(Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dewar, Sir T.R.(TowerHamlets
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland,SirFredDixon
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt.Hn. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt.Hon. A. Akers-
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster,Philip S. (Warwick,SW.
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.

Gordon,Hn. J.E.(Elgin&Nairn
Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, Walford D. (Wednesb'ry
Greene,Sir EW(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Greene, W.Raymond (Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hardy, Laurence(KentAshford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F.Leverton (Tynem'th)
Harris, Dr. Fredk.R. (Dulwich)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. NW.
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford,W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse,RtHnH. (Somers'tE
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Howard, J. (Midd.,Tottenham
Hozier, Hn. James HenryCecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt.Hon.SirJohnH.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (CavanW
Kenyon, Hn. G. T. (Denbigh)
Kerr, John
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F.(Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks.,N.R.
Lee,ArthurH.(Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver,SirLewis(Edinburgh W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maxwell,RtHnSirH.E.(Wigt'n
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray,RtHnAGraham (Bute
Murray, Col.Wyndham (Bath)
Nannetti, Joseph P.

Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nolan, Col. John P.(Galway,N.
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Dowd, John
Palmer, Sir Walter (Sailsbury)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hn. M.W. (Stalybridge
Ridley,S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Rutherford, W. W.(Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith,Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Rt.Hn.JG(Oxf'dUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson,DrE.C.(Monagh'nN.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tillett, Louis John
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Ed. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col.SirC.EH(Sheffield
Walker, Col. William Hall
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby,Lt.-Cl. A.C.E.(Taunton
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H. (Ashton undLyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Worsley-Taylor, HenryWilson
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES, Sir Alexander Acland-Hood, and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 6, to leave out the words 'existing at the date of the passing of this Act.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*)

Amendment agreed to.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS said this Amendment had not been moved during the Committee stage, although the subject-matter had been previously discussed.

Therefore, he thought it was desirable that the House should have an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon it. The object of the Amendment was to make it clear that the discretion of the local justices should remain untouched except in cases where licences were refused on the sole ground of non-necessity. He was not going to discuss the decision in Sharpe *v.* "Wakefield," because, whatever might be the opinion of hon. Members in regard to the real meaning of this Bill, there was no doubt that this procedure by enumeration in reference to renewal had been practically condemned by the unanimous voice of the magistrates of the country so far as the 1869 beerhouses were concerned. It had been condemned by the Royal Commission, and the importance of the point he was now raising had been fully realised by those interested in the trade. Last year there was a Bill introduced in another place with the express object of limiting the discretion of the local justices in reference to the 1869 beerhouses. That Bill was based upon the petitions sent from Liverpool and Manchester urging the importance of legislation upon the subject. The two great reforms demanded in those petitions were that all on-licences should be made subject to the four conditions laid down, and that the local justices should be obliged to state their reasons for refusing any licences. In a reply given upon a former occasion by the Solicitor-General, he stated that if that Amendment were carried there would always be a difficulty in defining the meaning of the phrase "public interest," and he referred to the possible case of a licensed house happening to be near a church, or chapel, or school, and said that although it might be right to argue that that was not a suitable place for a public-house it might be very unfair to refuse that licence without compensation. The right hon. Gentleman's next point was that the phrase "ill-conducted" covered the case which he was now bringing before the House, and practically provided what he desired, namely, a clear definition of the fact that licences should not be refused without compensation except upon the sole grounds of non-necessity. There was a striking similarity between the words of the section and the four words which had proved so fatal a bar to licensing reform in reference to 1869 beerhouses. He was afraid that if this Bill were passed in the form in which it now stood it would lead to innumerable difficulties and would very seriously impair the full discretion of the local licensing justices. He asked the Government upon what possible grounds could they object to making this point perfectly clear. The alleged object of this Bill was not to interfere with the discretion of the justices except on this particular point, and he asked that this should now be made perfectly clear by the acceptance of the words he had suggested. Although he was aware it was difficult to obtain a concession of this character at this stage he still hoped that it would be possible for the Solicitor-General to favourably consider the proposal he had made. Upon those general grounds he begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 6, to leave out from the word 'on' to the word 'shall,' in line 10, and insert the words 'the sole ground that the licensed premises are not required in the public interest.'"—(*Mr. Herbert Roberts.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

SIR EDWARD CARSON said the object of the Bill was not to interfere with the disciplinary powers of the licensing justices. It was impossible to draft the Bill in the simple way suggested by the hon. Member. The words "not required in the public interest," for instance, were incapable of comprehensive definition. The magistrates might in the enforcement of particular ideas deprive a man of his licence on what were not really public grounds. The Bill could not be drafted in the form suggested without leaving it open in that way. What the Government had done, therefore, was to specify the causes for which a man would cease to have a title to compensation. When they set up an insurance fund they must, before asking a person to subscribe to it, show him as specifically as they could what he was going to insure against. Supposing the magistrates—and he was taking what had really happened—said they would only renew a licence upon certain conditions, and the applicant said he could not carry on his house upon such terms, and the magistrates in consequence took away the licence. Was that a matter of the public interest? There was one case in which the magistrates would not renew a licence because the man had erected a telephone in his house, and in another case the magistrates would not renew the licence unless only such wines were sold as were made in England. The hon. Member might think that these were very trivial matters, but they led to a great deal of difficulty in the administration of the law. These were questions which should be left to the discretion of the magistrates. They might deprive a man of his licence who had contributed to the insurance fund not on public grounds, but because he would not accept their view. [An HON. MEMBER: That would be a public ground.] What the Government had tried to do was to specify the cases in which a licence-holder would not be entitled to compensation. An Amendment was agreed to on behalf of the Government in relation to the breach of conditions made in the public interest, and it had been inserted in a subsequent part of the Bill. He could assure the hon. Member that the Government had carefully considered the matter from his point of view, and, whether they were right or wrong in the conclusion they had come to, they had done their best to meet the specific cases in which a man ought to get no compensation.

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH (Anglesey) said they ought to be gratified with the interpretation which the Solicitor-General had put on the clause. As he understood the speech it meant in effect that there was to be no compensation when a house was not required in the public interests. He thought that was a very important comment on the meaning of the Bill. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had said that the Bill was more clear than the Amendment of his hon. friend. He understood the right hon. and learned Gentleman to say that if the magistrates required certain conditions to be fulfilled and the licensee did not fulfil them, then the House was ill-conducted.

SIR EDWARD CARSON was understood to dissent.

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH asked whether, if the magistrates said that a house was not to be opened on Sunday and the licensee refused to agree to that condition the licensee would be entitled to compensation under the Bill. [An HON. MEMBER: Certainly.] An hon. Member said "certainly," but that was news to some of them. The hon. and learned Gentleman was anxious to preserve the disciplinary power of the magistrates, but it was doing away with it entirely, if the magistrates could not exact a condition of that kind. That would be to take away the discretion they had under the present law. He would support the Amendment of his hon. friend because it put the matter in a more specific and definite form.

Question put.

The House divided.:—Ayes, 217; Noes, 135. (Division List No. 280.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt Hn Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt Hon. Sir H.
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J.H.M. (Dublin Univ
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn J.A. (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy, A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H.A.E.
Colston, Chas Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham
Denny, Colonel
Dewar, Sir T. R. (Tower Hamlets
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Doogan, P.C.
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-

Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algerton
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, Walford D. (Wednesbury
Greene, Sir E W (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S,
Hatch, Ernest Fredk. Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.)
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse, Rt Hn H. (Somers't, E
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks N.R.
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)

Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt Hn Walter (Bristol, S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lloyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lyttelton, Rt Hon. Alfred
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maxwell, Rt Hn Sir H E (Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Alymer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Patrick (Killkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Dowd, John
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederick Carne
Ratcliffe, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles

Ridley, Hon. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert]
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edwards Jas. (Somerset)
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson, Dr E C (Monagh'n N.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheffield
Walker, Col. William Hall
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart.
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES, Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt Hon. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott.
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James

Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Channing, Francis Allston
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Ellice, Capt. E C (S. Andrw's Bghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Evans, Sir Francis H. (Maidstone

Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Harwood, George
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe

Hobhouse, C.E.H. (Bristol, E.)
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Doherty, William
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestley, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries.
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roe, Sir Thomas
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Slack, John Bamford,
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Woodhouse, Sir J.T. (Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES, Mr. Herbert Roberts and Mr. Ellis Griffith

MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE said that the object of the Amendment standing in his name was very simple. It provided that the local magistrates in their report to quarter sessions should state any circumstances affecting the renewal or the value of the licence which they considered material. At present there was machinery for getting full information. The parties went before the local magistrates, who, after all, knew most of the conditions. There was an appeal, with the cross-examination of witnesses; but in future that would not be so. As the Bill now stood the local magistrates would refer the matter to quarter sessions with a report thereon, but that report might be of the most meagre description, and might only say that in their judgment the licence should not be renewed. If his words were adopted, every circumstance effecting the licence which was considered material would be reported to quarter sessions. The reason why he had put “value” into the Amendment was that this question of valuation had not yet been fully discussed, and was still shrouded in a great deal of mystery. They ought to know on what principle the licence would be valued. Would it be according to the way in which the house had been conducted? Surely quarter sessions ought to have full information before they proceeded to appreciate the value of a licence.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 1, line 24, to leave out the word 'thereon' and insert the words 'on any circumstances affecting the renewal or the value of the licence which they consider material.'"—(*Mr. Henry Hobhouse.*)

Question proposed:—"That the word 'thereon' stand part of the Bill."

SIR EDWARD CARSON said that the Amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman seemed to him to be absolutely unnecessary. What he proposed was, to leave the report absolutely to the discretion of the local magistrates, who would naturally report all the materials to enable quarter sessions to form an opinion as to whether the licence should be renewed or not. The Amendment would restrict and stereotype the character of the report, whereas the Government desired to leave it open to the magistrates to present their report in any form they thought best. The right hon. Gentleman said that quarter sessions would have a difficulty in coming to a conclusion, because they would have no local knowledge; but the Government had taken care that the justices in quarter sessions should hold consultations with the local magistrates, and they held that a great deal of this work, at all events in the first instance, would be largely done by the judicious action of the justices, who could ask the local magistrates for information on various matters not brought before them. If anything else was necessary, there would be a hearing at quarter sessions. On these grounds he thought it was not necessary to have a particular form of report. His right hon. friend also said that there should be a report on the value of the licence. He did not know whether his right hon. friend recollected that the value of the licence was to be ascertained by the Inland Revenue. Moreover, there was nothing to prevent quarter sessions employing a surveyor or an auctioneer with the object of obtaining any information required. Nothing would be more disastrous than to set up an expensive mode of procedure, which would be necessary in every case, and which would largely eat into the compensation fund. If quarter sessions and the local magistrates approached each other, as he assumed they would, in a business-like way, they would be able to get rid of a great deal of the difficulty without incurring any unnecessary expense.

MR. CRIPPS said that to his mind it was extremely important that the quarter sessions should have before them a formal document setting forth the grounds on which the local justices recommended the refusal of the renewal of the licence. It was not possible, at that stage of the Bill and of the evening, to go into the questions of value, which really arose on the compensation clause. In his view, in a great many cases it would not be necessary to call in the Inland Revenue at all; but he would ask the Solicitor-General how the approval of quarter sessions could be properly and judicially given to any agreement between the parties as regarded value, unless they had before them the grounds on which the local magistrates had acted. He thought the Amendment would undoubtedly, from an administrative point of view, be a great improvement.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): The matter which stands out from this—shall I call it discussion—is this, that the discussion is entirely unreal. My hon. and learned friend who has just sat down and others on his side of the House are in favour of this most reasonable Amendment. But what is the use of it? It will not be accepted by the Government. There is no opportunity of discussing it in the House. We are called upon now to pass a certain part of this Bill. There are nearly two pages of the Bill which have not been discussed in Committee and which have not been discussed upon Report, and Amendments have been introduced into this part of the Bill by the Government which have never been before the House at all. Why should we go on with the pretence of going through what is called a stage of the Bill under these conditions? What a perfect farce and imposture the whole proceeding is, as my hon. and learned friend who has just sat down would be the first to admit; in fact, he has admitted it in his own observations——

And it being Eleven of the Clock, Mr. SPEAKER proceeded, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 5th July, to put the Amendment already proposed from the Chair.

Question put, "That the word 'thereon' stand part of the Bill."

The House divided:—Ayes, 229; Noes, 160. (Division List No. 281.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt. Hn. Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt Hn. Gerald W. (Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham
Dewar, Sir T. R. (Tower Hamlets
Dickinson, Robert Edmond

Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fergusson, Rt Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn.
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, Waford D. (Wednesbury
Greene, Sir E. W. (B'ry S. Edm'nd
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, Laurence (Kent Ashford,
Hare, Thomas Liegh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N. W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hoult, Joseph
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees

Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. N.R
Lee, Arthur H (Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt Hn Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh, W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Manners, Lord Cecil
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, Rt. Hn. Sir H. E. (Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Dowd, John
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne

Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Robert, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd. Univ.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson, Dr E. C. (Monagh'n, N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. (Sheffield
Walker, Co. William Hall
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col A. C. E. (Tanuton
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herb. Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.

Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James

Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.

Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,CaptE.C.(S Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Evans,Sir FrancisH.(Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain, F.
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herb.John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey,Rt.Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis, J.
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt,Lewis V.(Rossendale
Hardie,J.Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt.Hon.Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Horval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennaway,Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kennedy,Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh, N.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Newnes, Sir George
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien,Kendal(TipperaryMid
O'Doherty, William
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, J. P.
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestly, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Reid,Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Spear, John Ward
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas,David Alfred (Merthyr
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton,John Lawson(Leeds,S.
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Wilson, Henry J.(York, W.R.)
Woodhouse,SirJ.T.(Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Mr Henry Hobhouse and Mr. Cripps.

Mr. SPEAKER then proceeded successively to put forthwith the Question on any Amendments moved by the Government of which notice had been given, and on every Question necessary to dispose of the allotted business to be concluded on the 5th allotted Day.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 6, to leave out the words 'this Act had not passed,' and insert the words 'the licence were subject to the same conditions of renewal as were applicable immediately before the passing of this Act.'"—(*Mr. Solicitor-General.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made, put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 15, after the word 'appeal,' to insert the words 'to the High Court.'"—(*Mr. Solicitor-General*).

Question put, "That the Amendment be made."

The House divided:—Ayes, 228; Noes, 149. (Division List, No. 282.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus HenryEden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster,Rt.HnHughO.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt. Hn.Sir H.
Bagot,Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hn. A.J.(Manch'r)
Balfour,RtHn.GeraldW.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell,J.H. M.(DublinUniv.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish,V. C. W.(Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)

Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn.J.A(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham
Dewar, Sir T.R. (Tower Hamlets
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fergusson, Rt Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy, Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, Walford D. (Wednesbury
Greene, Sir E.W. (B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Greene, W. Raymond-(Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.)
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hoult, Joseph
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks N.R.
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants. Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S)
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman-
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttleton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W.
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Manners, Lord Cecil
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, Rt. Hn Sir H E. (Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A Graham (Bute
Murray, Chas. J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway, N
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Dowd, John
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hon. M.W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear. John Ward
Stanley, Edwd. Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hn. Lord (Lancs.)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt Hn.J.G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson, Dr. E.C (Monagh'n, N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col Sir C. E. H. (Sheffield)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. (Taunton
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C.B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John

Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Corbett, A. Cameron(Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Ellice,Capt.E.C.(SAndrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Evans, SirFrancisH(Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmund
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Gladstone, Rt.HnHerbertJohn
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt. Hn. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Hardie, J.Keir(MerthyrTydvil)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham ,John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C.E.H. (Bristol, E.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, FAlfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, DavidBrynmor(Swansea
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex.(Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnamara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh, N.)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Newnes, Sir George
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal (TipperaryMid
O'Doherty, William
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, DavidAlfred(Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, JohnLawson(Leeds,S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Woodhouse,SirJ.T.(Hudd'rsfi'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Mr. Herbert Samuel and Mr. Toulmin.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 19, to leave out the words 'having regard,' and insert the words 'provided that.'"—(*Mr. Akers Douglas.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 19, after the word 'holder,' to insert the words 'regard shall be had.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 22, after the second word 'licence,' to insert the words 'if a tenant.'"—(*Mr. Solicitor-General.*)

Question put, "That the Amendment be made."

The House divided:—Ayes, 226; Noes, 147. (Division List No. 283.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, AugustusHenryEden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arnold-Forster, Rt.Hn.HughO.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A.J. (Manch'r
Balfour,Rt.Hn.Gerald W(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Chrisch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Butcher, John George
Campbell,J.H.M.(DublinUniv.)

Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish,V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt.Hn.J.A(Worc.
Chapman, Edward
Charrington, Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, W. Bromley-
Davies, SirHoratioD.(Chatham
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale,Rt.Hon.Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland,Sir FredDixon
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt. Hon. SirJohn E
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fergusson,Rt Hn.SirJ. (Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald,Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy,Hon. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster,Philip S(Warwick,S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon,Hn.J.E. (Elgin & Nairn
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green,Walford D.(Wednesbury
Greene,SirE W(B'ryS.Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath,Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James(Staffords.,N.W.)
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hoult, Joseph
Hozier, Hon.James HenryCecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kerr, John
Keswick, William
Kimber, Jir Henry
King, Sir Henry Seymour
Knowles, Sir Lees
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawson,John Grant(Yorks.N.R
Lee,ArthurH (Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long,Col.Charles W.(Evesham
Long,Rt,Hn.Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis(EdinburghW
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Manners, Lord Cecil
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn.W. F.
Maxwell,RtHn SirHE(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hn. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan,David J(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray,Rt HnAGraham(Bute
Murray,Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan,Col.John P.(Galway, N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Dowd, John
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Pell,Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Rankin, Sir James
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hn. M. W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde, BethnalGreen
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel,Sir HarryS.(Limehouse
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Abel H. (Hertford, East
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley,Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley,Rt Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G.(Oxf'dUniv.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson,Dr EC(Monagh'n,N.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.SirC.E.H (Sheffield
Walker, Col. William Hall
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby,Lt.-Col.A.C,E(Taunton
Whiteley,H.(Ashton und. Lyne
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B.Stuart-
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Ainsworth, John Stirling
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith,Rt Hn.HerbertHenry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Barran, Rowland Hirst
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams

Boland, John
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Crooks, William
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan-(Cardigan
Delany, William
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Evans, Sir Francis H (Maidstone
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Gladstone, Rt Hn Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick)
Griffith, Ellis J.
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Hardie, J. Keir (Merthyr Tydvil)
Harwood, George
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutchinson, Dr. Charles Fredk.
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby. James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
Macnarmara, Dr. Thomas J.
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
Mansfield, Horace Rendall
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Newnes, Sir George
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kendal (Tipperary Mid
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Priestly, Arthur
Rea, Russell
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edward (Stafford
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Stanhope, Hon. James Philip
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Ure, Alexander
Wallace, Robert
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.)
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Weir, James Galloway
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Hudd'rsf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Mr. Slack and Mr. J. H. Whitley.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 25, at end to add the words, 'if on the division of the amount to be paid as compensation, any question arises which quarter sessions consider should be referred to the determination of a Court, they may refer that question to the County Court in accordance with rules of Court to be made for the purpose.'"—(*Mr. Solicitor-General.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 2, line 28, to leave out the words 'purpose of providing compensation under,' and insert the words 'purposes of.'"—(*Mr. Solicitor-General*).

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the further consideration of the Bill, as amended, be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Disraeli.*)

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.) said he thought that, as they were discussing the Bill under special rules, a Motion for adjournment which involved a loss of time, should come from the other side.

MR. DISRAELI said he would withdraw his Motion, although he must say that he thought it would be better if the consideration of Clause 4 was left over until the next day.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. DISRAELI said that the Amendment standing in his name to the first sub-section of Clause 4 had for its object to restore the clause to its original form when the Bill was introduced to the House. The change which had been introduced into the Bill with reference to new licences would deal a very heavy blow at quarter sessions, who wished to see uniformity in the granting of these licences. They could have no uniformity as the Bill now stood, as it would be impossible for the magistrates to settle a uniform scheme for an entire county. There might be a different set of conditions in every petty sessions district in a county, and quarter sessions would have no power to vary the conditions laid down by petty sessions. In that way, a district might be denied a licence although it was wanted, as quarter sessions would only have the power to confirm or not to confirm. In the interests of the working of the Act, a definite scheme ought to be laid down. From time immemorial quarter sessions was the authority which had laid down the conditions under which licences should be granted; and that power should be left to them. Otherwise, there would be certain to be friction. His Amendment would enable local magistrates to give their opinion with reference to new licences, and would retain the supreme control of laying down the conditions on which new licences should be granted to quarter sessions. The Amendment found great favour with quarter sessions, and he hoped the Government would be able to accept it.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 26, to leave out from the word 'of,' to end of Sub-section (1) of Clause 4, and insert the words 'confirming a new licence and of assenting to the conditions, if any, upon which such licence is granted, shall be exercised by quarter sessions after consultation with the justices of the licensing district where such licence is granted.'"—(*Mr. Disraeli.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out up to the word 'new' in page 3, line 27, stand part of the Bill.

Mr. CRIPPS said that he had an Amendment on the Paper similar in effect to that just moved and he could assure the House that he had not put it down in any spirit of hostility to the Bill. He was sure the Prime Minister would agree that the point raised was one of the most important in the Bill as regarded new licences, and deserved the most careful consideration.

And, it being Midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.
Mr. Disraeli.

POST OFFICE SITES BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order read for resuming adjourned debate on Question [1st July], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Mr. WHITLEY (Halifax) said that although under the circumstances he did not propose to object to the Second Reading being taken he desired to protest against the noble Lord bringing on a measure of this kind at such a late hour.

The POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton) appealed to hon. Members opposite to allow this Bill to pass. He regretted that it had not been possible for him to put the Bill down at a more convenient time. He assured hon. Members that it was very necessary that the Bill should be passed at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs) said that he would not offer any objection to the Bill if it was so urgent, but at the same time he associated himself with the hon. Member for Halifax in protesting against a Bill of this character being brought forward after twelve o'clock. He thought the noble Lord might have arranged for this Bill being brought forward at a time when they could have discussed it properly.

Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed to a Select Committee of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House, and Two by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented Five clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents be heard against the Bill, and Counsel heard in support of the Bill.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the Quorum.—(*Lord Stanley.*)

COUNTY OF SUFFOLK BILL.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 27th July, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill. Read the third time, and passed.

Kirkcaldy Corporation Order Confirmation Bill. Considered; to be read the third time upon Friday.

Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, etc.) Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]; Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Read a second time; to be considered upon Friday.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill [Lords]. Read a second time, and committed.

Ilford Urban District Council Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Barry Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

Lords Amendments to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

RAILWAYS (PRIVATE SIDINGS) BILL.

Lords Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to.

PRIVATE BILLS (GROUP M).

Sir JAMES WOODHOUSE reported from the Committee on Group M of Private Bills; That, for the convenience of parties, the Committee had adjourned till Thursday, 4th August, at Twelve of the clock.

Report to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Hyde; Ripley; Stanhope; and Tow Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COLONIAL REPORTS (ANNUAL).

Copy presented, of Colonial Report, No. 421 (Hong-Kong, Annual Report for 1903) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.

Return presented, relative thereto [ordered 26th July; *Mr. Gerald Balfour*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 282.]

PRISONS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Twenty-sixth Report of the General Prisons Board (Ireland) for 1903-4, with an Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

COURT OF PROBATE DIVISION (HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE) (IRELAND).

Annual Account presented, of Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended 31st December, 1903 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ORDNANCE SURVEY.

Copy presented, of Report of the Progress of the Ordnance Survey to the 31st March, 1904 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

CIVIL SERVICES (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1904-5).

Estimate presented, of the Further Sums required to be voted for the Service of the year ending 31st March, 1905 [by Command]; Referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 283.]

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 3237 and 3238 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING, 1903.

Copy ordered, "of Tables showing the progress of Merchant Shipping in the

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

United Kingdom and the principal Maritime Countries."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

COAL TABLES, 1903.

Copy ordered, "of Statistical Tables relating to the production, consumption, and imports and exports of Coal in the British Empire and the principal Foreign countries in each year from 1883 to 1903, as far as the particulars can be stated; together with Statements showing the production of Lignite and Petroleum in the principal producing countries for a series of years (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 312, of Session 1903)."—(*Mr. Gerald Balfour.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Accounts of General Lighthouse Fund.

MR. CHARLES McARTHUR (Liverpool, Exchange): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the Accounts for the General Lighthouse Fund for the year ending 31st March, 1904, will be laid upon the Table of the House before the prorogation of Parliament; or, if not, when their publication may be expected.

(*Answered by Mr. Gerald Balfour.*) I regret that it will not be possible to lay these Accounts upon the Table of the House before the prorogation of Parliament, as the certificate of the Comptroller and Auditor-General will not have been obtained by that date. The Accounts will probably be laid upon the Table of the House upon its reassembling early next year.

Underground Telegraphic Cables to the North—Progress of Work.

SIR THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): To ask the Postmaster-General if he will state to what point the present system of underground telegraphic cables to the North has been advanced; and whether the area which has suffered specially through storms in former years has now been passed.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The pipes in the underground system to the North have been laid as far as Carlisle and also over the Beattock Incline. Wires in the pipes have been provided as far as Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds, and are now being provided in the Warrington-Carlisle section. The original section, viz., that between London and Birmingham, traversed the area which had suffered especially through storms in former years.

Bradford Wages Committee Report and Stafford Post Office Staff.

MR. CHARLES SHAW (Stafford): To ask the Postmaster-General whether, under the recommendation of the Bradford Wages Committee, the uniform men, to the number of ten, on the Stafford postal staff, in receipt of the 2s. per week in excess of the maximum now obtaining, will continue to receive the 2s. above the proposed maximum of 28s.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The Report of the Bradford Committee is under my consideration, and I am not at present prepared to state what is the decision of the Government upon the recommendations of the Committee, or to discuss their bearing on particular cases.

Carriage of Fish from Scotland.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will state whether his efforts to secure a reduction in the through rates charged for the carriage of fish from the North of Scotland to the southern markets have been successful.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) The matter is under consideration, and I am unable to make any statement.

Franking of Letters from Scottish Office.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary for Scotland if he will state why letters from the Secretary for Scotland's Office addressed to Members of this House, which were formerly franked, are now prepaid by means of postage stamps.

(*Answered by Mr. A. Graham Murray.*) No alteration has been made in the regulations as to the postage of letters from the Scottish Office, and letters are franked as heretofore.

Passage of the Dardanelles by Vessels of Russian Volunteer Fleet.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware of any convention having been entered into between Russia and Turkey, in regard to vessels of the Russian Volunteer Fleet passing through the Dardanelles, since 1872; and, if so, whether he will communicate its provisions to this House.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) The Answer is in the negative.

Lifting of Heavy Weights by Females in Jam Factories.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in reference to the statement on page 221 of His Majesty's Chief Inspector of Factories' Report, that girls in the boiling rooms of jam factories lift and carry copper cauldrons or pans of boiling jam, weighing about one hundredweight, and that accidents have been frequent, the girls falling and being scalded; whether the clause in the Fruit Preserving Order as to the lifting of weights by female young persons is being enforced; and whether the attention of occupiers has been called to this provision.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) Copies of the Fruit Preserving Order were sent to every occupier at the time it was made, together with copies of the register to be kept and notice to be affixed on the premises, and further copies have been sent from time to time where necessary. As the Question of the right hon. Baronet only appeared on the Paper this morning, I have not been able to obtain a special report with regard to the cases referred to; but it is obvious that they were discovered by the inspector in the course of enforcing the provisions of the Order. It will be seen, from reports of inspectors appearing in other parts of the volume, that the requirements of the Order are on the whole being well observed.

Audit of Cardiff Corporation Accounts.

MR. REGINALD LUCAS (Portsmouth): To ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been drawn to the Cardiff Corporation accounts for the year ended 31st March, 1903; whether he is aware that the name of the borough auditor for that year, Mr. Coleman, chartered accountant, was appended to the accounts without his consent and with the knowledge of the corporation authorities that he had not completed the audit, he having been refused permission to complete it; and whether it is competent for the Local Government Board to inquire into the circumstances.

(*Answered by Mr. Walter Long.*) have received representations from Mr Coleman to the effect of the statements contained in the Question. I have no authority with regard to the audit of these accounts, and am not empowered to interfere in any way in the matter.

Renewal of Exchequer Bonds Expiring on 6th August.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): To ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it is the intention of the Government to renew the £7,000,000 Exchequer Bonds that expire on 6th August, and on what terms and for what time; and whether they propose to renew the whole or only a part of these bonds, and from what source they intend to pay off any bonds which they do not renew.

(*Answered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*) The Exchequer Bonds maturing on the 6th August amount to £6,500,000, and they will be renewed in accordance with the terms of the prospectus issued by the Bank of England on the 22nd instant. The new bonds will run for three years, and will bear 3 per cent. interest.

Irish Land Act—Negotiations under Section 6, Sub-section (4).

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland how many estates have, under Section 6, Sub-section (4) of The Irish Land Act, 1903, been certified to the Lord-Lieutenant, with the consent of the owner, as estates the purchase and resale of which are desirable, in view of the wants and circumstances of the tenants thereon.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) No estate has yet been so certified.

Dr. Leslie and the Vacancy on the Senate of the Royal University.

MR. CHARLES CRAIG (Antrim, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been called to a meeting of the Royal University Graduates' Association, held in Belfast on the 18th instant, at which Dr. Leslie was unanimously selected as the candidate whose claims should be brought before the Government for appointment to the vacancy on the Senate of the Royal University caused by the death of Dr. William McKeown; and whether, having regard to the fact that the Royal University Graduates' Association represents the opinions of a large proportion of the graduates of the Royal University and of the public in the North of Ireland, and that the late Dr. McKeown was the representative of this opinion in the Senate, the Government will appoint Dr. Leslie to the vacant seat to preserve the continuity of representation of this opinion.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Representations have been made in favour of the appointment of Dr. Leslie to fill the vacancy on the Senate caused by the death of Dr. McKeown. These will be considered by Government.

Army Reorganisation Scheme—Statement of Financial Results.

MR. BUCHANAN: To ask the Secretary of State for War when the Statement of the financial results of the Army Reorganisation Scheme will be in the hands of Members.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) I hope that it will be in the hands of Members in a very few days.

Summary of Report of the Mowatt Committee.

MR. BUCHANAN: To ask the Secretary of State for War when the promised Summary of the Report of the Mowatt Committee will be in the hands of Members.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) It is hoped that this document will be in the hands of Members by the end of this week.

Compensation for Lucy Scotland for Ill-Treatment by Venezuelan Authorities.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Wexford, N.) To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what compensation has been offered to Lucy Scotland, a British subject, for her ill-treatment by the Venezuelan authorities; whether full inquiry has been made into her case by His Britannic Majesty's Minister at Caracas; whether the compensation awarded her corresponds to that awarded other British subjects; and what steps the Government intend taking in the matter.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) £150 has been awarded to Lucy Scotland, on account of the ill-treatment received by her at the hands of Venezuelan officials in 1892, out of the £5,500 paid by the Venezuelan Government in respect of the claims of British subjects for outrages and maltreatment. The facts of the case are well known to His Majesty's Government, and no further inquiry into them was necessary, but some delay in the actual payment, and correspondence with His Majesty's Minister at Caracas, has been involved owing to uncertainty as to the claimant's present address. It has now been ascertained that she is herself in French Guiana, but that she wishes the indemnity sent to the Governor of Dominica, her native place, with whom she proposes to communicate. The Governor of the Colony has accordingly been authorised to pay the amount to Lucy Scotland or to her duly accredited agent. The compensation was assessed after careful consideration and having due regard to the facts of the case, and to the amounts granted by His Majesty's Government to other claimants in like circumstances.

Goods Rates on the Tarkwa-Sekondi-Kumasi Railway.

MR. CHARLES McARTHUR: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to representations on behalf of mining and commercial interests in the Gold Coast Colony as to the rates charged for the carriage of goods, and especially of machinery, upon the Tarkwa-Sekondi-Kumasi Railway; whether he is aware that the scheduled rates for classes 1, 2, and 3 on this line are 2s. 6d., 1s. 8d., and 1s. per ton per mile, while the corresponding rates on the Lagos and Sierra Leone lines are 9d., 6d., and 3d., or 9d., 6d., and 4d. per ton per mile respectively; and that the cost of carrying a fifty-stamp mill plant for 125 miles on this railway would amount to £11,120; and whether, seeing that Government troops and stores are carried over this line at cost of conveyance only, he will state how this cost of conveyance is arrived at, and explain why the exception in favour of Government troops and stores is made; and whether he will cause further inquiry to be made with a view to such a revision of the present classification and schedule of rates as will be equitable to the several classes of traders using the railway.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) The points raised by the hon. Member have been dealt with in letters sent by my direction on the 6th of November and 21st of March last to the London Chamber of Commerce, but it should be added that I am in communication with the Governor of the Gold Coast in regard to the manner in which the cost of conveyance should be arrived at, and that the question whether there is any ground for revising the present rates is receiving consideration. Extracts from the letters are appended.

Extract, 6th November, 1903.

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton to inform you that he has had under his consideration your letter of the 24th of July last relating to the rates for the carriage of goods on the Gold Coast Government Railway. With regard to the rate for the carriage of machinery, which is specially referred to in your letter, I am to observe that the rate is certainly high as compared with the rates charged in many other parts of the world, but that it does not appear to Mr. Lyttelton to be higher than the circumstances require. The Government of the Gold Coast was pressed to make the line on the ground that the mines could not be developed without it. It was represented that the cost of transport by carriers was enormous; that even the light machinery which could be so transported was subject to delay and damage and the loss of essential parts, and that the heavy plant necessary for working the mines at a profit could not be got up at all unless a railway were made. The construction of this line was accordingly undertaken by the Gold Coast Government, with the approval of the Secretary of State, in preference to one which had been contemplated for the purpose of developing the existing trade in palm oil and other products of the soil, and which was strongly advocated by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce; and the heaviest machinery required can now be conveyed up country, whilst the cost of conveyance from the coast to Tarquah, which was formerly from £25 to £40 a ton, has been reduced to £5 a ton. But, in securing this saving to the mining industry, the Gold Coast Government has had to impose upon the Colony all the risk involved, except in so far as it is protected by the guarantee of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, and in fixing the rates it is bound to have regard not merely to the interests of the mining industry, but to those of the Colony as a whole. There is no reason to think that the rates are prohibitive or likely to hinder the development of the mines, and, until the permanent traffic on the line, not the temporary rush of traffic due to the installation of the mines, gives net receipts sufficient to cover the working expenses and debt charges, it is not possible to hold out any expectation that rates will be reduced unless it should appear that the reduction would have the effect of attracting more traffic and so increasing the net receipts.

Extract, 21st March, 1904.

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton to inform you that he has had under his consideration your letter of the 19th of January respecting the rates in force on the Gold Coast Government Railway, and to express his regret that the pressure of other work has prevented him from replying to it sooner. You refer in this letter to your previous letter, dated the 24th July last, in which it was calculated that the cost of transporting a complete 50-stamp mill plant 125 miles on the Gold Coast Railway would be £11,120, and attention was called to the Beira Junction and Mashonaland Railways, on which it was stated that the rates charged are 10d., 8d., and 6d. per ton per mile in the first, second, and third classes respectively, with an additional charge of 5s. per ton for any distance, and that machinery of all kinds is included in the third class. From this it appears that the cost of transporting a 50-stamp mill plant, weighing 1,038 tons, for 125 miles, would be £3,503 on the Beira, etc., Railways. But it is to be borne in mind that the gold mines served by these railways are much further from the coast than the Gold Coast mines. The distance from Beira to Salisbury is 375 miles, and from Beira to Bulawayo is 675 miles, and the cost of conveyance of the plant in question over these distances would be £9,991 and £17,775 respectively. These figures appear, no doubt, to be high when regarded by themselves; but, when the other expenses incidental to the establishment of a mill and the formation of a company to work it are taken into account, Mr. Lyttelton does not think that it can fairly be argued that the charges for the carriage of machinery are so high as to have any material effect upon the development of the mines.

With reference to the fourth paragraph of your letter, in which objection is taken to the clause in the agreement with the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, under which Government goods and passengers are carried at rates fixed by the Government as covering the cost of conveyance, I am to inform you that it was necessary for the purposes of the agreement with the corporation to have an arrangement on this point, but that Mr. Lyttelton fails to see that other users of the railway have any ground of complaint, as they have no share in the risk undertaken in constructing the line. In the fifth paragraph of your letter attention is called to the question of the extent to which the expenditure of the Colonial Government for the transport of its officers and stores is affected by the railway, and it is contended that the bulk of the expenditure under the head of "transport" in previous years will be saved. I am to explain that, as will be seen on reference to Paragraph 12 (pp. 8–9) of the Gold Coast Annual Report for 1902, the cost of transport in 1901 was still largely charged to the heading "Ashanti Disturbances," and that accordingly the increase of £41,901 11s. 2d. to which you point in the vote for transport in 1902 as compared with 1901 is more apparent than real. It is estimated that £46,920 will be spent on transport in 1904, as compared with £66,120 actually spent in 1902, and with £60,000, the revised estimate for 1903. But all these sums contain large items for passages and other sea transport, and for the transport of stores by carriers, and this last item still amounts to £22,918 in the estimates for 1904. It must not be assumed, therefore, that the whole difference between the actual expenditure in 1902 and the estimated expenditure in 1904, which amounts to £19,200, is a saving due to the railway.

Outbreak of Chinese Labourers at the New Comet Mine, Johannesburg.

Dr. MACNAMARA (Camberwell, N.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the latest outbreak of Chinese coolies on the Rand at the New Comet Mine, Johannesburg, in which two coolies having been on this occasion accidentally killed, the rest of the coolies mutinied and attacked the mine manager, nineteen of them being ultimately arrested; and whether, having regard to the outbreaks that have occurred, he will ask Lord Milner for a full report on the circumstances leading up to and attendant upon these revolts.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I have no doubt that Lord Milner will report to me on the recent disturbance at the New Comet Mine if the circumstances are in any material respect different from those reported in the newspapers. I am not aware that any other incident of the same nature has occurred on the Rand.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Merchant Ships and the British Navy.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, have the Admiralty considered the uncertainty arising from the Board of Trade notices warning British merchant ships not to approach His Majesty's ships when in squadron or fleet formation, and the impression thereby produced that, under those circumstances, His Majesty's ships are not bound to observe the rule of the road at sea by keeping out of the way of such merchant ships, as prescribed by the rules, but that merchant ships passing through a fleet or squadron do so at their own risk; and will the Admiralty consider the propriety of issuing an order to make it clear that His Majesty's ships, whether in squadron or fleet formation or not, are equally bound with all other ships to obey the rule of the road at sea by keeping out of the way of other ships as prescribed by the rules.

*THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): The Board of Trade does not warn British merchant vessels that they are not to approach His Majesty's ships when in squadron or fleet formation. The notices issued merely point out the danger which is caused by single vessels approaching a squadron so closely as to involve risk of collision, which is quite a different thing. There is no necessity for the Admiralty to issue any special order to make it clear that His Majesty's ships are to obey the international rules for the prevention of collision, as these rules hold good, have never been cancelled, and are acted on by the officers of His Majesty's Navy.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: But the President of the Board of Trade said a warning had been issued.

*MR. PRETYMAN: They were not ordered not to approach His Majesty's ships, but they were warned of the danger of doing so under certain circumstances.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: In fact, they were ordered to keep out of the way. Does the hon. Gentleman deny that?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! This is becoming a controversy.

Retired Naval Officers and the Press.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, are naval officers temporarily on half-pay subject to the Naval Discipline Act or to Military Law; and are they bound to obey the King's Regulations and Admiralty Instructions, including the Article therein which forbids writing for any newspaper on subjects connected with the naval service, or publishing any matter or thing relating to the public service; and are naval officers retired from the service, but whose names are retained on the Navy List, either on the emergency list or otherwise, bound to obey these regulations.

*MR. PRETYMAN: Naval officers while on half-pay—not being "borne on the books of any one of His Majesty's ships in commission"—are not, for the time, subject to the Naval Discipline Act. They are at all times expected to comply with such of the King's Regulations and Admiralty Instructions as may apply to them. With respect to the Article referred to—682—it is not the practice of the Admiralty to raise any objection to the above-named officers writing or publishing their opinions on subjects connected with the Royal Navy, unless they consider that any such communications are of a nature likely to be detrimental to the interests of the service.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Is that held to apply to all these officers?

*MR. PRETYMAN: To the extent which I have indicated in my answer.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES asked whether it partly applied and partly did not apply.

*MR. PRETYMAN said the hon. Member could put what construction he pleased upon the answer.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES asked the hon. Gentleman to reply to the last part of his Question, whether the naval officers referred to were bound to obey these Regulations.

*MR. PRETYMAN said he had done so. The hon. Gentleman then repeated the last sentence of his reply.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Does that include retired officers?

*MR. PRETYMAN: Yes, Sir.

Royal Army Medical Corps Promotions.

DR. THOMPSON (Monaghan, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if the Advisory Board of the Royal

Army Medical Corps is solely responsible for recommending promotions in the corps; and whether, seeing that this Board is partly composed of civilians and partly of comparatively junior officers, who may themselves benefit by the supersession of their seniors, he will consider the advisability of altering the duties of the Advisory Board so as to leave the military responsibilities of promotions in the hands of the Director-General of the Royal Army Medical Corps.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): The Advisory Board is not solely responsible for recommending promotions in the Royal Army Medical Corps. The Advisory Board sends forward the names of those officers whom it considers professionally qualified for promotion, and the Selection Board decides whether, from a military point of view, they are fit to be promoted. All promotions are finally approved by the Secretary of State for War. I may add that the junior medical officers on the Advisory Board do not give an opinion on the qualifications of officers senior to themselves.

Military Expenditure for the Year.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what are the total Army Estimates, including military works, during the current year, for the United Kingdom and India respectively.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The figures are as follows, United Kingdom:—

Army Estimates (including Ordnance Factories) £29,000,000

I am unable, as I stated in a reply to the hon. and learned Member for Dundee on the 21st instant, to give the estimated expenditure out of Loan Funds in 1904–5 on Military Works.

The figures for India, which have been supplied me by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for India, are:—

Army Estimates - -	£18,215,000
Military Works - - -	1,018,300
Special Defence Works - -	256,700
Total	£19,490,000

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Will the right hon. Gentleman give the figures as to Military Works before the end of the session?

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER was understood to say he feared not.

Recruiting.

MR. LAMBERT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War how many recruits will be required to keep up the establishment of the general service and home service Armies respectively; and when it is proposed to commence recruiting under the new system.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: If the hon. Member will kindly wait for the Return which I hope shortly to publish, he will find therein the figures he requires. I am not at present in a position to reply to the last part of the Question.

British Colonies and the Fiscal Policy.

MR. BUCHANAN (Perthshire, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Colonial Office has at any time received any offer from any of the self-governing Colonies to open the home market of such colony to British manufactures on equal terms with colonial manufactures, or on terms better relatively to colonial manufactures than those now existing; and, if such an offer has been received, from which colony or colonies has such offer been received, and what were the conditions accompanying it.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. LYTTELTON, Warwick and Leamington): No offers have been made of the nature indicated in the Question. The general attitude of the self-governing Colonies in respect to this matter was defined in the Resolutions passed at the Colonial Conference in 1902. Steps have since been voluntarily taken by several of the self-governing Colonies to give effect to this policy, but without any negotiation or correspondence or bargaining with the mother country.

Settlement of South African War Claims.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the

Colonies whether his attention has been called to the complaints in South Africa that the British authorities have in many cases refused payments of receipts given by British officers for goods forcibly requisitioned during the war; and whether he will grant a Commission to investigate those complaints with a view to a remedy.

MR. LYTTELTON: The great majority of military receipts have now been disposed of, over £2,500,000 having been devoted to this object through the agency of the civil Government. I have received a few complaints of the nature referred to, and am in communication with the Government with regard to them. A Commission has been and is sitting to investigate claims, and I do not propose to appoint any other body to supersede it.

Asiatic Labourers in South Africa.

MAJOR SEELY (Isle of Wight): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether an Act to legalise the transit of indentured Asiatic labourers through the Colony of Natal has recently been passed by the Natal Legislature; if so, will he say what was the date of the passing of such Act; and will a copy be laid upon the Table.

MR. LYTTELTON: A Bill to regulate the transit of immigrants through Natal to other British South African Colonies passed through the Natal Legislative Council on 16th June, but I have not yet received it in its final form. I will lay a copy when I receive it.

The Tibetan Mission—Killed and Wounded.

MR. LAMBERT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India what have been the casualties sustained in killed and wounded to date by the British and Tibetans, respectively, during the progress of the Mission.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The losses known up to date to have been sustained by the British forces during the progress of the Tibet Mission are as follows:—

British Officers.

Killed, 3	Wounded, 17

British Rank and File.

Killed, 2	Wounded, 12

Native Officers.

Killed, 2	Wounded, 5

Native Rank and File.

Killed, 31	Wounded, 98

It is obviously quite impossible to state what losses have been sustained by the Tibetans.

MR. LAMBERT: Have there been no telegrams sent home from India to the right hon. Gentleman stating the losses of the Tibetans?

MR. BRODRICK: None which enable me to give a reliable estimate.

MR. LAMBERT: Cannot you ascertain?

MR. BRODRICK: We might get the number of the killed buried, but obviously we cannot tell the number of wounded.

MR. LAMBERT: Have you received no information?

MR. BRODRICK: The figures I have had I have given to the House. I will endeavour to make a computation from them.

The Advance to Lhasa.

MR. LAMBERT: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if the Commander of the British and Indian forces in Tibet has instructions to advance to Lhasa before negotiating for peace; and at what date is it expected that destination will be reached.

MR. BRODRICK: The Mission and escort have orders to proceed to Lhasa to negotiate there, in accordance with the notification made to the Tibetan authorities that this action would be taken if they failed to send competent negotiators to Gyangtse by a fixed date. There is nothing to prevent negotiations taking place at any point on the march to Lhasa if competent negotiators appear. The latest information received states that the Mission marched to Yarsig on the 21st instant. Yarsig is sixty-six miles from Lhasa.

MR. LAMBERT: When is it expected to arrive at Lhassa?

Mr. BRODRICK: That depends on what opposition it meets with.

Assam Excise Administration.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, with reference to the inquiry instituted into the allegations made against the Excise Administration of Assam, in a memorandum issued by Mr. James Buckingham, C.I.E., in 1902, on behalf of the Indian Tea Association, he can now state when the Report, together with the views of the Government of India upon the question, will be issued; and whether it will be published in the form of a Parliamentary Paper.

Mr. BRODRICK: The Papers regarding Assam Excise will be published in India this week, and copies for presentation to Parliament will be sent here as soon as possible.

Spirits in Sweets.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether a notice has recently been sent by the Board of Inland Revenue to traders whose liqueur chocolates have been submitted to the Board for analysis, informing them that the sale of such articles without a licence is illegal, and directing their withdrawal from sale; whether he will state whether a general order has been issued to the officers of the Board of Inland Revenue instructing them to report to what extent such articles are being sold in their districts; and whether he can give any information as to the proof strength of the spirituous liquor found in the samples of liqueur chocolates recently submitted to the Board for analysis.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Worcestershire, E.): The Answer to the first Question is in the affirmative. As regards the second, a general order has been sent to the officers of Inland Revenue directing them to caution vendors that these articles cannot legally be sold by persons not holding a spirit licence, and to warn them that proceedings for recovery of the penalty incurred will be taken against persons who sell such articles without having the necessary qualification. The result of the recent analysis of samples of chocolates shows the highest strength of proof spirit to have been 33·7 per cent., *i.e.*, 66·3 degrees under proof; and the lowest 4·8 per cent. of proof spirit, *i.e.*, 95·2 degrees under proof.

Adulteration of Spirits.

Mr. MACVEAGH (Down, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that spirits, being a blend of German spirits, are permitted, with the cognisance of the Inland Revenue officials, as pure British spirit, and in the case of so-called brandy as foreign brandy; and whether, in view of the provisions of the Merchandise Marks Act, legal proceedings will be instituted by the Inland Revenue in any such cases which come to their knowledge.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: German spirits are not allowed to be blended with British spirits in bond, nor are they allowed to be described as British spirits in bond, or when issued from bond. The Board of Inland Revenue have no knowledge of what may be done with such spirits after they have passed out of Revenue charge; nor have they any power of control after the spirits have so passed.

Mr. MOONEY (Dublin County, S.): Is it not the fact that after spirits have been taken out of bond they are still under the control of the Revenue authorities, inasmuch as a certificate must be given?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No; the permit is to remove them in bond, I understand. After they have passed out of bond they are not under the control of the Revenue authorities, nor are the Revenue authorities the proper authorities for enforcing the Merchandise Marks Act.

Mr. MOONEY: But does not the permit given when the spirit is taken out of bond describe the nature of the spirit?

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN asked for notice of any further Questions.

Scottish Night Telegraph Messengers.

SIR ARTHUR BIGNOLD (Wick Burghs): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General if he will consider individual applications from night telegram messengers in Scotland for good-conduct stripes, provided that the cases of such applicants are certified by their respective postmasters.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Lord STANLEY, Lancashire, Westhoughton): Adult night telegraph messengers are ineligible for the award of good conduct stripes, and I am not prepared to consider any applications for extending the privilege to them, either as a class or individually.

Counterfeit Irish Lace.

MR. BOLAND (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is now in a position to state the result of his inquiries into the fact, as alleged in the recent report of the British Consul at Nice, that a counterfeit lace made at St. Gall, in Switzerland, is sold in Nice as Irish-made lace; and what steps he proposes to take in order to safeguard the interests of this Irish industry in this town and in other towns on the Continent.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): No, Sir; the inquiry which the Board of Trade is making, with the assistance of the Foreign Office, is not yet completed.

Midwifery Diplomas.

DR. THOMPSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he is aware that the Central Midwives Board have appointed nurses to examine candidates for the diploma in midwifery; and, if so, will he direct that candidates for a midwifery diploma must be examined by qualified physicians and surgeons.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. COCHRANE, Ayrshire, N.): No, Sir; I think this is not the case. I understand that the whole scheme of examination is still under the consideration of the Central Midwives Board. That Board is, however, left by the statute free to exercise its discretion in the appointment of examiners, and I have no power to give directions in the matter.

Rathmines Registration Scandal.

MR. MOONEY: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney-General for Ireland whether he is aware that tampering with the requisition forms has taken place in other districts in South Dublin as well as in the Rathmines polling district; and, if so, what action he proposes to take to discover the guilty persons.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): The matter is in the hands of the police. Inquiries have been made by them in the different polling districts of South Dublin. With the exception of some cases in Kingstown, no tampering with these forms has been discovered outside the Rathmines polling district. The police are pursuing their inquiries. They have experienced great difficulty in obtaining information. Any persons who can be made amenable will, if the evidence justifies it, be proceeded against.

Tenelich Evicted Tenant.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Longford, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether any application has been received from an evicted tenant named Patrick Magrath, of Abbeyshule, for restoration by purchase to his farm at Tenelich, which is at present held by a planter tenant who lives twenty miles distant; whether he is aware that this man was directed by the receiver to lodge £3 in Court for a Court lease of this farm in 1894, but found instead that the farm was given to another; and will he bring this case to the notice of the Estates Commissioners.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Dover): An application has been received from the evicted tenant and will be duly considered. The Commissioners have no information on the other matters mentioned in the Question.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: When shall I repeat the Question?

MR. WYNDHAM: I am afraid I cannot say when a decision is likely to be arrived at.

Holywood (Down) District Council.

MR. MACVEAGH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state under what circumstances the usual authority to issue cheques has been withheld by the Holywood District Council, county Down; whether the workmen engaged by the council are still in the employment of the council and receiving wages; and what steps the Local Government Board has taken in the matter.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Board has no information beyond that given at the meeting of the district council held on the 7th instant, nor has it any jurisdiction to intervene in the matter.

MR. MACVEAGH: Then has the Local Government Board no jurisdiction over bodies which decline to pay the wages of their servants?

MR. WYNDHAM: It has no jurisdiction in this matter.

Clinton Estate Disturbances.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that at the recent evictions on the Clinton Estate several hundred men were present inciting women to throw stones and generally leading the riot; whether he has received any complaints on this matter; and, if so, what action, if any, has been taken to make the chief aggressors amenable.

MR. WYNDHAM: Proceedings have been instituted by the Crown against nine men on charges of riot, unlawful assembly, and assault on the sheriff's officers, arising out of these evictions. The cases have been adjourned till the 5th August.

MR. FLYNN (Cork County, N.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that these women were merely defending their own homes?

[No Answer was returned.]

Irish National School Teachers—Official Reports.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that the form supplied to managers of national schools containing questions relating to the work and conduct of teachers is marked private and confidential, and is considered in connection with the inspector's annual reports, and that only a sentence or two of the report comes back to the school from the Board, and the teacher is deprived of seeing the report, and especially that part which deals with the character, conduct, and manners of the teacher as supplied by the manager, he will explain why teachers are not given an opportunity of seeing the whole report and replying, if necessary, to anything contained therein.

MR. WYNDHAM: The reports in question are made by managers for the private information of the Commissioners. They are regarded as confidential, and are not communicated by the Commissioners to other persons. Extracts from the reports of the inspectors are sent to the managers for the guidance of teachers, and in the opinion of the Commissioners these extracts contain all the information about the school and teachers that it is necessary to communicate.

MR. SLOAN: But is it not the fact that with this particular form inquiries are made as to the character and conduct of the teacher?

MR. WYNDHAM: That may be so.

MR. SLOAN: What opportunity is given to the teacher to defend himself against charges?

[The Answer was inaudible.]

Ballynahinch Trout Fisheries.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can now state the result of the Department of Agriculture's investigation into the action of three water bailiffs and others who netted the Ballynahinch River, and removed a number of trout for the purpose of stocking their own lakes, on the 6th instant.

MR. WYNDHAM: Two complaints were made in this matter, namely, the netting of the river and the netting of the millrace. There is no legal objection, so far as the Department is aware, to the capture of fish by a riparian proprietor to the middle of the bed of the river, provided he uses a net with a mesh of the legal size. It is not within the province of the Department to offer an opinion on the general question of the rights possessed by persons, other than riparian proprietors, who may fish the river. But netting in the millrace is illegal, and the Department has informed the local police that if such netting should be practised the offender will be prosecuted.

Irish Department of Agriculture—Pensions of Veterinary Staff.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the claim made some time ago by the regular veterinary staff now under the Department of Agriculture to pension rights has been considered; and, if so, will he direct the result of such consideration to be communicated to the staff.

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir. The Treasury decision in the case of these officers was communicated to them on Monday.

Compensation Award under Edenderry Labourers' Cottages Scheme.

MR. HAVILAND-BURKE (King's County, Tullamore): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, under a recent award under an Edenderry No. 1 District scheme for acquiring plots for the erection of labourers' cottages, the Local Government Board arbitrator fixed the compensation to Mr. Peter Ennis, of Killane townland, at £6, the compensation awarded in the case of an adjacent farm of land of no greater value being £12; and that, on the Edenderry No. 1 District Council writing to the Local Government Board calling attention to the fact, it was informed that there was no appeal from the award of the arbitrator; and whether the Irish Government would favourably consider some system of appeal in such cases with a view to obviate inequalities of compensation.

MR. WYNDHAM: The proposal of the District Council in this case was to award the occupier £6 15s. as compensation without any reduction of his rent, whereas the arbitrator fixed the compensation at £6 and reduced the rent by 12s. a year. Arbitration proceedings under the Labourers Acts are not exceptional; they are governed by the same enactment as similar proceedings under the Housing of the Working Classes Act and the Public Health Acts.

Irish Land Clerks.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what steps have been taken to carry out the promise, when the Irish Land Act, 1903, was in Committee, that, on the sale of estates, Irish land clerks would be compensated, and that in the administration of the Act the Government would give as much employment as they could to these clerks; will he say whether any of these clerks are at present employed by the Estates Commissioners; and, if so, how many, and are they paid salaries equivalent to the salaries they received as land clerks; and have the Estates Commissioners yet settled, with the assent of the Treasury, the fixed price or percentage to be paid to land clerks under the provisions of Section 23, Sub-section 11, of the Irish Land Act, 1903.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Question does not quite accurately represent what took place in Committee. In discussing an Amendment moved by my hon. friend on the 1st July, 1903, I stated that where the Commissioners employed a person in any capacity the scale of payment would be arranged between them and the Treasury, and that in the administration of the Act it would be the earnest desire of the Government to give as much employment as could be given to agents and others concerned. Where estates have been sold by vendors to tenants the Commissioners have sanctioned payment of negotiation fees to the negotiator nominated by the vendors, in the case of some thirteen estates. The fees in such cases have varied from 1 to 3 per cent. on the purchase money. The Commissioners are unable to say to what extent the negotiators have compensated land clerks out of these fees. In cases of sales to the Estates Commissioners no fixed scale of price or percentage has yet been settled under Section 23 (11) of the Act of 1903. With respect to employment, the creation of one post on the staff of the Commissioners has been sanctioned, which it is intended to fill by the appointment of a person having experience in land agency.

Mr. Arthur M'Guire's Leitrim Estate.

Mr. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Estates Commissioners have received any proposal for the sale of the estate of Mr. Arthur M'Guire, situate at Miltron, Carrigallen, county Leitrim; and, if so, what steps have they taken to bring about the reinstatement in his holding on that estate of an evicted tenant named Thomas Rourke.

Mr. WYNDHAM: This estate is not before the Estates Commissioners Any application that may be made by the evicted tenant will be duly considered.

Tempo (Fermanagh) Water Supply.

Mr. EDWARD MITCHELL (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the character of the water supply in the village of Tempo, county Fermanagh, and to the reports made by the sanitary officer and by the Local Government Board inspector upon the insufficiency of the supply; if so, will he state what action has the Local Government Board taken in the matter; and whether, seeing that the well by which this village is supplied has now gone dry, he will direct that immediate steps be taken to procure pure water for the inhabitants of the village.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Board was informed by the district council in January last that it was proposed to provide a water supply. The Board has again communicated with the council and urged it to give the matter immediate attention. With respect to the conclusion of the Question, the Board's action in such matters is regulated by Section 15 of the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1896, and it cannot proceed unless in pursuance of a formal complaint made under that enactment. No such complaint has been lodged with the Board.

Mr. EDWARD MITCHELL: Am I to understand from the right hon. Gentleman that no action will be taken unless the inhabitants of Tempo make formal application to the Local Government Board?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I have referred the hon. Member to the section of the Act.

Mr. EDWARD MITCHELL: Must it go forward in the form of a complaint?

Mr. WYNDHAM: Yes.

Bangor Post Office Business.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN (Kilkenny, N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster-General whether he can state the relative amount of revenue realised from telegrams, parcels, postal orders, post office orders, and savings bank deposits in the post office of Bangor, county Down, as compared with the post offices of Portrush and Clones, where new post offices to provide for the increased volume of postal transactions in recent years have been built recently; whether he is aware that the space available for public use in the Bangor post office causes, in the summer season, congestion and annoyance to the population and to visitors, resultant upon regattas, fleets' visits, and tourist traffic at this seaside resort; and whether, in view of the fact that the central sites are being rapidly built upon, he will see his way to move in the matter without delay to meet the wishes of all sections of the people in Bangor.

Lord STANLEY: The preparation of special returns of the post office business at the offices mentioned would occupy some time; but according to the latest available returns, the work at Bangor, county Down, is less than that at Clones, and hardly more than half that at Portrush. I am aware that on special occasions there is pressure on the space in the post office at Bangor; but it is not the practice to provide accommodation greatly in excess of the ordinary requirements in order to meet exceptional demands.

Drainage of Loughs Oughter and Gowna District—Flooding.

MR. VINCENT KENNEDY (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that the tenants and ratepayers of the parishes of Mullaghoran and Scrabby, in the county of Cavan, and neighbouring parishes in county Longford, have, in public meeting, called attention to the injury to their lands by autumn and winter flooding to the extent of 2,500 acres by the insufficient drainage works of the Loughs Oughter and Gowna district, and that a memorial adopted at the meeting had been addressed to the Commissioners of Public Works; and, if so, will he say what reply has been given by the Commissioners, and if the Commissioners will direct an inquiry as to the grievances complained of, and take the necessary steps to deal with the situation promptly.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (Mr. VICTOR CAVENDISH, Derbyshire, W.): A petition was received last month on behalf of the farmers and occupiers of land situated within the area of the Loughs Oughter and Gowna Drainage District complaining of flooding and asking to have certain works carried out. The Board of Works have referred the petition to the drainage board, who report that they are having certain works of maintenance carried out, which will, in their opinion, meet the case. This statement is being communicated to the petitioners. New works, as distinguished from works of maintenance, are not within the powers of the drainage board, and would require the constitution of a fresh board under the Drainage Acts.

Phœnix Park Constable's Grievance.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that Joseph Little, late gate-constable of Phœnix Park, Dublin, was dismissed on the 7th May last without any intimation other than a letter he received on 29th April giving him one week's notice to leave the service, and that this man asked for an opportunity to answer any charges preferred against him; and, if so, will he explain why his request was refused.

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: Yes, Sir. The Commissioners of Public Works, who are responsible for discipline in their own Department, were not satisfied with this constable, and as he had already been admonished without effect, they decided to give him notice to leave. They saw no advantage in according him the interview which he requested. I cannot interfere with the discretion of the Commissioners in such matters.

MR. SLOAN: Am I to understand that this constable was given notice without any indication of why he was dismissed?

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: No; he had been warned several times.

MR. SLOAN: For what?

MR. VICTOR CAVENDISH: Neglect of duty.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can now state when he proposes to afford the House an opportunity of discussing the recently proposed scheme of Army Reform.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): As the House already knows, we propose to take the debate on the vote of censure on Monday. On Tuesday it is proposed to take the Motion for the suspension of the Twelve o'Clock Rule; and afterwards the Supplementary Estimates and a stage of a Treasury Bill, which must be passed in the course of the present session. On Wednesday it will probably be convenient to take Irish Supply, and on Thursday the Home Office and other Estimates, and either Navy or Army Votes. On Friday I propose to take the Defaulting Authorities Bill, and on Monday probably the War Office Vote. There may be some changes, but that is a general indication of the plan I venture to suggest to the House as the most convenient.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Will the Irish Supply on Wednesday be the Queen's College Estimates in accordance with the request made on behalf of the Irish Members?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Of course, a full opportunity must be given for the discussion of the Chief Secretary's Vote, but I understand a mode of giving an adequate opportunity of dealing with the Queen's College Vote is still a matter of negotiation through the ordinary channels.

The Seizure and Sinking of British Merchantmen by Russian Men-of-War.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES: May I ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he has any information to communicate to the House with reference either to the seizure of British merchantmen by Russian men-of-war, or alleged men-of-war, or with regard to the alleged sinking of the "Knight Commander" on the high seas?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I suppose the first part of the Question refers to the case of the "Malacca" and of other ships taken in the Red Sea. I shall hope to make a brief statement on that subject to-morrow. In regard to the sinking of the "Knight Commander" in the Pacific, I regret to say that the information which reaches me this morning leaves very little doubt in my mind that that regrettable occurrence has taken place. There is no question of loss of life. I am afraid there is a question of breach of international law.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Reported, so far as amended in the Standing Committee on Trade, etc.

Leave given to the Standing Committee to make a Special Report.

Special Report brought up, and read.

Report and Special Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 284.]

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee to be printed. [No. 284.]

SELECTION (STANDING COMMITTEE).

Mr. Halsey reported from the Committee of Selection; That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade (including Agriculture and Fishing), Shipping, and Manufactures: Mr. Wyndham, Sir James Haslett, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Joseph Nolan, Mr. Seymour Ormsby-Gore, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Condon, Mr. Farrell, Mr. O'Shee, Mr. Joseph Hoult, Mr. Lundon, Mr. McHugh, Mr. Edward Mitchell, and Lord Bingham; and had appointed in substitution: Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Barrington Simeon, Mr. Cochrane, Mr. Baird, Dr. MacDonnell, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Runciman, Mr. Channing, Mr. William M'Killop, Mr. Hunter Craig, Mr. O'Mara, Sir Elliott Lees, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Lambert, and Mr. Wolff.

Report to lie upon the Table.

NEW BILL.

RAILWAYS AND STEAMSHIPS (PARLIAMENTARY FACILITIES) BILL.

"To secure travelling facilities for Members of Parliament in the discharge of their Parliamentary duties," presented by Mr. Crooks; supported by Mr. MacVeagh, Mr. James Bailey, Sir Christopher Furness, Mr. Rothschild, Sir John Brunner, Mr. Wolff, Mr. Schwann, Dr. Disraeli, Mr. Malcolm, and Sir Edward Sassoon; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 282.]

POST OFFICE SITES BILL.

Lord Stanley, Captain Clive, and Dr. Hutchinson were nominated members of the Select Committee on the Post Office Sites Bill.—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)

LICENSING BILL [6th Allotted Day.]

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [26th July] proposed to the Bill, on Consideration, as amended.

Which Amendment was—

"In page 3, line 26, to leave out the words from the word 'of,' to end of sub-section (1) of Clause 4, and insert the words 'confirming a new licence and of assenting to the conditions, if any, upon which such licence is granted, shall be exercised by quarter sessions after consultation with the justices of the licensing district where such licence is granted,' — (*Mr. Disraeli,*) instead thereof."

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out to the word 'new,' in page 3, line 27, stand part of the Bill."

MR. CRIPPS (Lancashire, Stretford) said there were several Amendments down on the Paper all dealing with substantially the same question as was involved in the one under discussion, and of them he should prefer that in the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Somersetshire. This clause raised entirely different issues to those embodied in other parts of the Bill. The real object of the measure was the reduction of redundant public-houses. But the importance of this proposal arose from the fact that in this clause the whole system of granting new licences was revolutionised and altered. The Bill as it now stood provided that "the power of the county licensing committee to confirm new licences and any other power of that committee shall be transferred to quarter sessions." That provision was not introduced until after the closure Resolution had been carried, and the object of the Amendment was to restore the Bill to its original form. In his opinion, the alteration made in the Bill, which in substance, with regard to new licences, substituted the magistrates of the licensing districts for quarter sessions, or the committee of quarter sessions, was an alteration in the wrong direction. Even as the law now stood, no power was better exercised by quarter sessions than the power of dealing with new licences. New licences were only sanctioned where there was abundance of evidence that they were needed in the public interest, and they were granted under stringent conditions as to the character of the applicant and of the house. But it was of even greater importance that this power with regard to new licences should be exercised in the future by quarter sessions, even if in consultation with the licensing justices, because of the more difficult and complicated questions which would arise when the Bill became law.

Licences were to be granted for a number of years. He disliked the alteration altogether. He would be the last person in the world to attack the magistrates, but this was a question as to under what conditions they could best use the administrative powers which had been committed to them, and no one surely would hesitate to say that the best tribunal to deal with a question of that sort in its final developments was not one composed of the magistrates of a particular licensing district, but one composed of magistrates in quarter sessions assembled. It was a very dangerous thing to have too much experimenting with social problems of this kind, and if they had any experiments at all they should be made in the country or smaller areas. Much had been said about preconceived opinions. He had never attacked magistrates on that ground, for all men had preconceived opinions with regard to particular matters, and when they got a large body together like that of quarter sessions these particular opinions were apt to become submerged owing to the number of justices and the different conditions under which their powers were exercised. They wanted to refer these questions to a body so constituted that it would act judicially. He advocated this on grounds of public order and public morality. Let them not have local option in small districts, but let them try to secure uniformity throughout the county area. He personally hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would see his way to restore the law to the position proposed when the Bill was first introduced and to maintain the control of quarter sessions on such questions as the granting of new licences.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.) said he thought his hon. friends attached more importance to the change which the Bill proposed to make than it really warranted. He, at any rate, did not regard it as a matter of first-rate importance, and he would explain exactly why the Government put the Bill in its present shape. When they originally found it necessary to transfer some of the authority now exercised by the licensing justices to quarter sessions, it was because of the compensation fund to be raised by the whole county, for obviously only a body representative of the whole county could properly deal with such a fund. But under Clause 4 no compensation was to be paid. Therefore the question arose whether a gratuitous alteration should be made in the existing law when there was no over-mastering reason for doing so.

Mr. CRIPPS, interposing, pointed out that it was the clause which altered the existing law, and that what the Amendment proposed was to leave the law as it stood.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said that no doubt Clause 4 did modify the law, but it did not modify the law in a sense which made it necessary to bring in quarter sessions, as happened in the earlier clauses of the Bill. He attached considerable value, from the point of view of licensing reform, to the power of experiment which would be given in various parts of the country in the granting of new licences. His hon. friend's view was that there should be a certain latitude of experiment, but that it should be confined to counties as distinct areas. It might be that absurd experiments would be tried here and there by brewster sessions; but the power of appeal to quarter sessions remained; and, accordingly, if quarter sessions thought the conditions under which the local bench of magistrates granted new licences were inequitable or absurd, they could say that it was impossible for them to endorse the granting of these new licences. Of the two alternative plans open to the Government — to leave to brewster sessions the initiation of any experiments they liked, subject to appeal to quarter sessions, or to allow quarter sessions to operate in the area of the whole county —his inclination was in favour of the first.

Sir ROBERT REID (Dumfries Burghs) admitted that the point was one of no very great importance, and he agreed with the Prime Minister in thinking it desirable that there should be elasticity as widely diffused as possible. He was in favour of adhering in this matter to the smaller local areas. In his opinion the Amendment was superfluous, but at any rate the object aimed at was better expressed in the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Somersetshire.

Mr. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, E.) submitted that the Amendment really accorded with the spirit of the existing law. He could not assent to the view that the Amendment was unnecessary, and at any rate if quarter sessions was to have power to confirm the grant of new licences made subject to certain conditions, it should also have power in consultation with the local magistrates to vary those conditions. Quarter sessions might be convinced that in a certain locality there was a necessity for a new licence owing to the large increase of population; at the same time they might consider that the conditions attached were absurd and ought not to be allowed in the public interest. If, then, they could not come to terms with the local bench, obviously the only power they had was to veto the licence altogether for another twelve months. That, he submitted, would not be desirable in the public interest. Let them remember that there were 130 different areas in the country in which different kinds of experiments might be tried, so that there would be a sufficient variety of experiment. Under this Bill, if the Amendment were accepted each licensing district would send up its proposals to quarter sessions, and they would be considered by the whole body of magistrates. That would tend to secure uniformity. The Amendment would really improve the working of the new system without doing anything to discourage reasonable experiments.

Sir JOHN DORINGTON (Gloucestershire, Tewkesbury) said this was partly a question of administration. Whilst it was desirable that petty sessional benches should express their own opinion with regard to any particular licences, they should all be periodically reviewed by the central authority in order to obtain uniformity and to secure the proper direction of the police authorities. He, therefore, thought that some such words as were contained in the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Altrincham Division should be introduced, though he would prefer those of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Somersetshire. He would also like to point out the difficulty that might arise from calling on the police authorities in any one county to enforce all sorts of varying conditions. That was a practical difficulty, and therefore while he admitted it was highly desirable that the various petty sessional benches should express their own opinions with regard to new licences, their decisions should come up for review by a central authority when the time for confirmation of the licences came.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR threw out the suggestion that all views might be met if they took the words of the right hon. Member for East Somersetshire with an addition. That Amendment ran as follows—

> "And the powers of quarter sessions shall include the power to confirm or vary any conditions attached to a new licence under the provisions of this section."

And he proposed to add thereto, "with the consent of the justices of the licensing district." If that were done, no new licence could be established except under conditions which approved themselves to the central authority. It left the initiative to the local authority; but it made it clear that the central authority were to have a finger in the pie, and suppose there was a conflict between the two, the result would be that the new licence would not be granted while the police control was unaffected. If that met with general acceptance the Government were prepared to adopt it.

MR. WHITTAKER (Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley) pointed out that this was practically the suggestion of the hon. Member for Blackpool. He thought the suggestion of the Prime Minister a valuable and useful one, as if the Amendment were carried as it stood it would give quarter sessions power to impose conditions not agreed to by the local justices.

MR. BOND (Nottingham, E.) said it had been suggested that there was no new fund to be dealt with in connection with the grant of a new licence, but unless he was mistaken that was not altogether the case, as a scheme had been brought forward under which the applicant for a new licence might be compelled to pay a certain sum for it, and he took it that the county would have to administer the fund thus raised.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said quarter sessions had nothing to do with that.

MR. LAMBERT (Devonshire, South Molton) asked what would happen if there was failure to come to an agreement between quarter sessions and the local bench.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The licence would not be confirmed.

MR. LAMBERT held that some one should have a predominant voice in the matter. Personally, he would prefer that the Government should adhere to their original proposal, and give the local justices absolute power to grant these licences and to attach to them whatever conditions they wished.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We have not proposed that.

MR. LAMBERT: I thought you intended to give them that power by this Bill.

MR. LLOYD WHARTON (Yorkshire, W.R., Ripon) pointed out there would be a representative of the local body at quarter sessions. Consequently there would be no chance of the local authority being taken by surprise. That authority would be able to lay all the facts of the case before the confirming authority, and that should be sufficient for all purposes. If counsel represented the authority, their case would be dealt with more elaborately than it would be otherwise. If, therefore, the House accepted the Amendment on the Paper in the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Somerset, which gave power to quarter sessions to confirm or vary any conditions attached to a new licence, it would be the best way of dealing with the question.

MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR (Lancashire Blackpool) said that he had an Amendment on the Paper dealing with the same question. But when he saw the Amendment of the right hon. Member for East Somerset it appeared to him to be a better Amendment than his own. It was, therefore, his intention to withdraw the Amendment and to support that of his right hon. friend. It would give quarter sessions an opportunity of comparing the conditions imposed by different benches of magistrates. It would be better that the conditions should be varied in order to prevent friction between the quarter sessions and the local justices. The Amendment of his right hon. friend would not put more power in the hands of the quarter sessions than was now possessed. The quarter sessions had the power to say to an applicant, "We do not like to refuse confirmation of the licence and to hold the granting of it over until next year. But we suggest a condition on which we will confirm, and if you will come back next year with that condition fulfilled we will confirm the licence."

*Mr. LAWSON WALTON (Leeds, S.) said they had had several contributions to a very interesting discussion from chairmen of quarter sessions, and it was no doubt characteristic of these Gentlemen to seek to enlarge the jurisdiction of the tribunal over which they presided. But he would point out that there were public interests and the interests of the local justices concerned in the matter which were being ignored. There would, he thought, be a general acceptance of the Amendment on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Blackpool that quarter sessions after consultation and by agreement with the justices of a licensing district might vary the conditions under which a licence was granted. Gentlemen opposite entirely ignored the right of initiation which was given to local justices under the existing law, and which was preserved under this Bill. This Bill enabled the local justices to attach to licences certain conditions. No section of the House, he believed, wished to enlarge the power of quarter sessions as the confirming authority, but if they refused a licence that would delay the granting of it for at least a year. If such an agreement were come to as was suggested in his hon. and learned friend's Amendment opportunity would then be given for fully discussing the reasons which had led to the imposition of the conditions. He was, therefore, anxious to support that Amendment.

*Mr. PEEL (Manchester, S.) thought it rather unfortunate that, in discussing that matter, the hon. and learned Member for South Leeds had suggested that this proposal was merely an attempt on the part of chairmen of quarter sessions to enlarge their jurisdiction. It seemed to him almost absurd that the larger power which Courts of quarter sessions would possess, to say whether new licences should or should not be granted, should not carry with it the smaller power of saying whether the conditions attached to a licence should be varied or dealt with in any other way. He thought that quarter sessions should certainly have, in addition to the general power, means of dealing with the particular conditions upon which licences had been granted. There was a good deal to be said for the suggestion of his hon. and learned friend the Member for Blackpool that when the grants of new licences came up at quarter sessions for confirmation from different parts of a county the conditions might embody valuable suggestions and varying regulations which might be made applicable to other parts of the county, and quarter sessions should have the power of dealing with all those suggestions and saying that certain conditions should be attached to all new licences that might be granted. So far as he could see, the position was that quarter sessions as the determining body was being made the humble servant of the local magistrates. The initiative rested with brewster sessions, and they could set up whatever conditions they liked. They could be approved or criticised by quarter sessions, and it was quite possible, even if this Amendment were passed, that there might be quite a variety of conditions. He hoped the Prime Minister would support the Amendment proposed by his right hon. friend.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon Boroughs) said he really hoped that the Prime Minister had a strong opinion upon this subject and would adhere to the suggestion he had made. He thought that the suggestion which had come from the other side would destroy the whole nature of this proposal. An hon. Member opposite had said that the proposal would convert the quarter sessions into the humble servants of the local magistrates. Humble service involved obedience to the behests of the master. If the quarter sessions were not satisfied they could say, unless their suggestions were accepted they would not confirm the licence. Supposing the local magistrates were to say that they would grant a licence, but on condition that the applicant closed his premises at a certain hour on Saturday and throughout the whole of Sunday. The quarter sessions might say that condition was absurd, and might confirm the licence only on that condition being eliminated. He thought that was a very serious thing, because very likely a six-day licence might have been the principal thing in the mind of the local magistrates, and they would probably never have granted the licence in the first place but on that condition. He was quite sure that no local magistrates would interpose but for adequate reasons. If a county committee were to make suggestions in the interest of good order and of improving the licensing system, they would carry very considerable weight with the local justices. He trusted that the Prime Minister would adhere to his suggestion, and that the hon. and learned Member for Blackpool would conclude that his first thoughts were the best, and not be moved by the oratory of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Somersetshire and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon.

*MR. BOUSFIELD (Hackney, N.) said there might be great inconvenience involved in the dragging of all the magistrates of the county to quarter sessions to present their views. It was quite evident that they ought to be represented either by counsel or some other persons, and he suggested that the difficulty would be got over by inserting the words, "some person or persons to be authorised by them."

MR. SPEAR (Devonshire, Tavistock) trusted that the Prime Minister would adhere to his suggestion. This was not a small matter, but one involving whether or not the power of the local magistrates should be further reduced. He ventured to suggest that the local magistrates were better qualified to deal with this matter than quarter sessions. They were conversant with the requirements of the neighbourhood and the circumstances surrounding the question of the issue of a new licence. Under this Bill they would still have to rely largely upon the energy, care, and justice of local benches for the administration of the licensing law. It was most important, therefore, that the House should not reduce their local power and influence by taking away from them or reducing their influence with reference to the granting of licences. The retention of that power would secure for them greater respect, if possible, and further, the fact of the local bench dealing with the question would give an opportunity to the people of the locality to present their objections to the granting of a new licence without the inconvenience of having to travel to the town where the quarter sessions met. Consequently, from every point of view, he hoped the Prime Minister would maintain the position he had taken up. If the right hon. Gentleman did not he would vote against the Amendment.

MR. DISRAELI (Cheshire, Altrincham) asked permission to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE said that it was clear that they would not get any further concession from the Government, and he would move his Amendment with the addition of the words suggested by the Prime Minister.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 28, after the words 'quarter sessions,' to insert the words 'and the powers of quarter sessions shall include the power to confirm or, with the consent of the justices of the licensing district, vary any conditions attached to a new licence under the provisions of this section.'"—(*Mr. Henry Hobhouse.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

MR. CRIPPS, in moving the next Amendment, asked if the licence was to be granted to the highest bidder, or was this merely a way of imposing a new duty as regarded licences? Would the magistrates in the future be able to accept an application for a new licence merely on the ground that the applicant was the best man? He thought what had been proposed would enable a most demoralising condition to be imposed upon the licensing laws, and it would result in having nothing but a tied-house system. It would be impossible for any ordinary licensee to obtain a licence because he would have no chance in bidding against a brewer. The general proposal was that there should be a seven years agreement. Was that to give security to the licensee? In his opinion nothing could be worse than a seven years lease to achieve that object, because it would mean that the person to whom the licence was granted would have to make the greatest possible amount of profit out of his licence during those seven years in order to recoup himself. Nothing could be worse from the point of view of public order and public morality, because its effect would be to induce men to come forward who would be able to say that because they had paid the highest price in the market for the licence, they were entitled to conduct the house solely with a view to getting the maximum profit during the term of the licence. The seven years term not only denoted uncertainty in the worst form, but it withdrew the licence during that period from the disciplinary supervision which was so important. If the clause were passed, only two classes of persons would be able to come forward in the future as applicants for new licences One was the big brewer, who, under the tied-house system, would be able to make sufficient profits during the seven years, and the other would be the municipality. With regard to the former, he deprecated anything being done which would give a monopoly to or extend the operation of the tied-house system; while, as to the latter, he submitted that nothing could be more demoralising in connection with municipal trading than that the local authority itself should be the licensee and the party immediately concerned in the conduct of the public-house. It was because he felt so strongly the necessity of safeguarding the future of the licensing system that, in moving his Amendment, he had ventured to put these points to the Prime Minister.

Amendment proposed to the Bill.

"In page 3, line 30, to leave out from the word 'condition' to the second word 'as,' in line 32."—(*Mr. Cripps.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said that his hon. and learned friend had really covered the whole principle of the clause, and therefore, though he might have occasion to supplement on some later Amendment anything which he now said, he might be permitted even thus early in what was the substantial debate on Clause 4 to say how he regarded the question. He thought there had been a great mistake in the public mind and in the mind of many hon. Members as to the objects of the Government in framing the clause. It had undergone a great deal of alteration, and the object of that had really been to make the original intention of the framers clear and to prevent the kind of mistake into which his hon. and learned friend had fallen with regard to the views held by the Government. In answer to his hon. friend's first question, he desired emphatically to say that the Government did not desire in the smallest degree to promote the system of putting up licences to auction. This was not, and ought not to be, regarded either by the magistrates or quarter sessions, or any other body, as a means of making money. It ought, in the first place, to be regarded as a means of getting the most eligible licensee possible, and in the second place, it ought to be seen that the terms on which the licensee got the premises were such as would not re-create a monopoly value, the existence of which had been the cause of so much difficulty in the past. That was the view which the Government had had in framing this clause, and if, even in its amended form, it did not carry out that object, they would, of course, be very glad to hear any suggestions from either side of the House. He thought there was a considerable amount of force in his hon. and learned friend's observation that a seven years term might not be long enough to enable a tenant reasonably to recoup himself for obligatory construction or reconstruction which the magistrates might put upon him. He did not think that argument of his hon. and learned friend ought to be left out of account. The reason the Government put this provision in the Bill was that they were anxious not to give that fixity of tenure, or anything approaching that fixity of tenure, which they had been somewhat unjustly reproached for establishing in other parts of the Bill. That was their whole motive. He thought there were difficulties in connection with the proposal, but he was not at all sure that the

House would, on reflection, be very ready to give power to the magistrates to grant an unlimited term. Seven years might be too short, but they should be careful how they dealt with the term. He did not think it necessary to say more than that upon this particular branch of his hon. friend's catechism.

Then his hon. friend said that unless they were very careful the owner of a licence would desire to make the maximum profit out of it during the time that he had it. No provision could be introduced into this or any other Bill which would prevent a trader who desired to make the maximum profit from trying to do so during the time in which his trade was carried on. He firmly believed that that legitimate desire was consistent, or consistent in most cases, with public morality; but no provision they could put into a Bill could interfere with a man in fulfilling that desire. But his hon. friend said that only two classes would be able to take a new licence at all under this clause. One was the brewer, the other was the municipality. There was no objection to the tied house in itself, but to his mind his hon. and learned friend was quite right in deprecating legislation which would prevent any other system from coming into operation at all. Nobody desired to do that. It was disputed which system had led to the best class of house, but no man was so fanatically enamoured of his own views as to desire by legislation to prevent the possibility of brewers taking tied houses on the one side or free licences being granted on the other. He thought there should be room for both systems, and he thought there was nothing in the clause as they had drawn it which would exclude free licences. The duty of the magistrates to see that they got the fittest man in the public interest was pointed out in that clause, and it ought to be carried out by them, whether the fittest man was the representative or employee of, or was at all events closely connected with, a great brewery, or whether he was an individual free to buy his beer where he liked, and carrying on business in absolute and individual independence.

As regarded the municipalisation of licences, he did not venture to pronounce an opinion. His whole view about the question of new licences was that it was important to see in what direction experiment showed that the best results could be obtained, and certainly he would be as reluctant to introduce words into the Bill which would forbid a municipalising experiment as he would be to encourage that experiment at the cost of any other. He believed that it was a dangerous experiment in many ways, but he did not think there was evidence or proof of that. It had been tried elsewhere, and there had been no tendency on the part of the community, at the expense of their morality, to obtain excessive profits for the relief of taxation. At all events, let them leave the ground free and not prejudge it. He did not think the Bill did prejudice the question. He had now replied briefly, but he hoped clearly, to the questions put by his hon. and learned friend. If he had not convinced the House that the Government's intentions in this matter were right, he hoped that he had made clear what those intentions were; and he ventured to think that, whether those intentions were well carried out in the words which they had chosen or not, the broad policy was one which was likely to commend itself to students of this question on whatever side they might sit or whatever their views might be on other portions of the measure.

SIR ROBERT REID said there was really no ground for the apprehensions of the hon. and learned Member for the Stretford Division, as the clause of the Solicitor-General was so drawn that the monopoly value had to be reserved for the authority granting the licence, the profits were left wholly untouched, and the licences could not in any way be made the subject of auction. It would be quite impossible for them to be put up to auction. There was only one sum to be found, viz., the monopoly value, and when once that was ascertained everyone who obtained a licence would have to pay it; nobody could be asked to pay more, nor could anybody be asked to pay less. The idea of competition was altogether excluded. As to the tenure of the licence, the Prime Minister had expressed doubts whether seven years was a sufficiently long period. Personally he thought the fixing of any period during which there could be no periodical interposition of the discretion of the magistrates was a very serious matter. He believed that, if properly and fairly carried out, the annual system was the best. If they reserved the monopoly value there was going to be no claim so far as new licences were concerned. That might be one method of preventing a revival of the system which had led to all this trouble. He thought seven years was quite enough, for these men were embarking upon a very profitable trade and they obtained great profits in seven years. He should have thought that a much shorter period would have been sufficient to compensate them for their outlay. Did anyone deny that it was desirable to encourage six-day licences? Thay knew the value of six-day licences in Scotland.

MR. DISRAELI (Cheshire, Altrincham): But that is not one of the conditions.

SIR ROBERT REID said there were many other matters which might be included, and he regarded this more in the light of a preliminary canter.

MR. LLOYD WHARTON said there was nothing in this clause to prevent the licensing authority assisting the rates by granting licences to a large number of new houses and thus obtaining a large annual income. A friend of his had been carefully reading this clause, and he had informed him that there was nothing in it to prevent a district, for example, like West Ham, granting an enormous number of new licences in order to bring in, say, £25,000 a year. That was a temptation which ought not to be placed within the reach of any public authority.

MR. WHITTAKER said that the right hon. Gentleman opposite had drawn attention to what was no doubt a very serious danger, which he thought ought to be avoided by providing that the money should go to the National Exchequer and not to the locality. It was always a danger to allow the receipts from licences to go to the relief of the local rates. He hoped the Government would resolve that this extra sum should go to the National Exchequer.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CARSON, Dublin University) said there was nothing in the section to prevent justices granting a large number of licences, but if justices took the course which had been suggested in order to relieve the rates, the sooner they were deprived of the power of dealing with this matter the better. He could not conceive that the justices would inundate a district with new licences for the purpose of relieving the rates of a district. He would point out how the section itself would guard against that danger. The great safeguard against that danger was that in the case of each licence the full monopoly value must be demanded. Having granted a licence at a monopoly value, if more licences were granted the monopoly licence would not be worth sixpence. The real safeguard against the justices acting in the way suggested by the right hon. Gentleman would be the large money demand which had to be made based upon the monopoly value. The competition suggested could not last beyond seven years, and at the end of that period these persons would be at the mercy of the magistrates, who could deal with the cut-throat competition in their districts.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) said his right hon. friend supported the objection that magistrates might be tempted to increase licences so as to derive a large sum in relief of the rates. But the larger the number of licences granted the smaller would be the revenue derived from them. If the licences were so increased as to approach to free trade, it would destroy the monopoly value altogether, and consequently destroy all public revenue from that source. He agreed that whatever might be the number of licences and the amount of profit derived, the money ought to go, not to the local authority, but to the Exchequer, and he hoped it would be possible to propose an Amendment providing for that. If it were not accepted, a serious blot would remain on the Bill.

MR. BRIGG (Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley) asked how the monopoly value was to be ascertained. The monopoly value must necessarily depend very considerably upon the character of the house and the locality in which it was situated. It would be almost impossible to ascertain the real value unless it was put up to auction.

MR. CRIPPS said that, having regard to what the Prime Minister had said, he begged leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 33, to leave out from the word 'public' to end of line 35, and to insert the words 'subject as follows—(a) Such conditions shall in any case be attached as, having regard to proper provision for good management, the justices think best adapted for securing to the public any monopoly value which is represented by the difference between the value which the premises will bear, in the opinion of the justices, as licensed premises, and the value of the same premises if they were not licensed. Provided that, in estimating the value as licensed premises of hotels or other premises where the profits are not wholly derived from the sale of intoxicating liquor, no increased value arising from profits not so derived shall be taken into consideration; (b) The amount of any payments imposed under conditions attached in pursuance of this section shall not exceed the amount thus required to secure the monopoly value—(*Sir Edward Carson*)—instead thereof."

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said the great value of Clause 4 was that it introduced for the first time the principle of high licence duties. He understood that the monopoly value which was to go to the public, and the payment of which was to be imposed by the local justices, was to be measured by the difference between the premises as licensed and the premises as unlicensed. He did not object to that definition, but there was a proviso which minimised the amount of the monopoly value by excluding from it profits derivable from the sale of articles not included in the Excise duties. He thought that was objectionable, but the principle of high licence duties was so overwhelmingly important that he was not disposed to object to these definitions and minimisations. It was time the House came to close quarters with this monopoly value. The system proposed by the clause was absolutely crude, inconsistent, and impracticable. He did not think it would work in practice, and he believed it would produce results not anticipated by the Government and in effect wreck the main purpose of the Bill. But it would bring about a most beneficial financial revolution, for the sake of which he welcomed the proposals, though crude and impracticable. If this clause passed they would have in existence three sets of duties on licensed monopolies—the Excise duty, which brought to the local taxation account the miserable return of less than £1,500,000, the compensation duty under Clause 3, and the new licence duties which would be imposed by the local authority under Clause 4. He did not believe for a moment that a financial system like that could possibly last. It was too confused and too confusing, and the finances of the country would not stand the strain. How would it be possible to defend and justify the existence of a public monopoly in respect of which three several authorities were authorised to exact three different sets of of licence duties going to different purposes and different destinations? It would not do, and it could not last. The only way out was that all licences, old and new, should be subject to a new licence duty going to the Exchequer.

Another serious confusion lay in the existence of two kinds of licences, one paying a low and the other a high duty. The house known as the "Monster" in Pimlico was sold by order of the Court of Chancery for £31,000; the house itself would not be worth more than £3,000, the difference of course being what the purchaser was prepared to pay for the chance of a renewal of the licence under existing conditions. That house paid probably £60 a year in licence duty. Supposing a similar house were now set up in the same district, it would pay not less than £1,000 a year in licence duty. Could that go on? What would the new licensee say to it? Was it possible that new licence-holders paying the full monopoly value would submit for ever to similar houses in the same neighbourhood paying only £60 a year? And if the licensee acquiesced and the long-suffering public stood it, what would be the duty and right of a sensible patriotic local authority having power to grant new licences? Would there be any harm in their calling into existence a rival to the "Monster," which would pay on the full monopoly value either to the local purse or the Imperial purse? Every rival of the "Monster," called into being would make it more easy to abolish the "Monster" itself, because every new licence created in its neighbourhood would reduce its monopoly value and its compensation value. This famous new clause would end in the destruction of existing licences and the creation of new and restricted licences. That, he believed, would be the unintended consequence. Nothing would induce him to vote against Clause 4—amended or unamended—because of the principle which it enshrined; but he warned the Government that the consequences of their legislation would be very far-reaching and very different, both now and in the distant future, from what they anticipated or intended.

There was another point to which he wished to call attention, viz., that the money raised from the new monopoly value should go to the Local Taxation Account. With that he thoroughly sympathised, but here they had need of the presence of some Treasury official other than the First Lord of the Treasury. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to have something to tell the House about the effect of this clause. It was going to give the local authorities here and there some unknown additions to their taxable revenue. Would not that introduce another element of confusion into local finance? Was it creditable that the Imperial Government, which had muddled local finance so disastrously, should pile up confusion on confusion by creating a system under which the caprice of the local licensing justices might add thousands a year to the revenue of the local authorities without requiring the authority of the people? There was another important point. He submitted that no Government was justified in proposing a clause like this unless they were prepared to come to the House and tell them what the financial effect of the clause was to be. They ought to have from the Chancellor of the Exchequer an answer to the question whether the Inland Revenue had been consulted as to the probable financial result of this new clause, and as to its probable effects upon local finance. Had the Inland Revenue authorities been consulted as to the extent of the compensation clauses and the schedules of the Bill? Had they made no guess? If they had not, then to introduce a proposal like this was one of the biggest instances of Imperial frivolity such as could not be equalled in history.

MR. CRIPPS said he had no intention of following the hon. and learned Member into the frivolities to which he had alluded or into the larger question of local and Imperial taxation. He wanted to express his dissatisfaction with the form of this new clause, and he would put his objection to it in the form of Questions in order that they might be answered by the Solicitor-General. What was meant by monopoly value? He had never been an opponent of some system by which the State should get some fair proportion of that monopoly value, either in regard to Imperial or local finance. He was not one of those who thought that a case had not been made out for further taxation of monopoly value; but he thought the term monopoly value had been used in a way somewhat unjustifiable in some of the discussions. There was really no monopoly value apart from security, and when they talked of monopoly value they meant the value attached to a grant by the State, under certain conditions as to security. Let him give an illustration. Suppose a licence were given only from year to year, there would be no monopoly value at all. Monopoly value, in the sense generally used, meant that some one had a substantial security over a series of years, although it was not a large security. There was no longer to be an interference with this practical security, so long as there was good management and good conduct. They could hardly have a better system than that produced in the Bill, which gave practical security under good management and good conduct; and on the other hand, under the insurance system, which enabled the State to interfere where necessary without injustice to anyone. That was a system which he would have liked to see applied to both old and new licences. Full security was got on the one side, and absolute power on the other. He quite understood that there was a very large monopoly value as regarded a new licence, but if that were only granted for a real public necessity, it was exceedingly unlikely that it would be taken away on account of redundancy. Therefore, the question of redundancy did not arise in connection with new licences, but in regard to old licences which had been granted, in the great majority of cases before 1872. He could speak for one county where no new licence had been granted since 1872, except in one special case for refreshment purposes; and so, if the new licences were granted under the old conditions, there would be full security for the public interest. On the other hand, there would be a large monopoly value, because those licences would be allowed to go on as long as the house was well conducted. The proposal of the Government was to have a seven years system. He wanted to know from the Solicitor-General what was considered the monopoly value of the seven years grant, which at the end of that seven years might be put up to another person who was the highest bidder. He wanted to know what his hon. and learned friend called, under these circumstances, the monopoly value? In his opinion, the Government by this clause were destroying what was very properly a source of benefit to the State without any interference in regard to public order and morality. They were introducing a system which destroyed the very basis on which what was called a monopoly value was truly founded.

As regarded the seven years system, it might be that a person would be willing to give something for it; but he was quite satisfied that the value of the monopoly grant would be nothing like what was suggested, because the real basis of the value would be taken away on the understanding that at the end of the seven years the rights of the owner might be, and would be, superseded by the licensing magistrates. As to the latter part of the section, the monopoly value, as he understood it, for this purpose was to be estimated in the same way as the compensation value. That was the difference between the value of a licensed house and an unlicensed house. The monopoly value under those circumstances would be a very small thing indeed. What he could not follow was this: In his view, when they were dealing with compensation or monopoly value, they were dealing with licensed premises and not with trade profits. What did these words mean—

> "Provided that, in estimating the value as licensed premises of hotels or other premises where the profits are not wholly derived from the sale of intoxicating liquor, no increased value arising from profits not so derived shall be taken into consideration."

Now, in accordance with his view, if the first part of the clause was looked at, profit was not in it at all. Profit was quite outside of it. What had to be dealt with was a very different problem altogether—viz., the value of the premises as licensed or unlicensed. What did the Solicitor-General mean when he said that in certain cases profits were not to be considered? They were not to be considered in any case. There would be nothing but confusion by suggesting a proviso of that kind. How would it be construed? It could only be construed on the supposition that what were the provision profits were to be brought in, and that would be entirely contrary to the first part of the Amendment of the Solicitor-General. What the Soilcitor-General wanted he could quite understand. The right hon. and learned Member said that in the case of an ordinary public-house it was easy to decide the difference of profit between a licensed and an unlicensed house; but where licensed premises carried on other business it was difficult to separate what profit was due to the licence and what to the other business. That, doubt, was a difficult problem which no would have to be dealt with. It certainly could not be dealt with by excluding profits applicable to a particular part of the business carried on on licensed premises. These points were not brought forward in any antagonistic spirit to the Bill, but in order that they might have a good working measure. He, therefore, hoped that they would have further instruction from the Solicitor-General. Members opposite opposed the Bill from a different point of view. They believed it was a thoroughly bad Bill; but he believed that, in substance, it was a good Bill; and he only wished that the details might be so improved that it would be a final settlement. That was not the view of hon. Gentlemen opposite. He only wished to make the Bill as good as possible; and he, therefore, hoped that the points to which he referred would be reconsidered. He was very much in favour of the principle of the Bill; and it would be a thousand pities if proper attention were not given to these administrative questions, which would be of great importance in the working of the Act. Difficulties would arise if these matters were not sufficiently considered; and he hoped the Solicitor-General would give further information regarding them.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said that the First Lord of the Treasury had stated what was the object of the Government in reference to this legislation. The right hon. Gentleman said that it was the desire of the Government to extricate the trade and the public generally from the unfortunate position in which they found themselves owing to past legislation, which, although it did not create a legal right, did create a moral right from which the nation wished to be freed. The right hon. Gentleman drew a just distinction between the past and the future; and he laid down the principle that there was a strong desire to prevent the difficulties which had arisen in the past arising in the future, so that they should have a free unfettered hand in dealing with this question. The speech of the hon. and learned Member who had just spoken was in direct antagonism to that. He said that the past system did not inflict any evil, that it was the perfection of a system, and he wanted to perpetuate and extend it.

MR. CRIPPS said the system was amended by the present Bill.

SIR HENRY FOWLER said he knew very well what the hon. Gentleman meant, and what his opposition to the Amendment would result in. Did the hon. Gentleman agree with the view of the Solicitor-General? There would be no difficulty about ascertaining what was the monopoly value. It would be the simplest thing in the world. He wished to say a few words, however, on a matter which he considered of far more importance than the details of the clause, and that was the very important question raised by his hon. friend the Member for Dundee. An hon. Gentleman last night said that he was anxious that the Bill should be a fair and a final settlement. There might be a strong difference of opinion as to its fairness or its finality, but there could be no difference of opinion, so far as the financial aspect of the Bill was concerned, that it was not fair, nor would it be final. His hon. friend had pointed out the enormous financial complications involved in the Bill; and he alluded to the difficulties which existed alike in reference to the taxation and the expenditure of the country. There would not be very much difference of opinion that the country had arrived at an *impasse* on that question. One of the first subjects, totally outside the question of licensing reform, which would occupy the attention of the country must be its financial position in reference to liquor taxation; and any clause put into this Bill would not be of a binding character in reference to the future financial position of the country. An enormous income was at present derived from this trade; and many hon. Members thought a much greater income would be derived from it in the future. What the clause did was to add to the complications. There would be three or four taxing bodies, so to speak, three or four applications of the money, and, above all, the inevitable question of local taxation would arise. He thought it would have arisen under the present Government with their enormous majority, and that they would have devoted themselves to rectifying the great, growing, and almost intolerable evils of the local taxation of the country. The Government had two Reports from very competent Commissions on the subject. That question would have to be approached with a perfectly unfettered hand with reference to this branch of taxation, whatever scheme of percentages or poundages or compensation or monopoly value might be now introduced. Depend on it the Parliament of the future would deal with a perfectly unfettered hand with this trade as with all other trades, in order to secure for the Imperial Revenue the proper return it ought to get. They might aggrandise the compensation fund, but money raised in one part of the area would be applied as compensation in another part of the area. It was a temporary proposal. It could not last. He believed that even the

Prime Minister himself did not believe that it would last. Their only hope was to take from the Government all they could get in this clause; and he hoped the Government would stand firm, and would not reopen the seven years limit. The Prime Minister always fairly appreciated the arguments of those who differed from him; and he hoped that at this last stage the right hon. Gentleman would not consent to any vital alteration of the clause.

*MR. WHITTAKER said that when the clause was in Committee no division was taken on it, because they were very anxious to get a new licensing system and to prevent the extension of compensation to new licences. He submitted that the provision had been altogether insufficiently thought out by the Government. What were the facts? First, there appeared in the Bill a definite proposal. When it came into Committee the Government proposed a whole series of Amendments which practically made a new scheme. Now they pretty well revised half of this new scheme again. These changes clearly indicated that the Government had not thoroughly thought out the licensing question, and were not competent to deal with such a complicated question. They showed that the Government were simply in the learning stage. The Bill would, he was sure, break down in working, and a great deal of it the Government dare not attempt to put into working shape. It was left to the Home Secretary to devise this, that, or the other. The whole system would have to be reconsidered. He regarded it as serious that there should be the possibility of enormous sums of money going into a locality through the granting of licences. The Solicitor-General said that if they granted a number of licences they would destroy the value. He did not agree. Look at the enormous value of licences in towns, notwithstanding their number. Again, there were districts with comparatively few licences. West Ham had the smallest number of public-houses, in proportion to population, of any district in the country. West Ham had trouble enough in the amount of its rates; and what a great temptation it would be if the local authorities could get tens of thousands of pounds by granting new licences. The monopoly value was to be the difference between the value of the house licensed and the house unlicensed It was the same principle as was to be applied for compensation purposes, and one could not but remember that in that case, on appeal, the Inland Revenue authorities were to fix the value as for estate duty purposes. That was not the annual, but the capital value, and from that it appeared probable that the monopoly value would be the capital value, so that a very considerable lump sum down would be demanded, and that would be a great temptation to localities. He believed that this new system would ultimately be applied to all licences, and then there would be an enormous temptation to the locality to continue and extend the trade.

The Prime Minister had referred to the desirability of getting rid of the brewers' monopoly. Provision was made for charging the monopoly value, but there was a great difference between the monopoly and the monopoly value, and it did not follow, because the monopoly value was to be charged, that the brewers' monopoly would be got rid of. As brewers would probably be the only persons who could pay the large sums required, the new system would tend to increase the brewers' monopoly. The monopoly value was really the result of the enormous profits a brewer was able to make out of a particular house, and those profits had been rendered possible only by the absence of free competition. Beer now cost the brewer enormously less than it used to; the taxation was not nearly so high; materials cost less than half the amount formerly paid; by improved processes much more liquor was obtained from the same quantity of material; and yet the customer paid the same price for his liquor. Because of the monopoly, the ordinary laws of political economy did not operate, and consequently these enormous profits were possible. That was what gave the monopoly value, but the monopoly was something distinct, and that the brewer would still desire to obtain. The number of houses being limited, unless he secured the control of a certain number, the brewer could do practically no trade, therefore he would endeavour to secure the control of the new public-houses, although he had to pay the monopoly price. He was disposed to agree that, although it might not be a question of auction, it would practically be a question of the highest offer. The monopoly value was the price that somebody would pay for the monopoly, and the brewer would pay the highest price, because he would not only get the advantage of the liquor sold, but also secure the trade of that particular house for his brewery. He would probably offer as satisfactory a person to carry on the house as anybody else, and fully comply with all the other conditions, so that the justices would be almost bound, if they were to secure the full monopoly value, to give the licence to the brewer.

With regard to the seven years term, it was a great defect that the Bill made no provision for the annual review of the conduct of the licence-holder. He felt, however, that if a substantial sum was to be exacted for the licence, there was some inconsistency in expecting a man to take it as a licence for one year. He did not object to a longer term being given, but he thought seven years ought to be the extreme limit to which they should be prepared to go. It would be a great advantage if all the licences in a district were to terminate at the same time, because if ever the community wished to deal with licences under a new system, the fact that the licences were dropping out at different periods would be a serious obstacle. The question of the abolition of licences on the ground of redundancy would not affect new licences, because they would probably be granted for the most part in places where there was a considerable population without a licensed house; but the power of abolition should nevertheless be retained in order that the local authorities might, if they thought fit, institute an entirely new method of dealing with licensed houses. The same would apply if once a substantial reduction were made in the number of public-houses; those that remained without misconduct would probably continue until it was decided to make a distinct and definite change in the whole licensing system.

He agreed that the question of profits did not come into the determination of the value of premises licensed or unlicensed. When a public-house was put up to auction the profits made in the house were not disclosed; it was sold as a house with a licence attached, and the question of the actual profits made did not come up. In the case of hotels and restaurants there might be some difficulty in arriving at the licensed value of the house as apart from its other value, but he did not think the task was beyond the ingenuity of surveyors and valuers to accomplish. He hoped, therefore, that the proviso to the Solicitor-General's Amendment would be omitted. He did not think that, notwithstanding the payment of the monopoly value, the compensation difficulty would recur, because the conditions which had created the difficulty would not exist. The present difficulty had arisen because an extremely valuable privilege had been granted for a comparatively nominal payment. The moment the full value was paid the privilege would not have a saleable value, and the compensation difficulty would naturally disappear. The one bit of comfort in the Bill was that sooner or later this system of charging the full monopoly value for the licence would, he believed, become universal, and he did not wonder that the trade were growing somewhat uneasy over the matter. Present licence-holders had no moral or legal right to freedom from competition, and the granting of a number of new licences would destroy the monopoly value of those already in existence. Moreover, licence-holders had no right, moral or legal, to the continuance of their licences at the nominal fees now charged, and he believed that before five years had passed Parliament would exercise its power of very materially increasing the licence duties. The only consolation about this measure was that, although the clause was crude, immature, and insufficiently thought out, it was better than the original proposal, and opened up a prospect of considerable reform.

Sir EDWARD CARSON said he was in the difficulty of not knowing whether he had to reply to a speech made in favour of or against the Amendment. The hon. Gentleman had gone through every possible objection to every scheme yet suggested, and had then represented that the only way of settling the question was to have free trade in liquor.

*Mr. WHITTAKER: No.

Sir EDWARD CARSON said the hon. Member might not have seen what his remarks led to, but he suggested that the only way to destroy the brewer and the existing publican was to grant so many licences that their business would not really be worth carrying on. As the friend of the trade the hon. Gentleman had given a warning to them that they ought to take care that under the system set up by this Bill licences should not be granted in such numbers as to cause the "monopoly" value as it was called to sink from its present value to nothing. But having gone through his arguments, the hon. Member left the House without any result, because, although he had been good enough to tell the House that the proposal of the Government was not thought out and was crude, he wound up a long and interesting speech without making a single suggestion as to what ought to be done. It was clear that it was impossible to do anything which would meet with the approval of the hon. Member who took, and who was quite entitled to take, an extreme view upon this question, and who never spoke with the view of giving the Government any assistance.

*Mr. WHITTAKER: That is not my business.

Sir EDWARD CARSON said there was really no difference of policy between the two sides of the House with regard to these new licences, and the matter was, therefore, one on which an hon. Member might give his views, not with the intention of embarrassing the Government, but of assisting them in setting up a system. Having said so much, he passed from the hon. Member, because he gathered that the hon. Member did not mean to vote against this clause and that he did not desire its withdrawal; because, having thought out nothing for himself, he would rather take the crude and unthought-out plan of the Government than have the law as it was. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton seemed to think that, on the whole, the Amendment was preferable to the existing law. He rose, apparently, not so much to criticise the Government's scheme for new licences as to make some observations about financial matters. He could not say why the right hon. Gentleman had made the remarks he had made because, as the right hon. Gentleman said that in so far as new financial treatment was concerned the hands of persons acting in the future would be unfettered, he did not see what harm the Bill could do. So far as he had been able to follow the debate the only criticism which he need answer was that of the hon. and learned Member for Stretford. His hon. and learned friend first asked what was a monopoly value and he then answered that question himself, and the hon. Member for the Spen Valley agreed with the answer, that a monopoly value really meant what the highest bidder would pay. But it had been made perfectly clear, as regarded the monopoly value, that the magistrates had no power to put up the premises to auction. There could be no question of the highest bidder. The only question the magistrates had to decide was this. When the magistrates granted a licence to a house, the value of the house rose. What caused that increase of value? The licence. In the circumstances, the Government thought it desirable to put into the Bill a definition of monopoly value. He was sure it was better to have it described as they attempted to describe it than to leave it for the magistrates to try to interpret it in their own way. This Amendment was the only way, he thought, of preventing what they all desired to prevent, the growth of such interests in new licensed houses as had arisen, rightly or wrongly, in the past. As to the latter part of the Amendment, it was quite clear that a distinction must be drawn. In the case of a large hotel, in Piccadilly for instance, no doubt in one sense the licence was the necessary adjunct of the business, but the licence would be a very small portion of the profits that arose, although the business could not be carried on without a licence. He commended the Amendment to the House; not at all as a crude proposal. It was one that they had thought out, and until he heard a better one he should continue to admire it, even though it was in his own language.

SIR ROBERT REID thought the Government were right in their objections. The monopoly value had nothing to do with security. The monopoly value was that which flowed from the granting of the licences, and he should have thought that the words made use of by the Majority Report of the Royal Commission, "the value of the licence and the goodwill created thereby," would be better and at the same time might be fairly acknowledged as a working definition. Such a definition would fairly meet the case and roughly describe the interest it was sought to conceive. He saw no difficulty in ascertaining the value roughly except in regard to the monopoly which was to be spread over seven years. It must always be a matter of conjecture as to what the monopoly value was seven years before. The Solicitor-General proposed to make an exception under his proviso with regard to the big hotels, but the case of a large hotel was exactly the same as that of a small public-house. Whatever benefit flowed from the licence ought to be reserved to the community; the profits of an hotel might flow in a more indirect way, but that was a question for an arbitrator to deal with. He did not think it would be right to exempt hotels from the liability to pay on profits flowing from the licence. One other point, the fixing of the monopoly value for seven years must always be more or less of a speculative matter and the more lengthy the period fixed the greater certainty there would be that they would not get the amount of monopoly value they desired to have. He thought seven years was long enough and he earnestly hoped the period of seven years would not be extended. He objected to the distribution of the monopoly value among the local authorities, as the amount that each locality would have would depend on the number of new public-houses, and this would be a considerable temptation to the justices, who were amenable to local efforts, to raise large sums by granting new licences, which was a real danger to be guarded against.

MR. GRETTON (Derbyshire, S.) suggested that it would be possible even at the present stage of the Bill to carry out what was evidently the wish of both sides of the House, namely, that the destination of the money to be derived from the new licences should not be the local taxation fund. It might be possible to leave out of the clause the words which assigned the destination of the money and next year by the Finance Bill if possible, or by some other means, to assign the destination of the money. They were agreed on both sides of the House that there should be no arbitrary direction given to the licensing justices to force the new licences on any particular class of applicants. He held with the hon. Member for Stretford, and the hon. Member for Spen Valley, that this assignment of taxation—the monopoly value as it was called—could lead to the extinction of the small man when he was applying for a licence. He thought he could claim to have some knowledge of these matters, and he could not conceive any method by which they could arrive at the monopoly value. The words were unfortunate. The monoply value could only be ascertained by ascertaining what this particular thing would fetch from a possible purchaser. If, having a house to let, they let it below the rent which it would fetch, they let it below the value. He could not conceive how any valuer or expert could arrive at what was the monoply value, unless he took into consideration what the property would fetch among various applicants. How could they get rid of the "big monopolists?" He adopted the words of hon. Gentlemen opposite. At any rate, both sides of the House were agreed that, in this matter, they should not have the market all to themselves. How could they get rid of them in this direction? If the big monopolist had more funds at his command, naturally he would be able to buy at a higher price, or to give a higher rent, and in that connection he must inevitably raise the value. He was not alone; there were others in the same position, so that the large brewer would be the man who would succeed in getting the licence. He did not think it was the intention of the House of Commons—he believed it was not the intention of the Government—that the small man, the private individual, should be excluded from ever thinking of obtaining a new licence. It should be remembered in this connection that the expenses on going into licensed premises were very heavy indeed. Every alteration of the law put new requirements on the tenants, and larger outlay was needed for fittings. All this was a heavy charge, which must be paid by the little man as well as the large trading company. These were matters which ought to be taken into consideration, and if they were going to extract from the little man a very large sum, and also going to limit him to a short term, it seemed that the discretion of the magistrates would be so bound up in this matter that the small man could never hope to hold a licence.

He would have an opportunity of saying more on this subject on a later Amendment, and for the present he would confine his remarks to one matter which he thought had escaped attention. He did not express any opinion on the subject, which was one of public policy, but he thought he was justified in calling attention to it. The new Clause 4, as drawn, would inevitably, he believed, stop that reduction in licences which in many localities was valued by the justices and the public generally. It would prevent, undoubtedly the surrender of several old licences for a new licence. He need not go into the whole of the arguments on this subject, but he had taken the opinion of a good many in the trade, and they told him that under the conditions of the heavy payment which would be exacted for a new licence, anyone who had already paid heavily for an old licence—because the present holders of old licences had not got them for nothing—would not be likely to surrender an old licence in order to acquire a new licence which would involve him in a further heavy payment. If the House thought that the system of surrendering old licences for new ones should be retained, at any rate the discretion of the magistrates should be retained in this matter. He would suggest that an Amendment might be made at a later stage of the Bill for the purpose of preserving that power of the magistrates. He would point out in connection with this matter, that in the eyes of the law there was no such thing as the removal of a licence from old to new premises. In the eyes of the law it was technically the granting of a new licence under Section 50 of the Licensing Act of 1872. He had not a strong opinion on the subject, but if the House thought it wise to preserve the power to the magistrates to transfer an old licence to new premises, a small Amendment to the clause would be necessary.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester) said that if he understood the Amendment aright its object was to separate the profits from the sale of intoxicating drink, from the profits derived from letting rooms and supplying food.

SIR EDWARD CARSON: Yes, sir; that is the purpose of the Amendment.

MR. BROADHURST said he believed it was undoubtedly true that in season hotels the tendency of late years had been to consume less and less intoxicating drink. The consequences of that was that the charges for rooms and board had a tendency to increase in proportion as the demand for intoxicants decreased. He believed he was right in stating that a licensed hotel could obtain more money for its rooms and for food than a boarding house possessing similar accommodation as well as equally good furnishing. If that was so, it was scarcely fair and just to the community to draw a hard-and-fast line in separating the profits from drink and from the other sources of revenue of an hotel. The truth of his assertion could easily be substantiated by inquiries His contention was that the licensed house, which obtained more money than a boarding-house in the way he had suggested, should not be let off at the exact line of profits derived only from the sale of wines, beer, and spirits, but that the house should be taxed to some extent upon the extra profit which was made out of the letting of the rooms. It was curious that rooms should fetch more on licensed premises, but it was a fact that they did. The reason he believed was this, that while there was increasing sobriety among the class of people who used these good hotels each year, still even moderate drinkers liked to live under a roof where they could obtain a little drink of that kind if they wanted it.

MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR called the attention of the Solicitor-General to the contrast between the manner in which existing licences were to be dealt with under the Bill and the proposals with regard to new licences. He invited the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the question whether the system proposed for the new licences was altogether in the true interests of the public as the clause and as the Amendment now stood. He took it that they wanted to secure first of all adequate control and supervision over the licences. There was no question that that would be secured in regard to the existing licences, because they had to come up for renewal year by year. He agreed with the hon. Member for the Spen Valley Division, however, that there would be a less degree of control in regard to the seven years licences, which it was in the power of the magistrates to grant, than in the case of existing licences, and he looked upon that as a drawback. Secondly, they wanted to secure control in the sense that the State should have the power to step in when a licence was held to be redundant, and to withdraw it on just terms. Thirdly, they wanted to secure that the country should have the best class of houses. Their object should be to get the best possible class of house for this particular business, the best possible class of tenant and the best class of entertainment provided for the public in the shape of food and drink of good quality. This object could not be obtained unless they dealt fairly and liberally with the persons who wished to conduct licensed premises honourably, and who wished to put money into the business. To his mind that was one of the great advantages of that part of the Bill dealing with compensation. If a man knew that, after five, ten, or fifteen years, his licence might be withdrawn as no longer necessary in the interest of the public, and that he could get back, not the whole money he had invested in the improvement of the premises, but a reasonable amount, then he would be more ready to spend money on his premises, and to deal liberally with the public. That was secured by the mode of dealing with existing licences proposed by the Bill. He entirely agreed with the power of experiment granted by the Bill. It was exceedingly wide, so that the justices might attach to the grant of the licences such conditions as they thought fit in the interest of the public. But there was only one form of experiment which they might not try, and that was that they might not grant a licence upon conditions which were applicable to the 100,000 existing licences. He regretted that the justices should not have that power. He should like to know whether it was possible to give justices a right to enable applicants for new licences to come in under the old conditions, whereby they could have new licences and be subject to the payment of compensation. He hoped that in making this suggestion he was not too late.

*MR. SPEAKER said that the House had already decided that compensation should apply only to existing licences.

MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR said he bowed to the Speaker's ruling. As to the provision in the Amendment of the Solicitor-General regarding monopoly value, he doubted whether it would work in the interests of the public. The words of the Amendment were perfectly clear. What the licensing justices were to secure was the monopoly value which was defined as the difference between the value of the licensed premises and of the same premises if not licensed. He would take a common case. Suppose there were premises which, with an annual licence, commanded a rent of £100, but which, without the licence, would only command a rent of £30. The monopoly value would be £70. Taking a concrete case; how much would it cost to build a house for the purposes of licensed premises of a similar class. He was told that it would be something like £2,000. The return on that £2,000, if the licence were granted, would be £100—a fair return, representing 5 per cent. But then the licensing magistrates would say—"We are required by this Amendment, which defines the monopoly value, to ask you to pay £70, and when you have paid that you will be able to get £100 as the return for your capital expenditure of £2,000. But you will have to pay us for the privilege of getting this £100, £70." The result of this Amendment would be that no private person or trust company would venture to put money into a licensed house, and the only possible individual who could be expected to take the risk of investing his money under conditions of that kind was the brewer, and especially the large brewer; and if the large brewer did not do so, the alternative would be that either there would be no houses at all in some localities or that clubs would spring up. They were aware in the North of England what that had meant. He knew of one club where the subscriptions came to about £15 or £16, and the amount from the sale of drink to £650. Under these circumstances, he asked the Government to consider the adoption of some words which would mitigate the severity of the requirements laid down in the Amendment. He suggested whether some stronger and clearer words might not be introduced which would allow the justices to consider the expediency of securing that the owner of licensed premises should have some fair and reasonable return on his capital.

*MR. LAWSON WALTON said under the new system justices would have no power to give a licence to an applicant for nothing. The licensee must be prepared to pay what was called the monopoly value of the licence. It had been contended that such a system would throw the whole trade into the hands of the big capitalists, because the value of the licence would be beyond the means of the small free tenant and the term for which the licence was granted would be too short to enable the tenant to recoup himself for the necessary outlay in the erection of the licensed premises. The licensee would be called upon to pay for the right to trade during a limited period, and there was nothing to prevent the magistrates from capitalising the value of the licence and allowing the licensee to spread his payments over the whole period for which the licence was granted; and if that were done he saw no difficulty in the way of any prospective tenant of moderate capital applying for a licence, and meeting the payments for the licence out of the profits of each year. Further, the risk that a licensee would lose his licence at the end of the period for which it was granted would be an insurable risk, at a moderate premium. Except in cases where the circumstances of a neighbourhood had greatly changed during the period there was a strong probability that licences granted under this system would be renewed at the end of seven years. While, therefore, he should have felt very strong objection to any proposal which tended to cause licensed houses to drift into the hands of the large brewery companies, he believed magistrates would in this case have large powers to give preferences to free licences and to make the terms of payment easy, so that effect might be given to the force of public opinion in the regulation of the trade in such a manner as would conduce to its being carried on far more satisfactorily than at present, and far more in harmony with the public interest.

SIR JOHN GORST (Cambridge University) asked what would be the position of trust public-houses under this proposal, because they aimed at selling as little alcoholic liquor as possible, and as much tea, coffee, and other temperance refreshments as possible. Magistrates had to obtain the full monopoly value for a new licence, and therefore the owners of trust public-houses would be called upon to pay for the carrying on of a lucrative trade which they did not intend to avail themselves of. This was a burden which trust public-houses ought not to have placed upon them. If the words now proposed were put in there would be no protection for trust public-houses, and the magistrates would exact from the owners of such houses the full monopoly value, thus placing them at a great disadvantage. The Prime Minister had declared himself favourable to every possible experiment being tried for the regulation of the sale of alcoholic liquors, and no experiments had been more successful in this direction than trust public-houses. He wished to know whether under the words now proposed to be substituted it would be necessary for those houses which had no desire to sell alcoholic liquors to pay the high monopoly value for a licence.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) said he desired to support the appeal which the right hon. Gentleman had made. After what had been said he should not himself have formed the impression that the justices were obliged to take the view which had been put forward. In many places in his constituency there were hotels which were the property of the Crown held under leases which directed the licensee to decrease the sale of intoxicating drink, and they carried out that instruction. He shou'd like to know how such leases in the future would be affected by this proposal.

Mr. BRYNMOR JONES (Swansea District) expressed the opinion that if an application was made by a man who proposed to carry on his house as an hotel and who did not propose to have a bar of any kind in the house, but merely required a licence for the purpose of supplying his guests in the hotel, for a licence granted under such conditions the licensing justices should only exact the value of the difference between premises held under such conditions and a private house. It was not an open or competitive licence that would be granted, and the same was the case with regard to the trust public-houses. When an application was made for a licence for a trust public-house the justices should take some security that the application was a *boná fide* one, and that the public-house would be carried on as a trust public-house, where the sale of intoxicating liquors would not be encouraged, and that in those circumstances they should not be compelled to exact a larger monopoly value than the value of the house carried on as a trust public-house. He was quite satisfied with the words of the hon. and learned Gentleman, which he thought would encourage the trust and discourage the open public-house.

*Mr. DUNCAN (Yorkshire, W.R., Otley) said it was somewhat difficult to know how the monopoly value of these new licences was to be ascertained, because the value was to a very large extent, in the first instance, problematical. The houses established would be in new districts, and it would not be known, for a time at any rate, what custom they were going to receive. So far as he had observed from the advertisements in the trade papers, although no mention of profit was made, yet turnover was in many cases named. A public-house was said to have a return of so many barrels of beer or so much spirits, and when the premises were offered for sale the question of turnover entered very largely into the monetary value. If licences were to be granted for a short period, at the end of which the magistrates were to have the right to revise the amount of monopoly value which the public was to receive, it might be that, in the case of a licence granted to one of the trust companies which restricted very largely the sale of intoxicants, the magistrates could reduce the amount originally fixed as the value of the licence. The Solicitor-General had, he thought, rather unfairly attacked the hon. Member for Spen Valley by saying that his only remedy was to have free trade in the sale of liquor. That was not his understanding of his hon. friend's argument. It was simply that magistrates had the right to destroy the monopoly value by issuing licences broadcast. That was an undoubted power which they had refrained from using, not intentionally for the benefit of the licence-holders, but for social and other reasons. One of the main objections to the Bill was that although this monopoly value was to be secured in the issue of the new licences yet the public was never going to receive anything of its undoubted interest in the licences already existing. When the Bill was passed an increased value would undoubtedly be given to public-houses by the position they would have obtained by the increased expectation of renewal on account of the suppression of redundant licences. He hoped the House would not accept the proposal of the hon. Member for Blackpool. Not only should new licences not be put upon the old system, but the old licence should be put upon the new system.

Question put, and negatived.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE said the question of the interpretation of the words "as licensed premises" was one of considerable importance. It would be a serious matter if magistrates were compelled to impose the full competitive value, as that would absolutely destroy any chance of setting up public-house trusts, the idea of which was not to make a profit at all. He suggested the insertion of some such words as—"regard being had to the effect which the conditions attached to the licence may have upon such value.'"

Sir EDWARD CARSON: That must always be a factor.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE said it was really a question of the technical interpretation of the words "as licensed premises." Legal gentlemen of great experience had suggested that the justices would have to consider the premises, not with regard to the conditions imposed, but as ordinary licensed premises, and in order to prevent the possibility of any difficulty arising it should be made perfectly clear that the conditions imposed by the magistrates were to be taken into account when assessing the value of the premises.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said that on the question of policy, leaving the legal question to his right hon. friend the Solicitor-General, there could be no doubt as to the intention of the Government. It was never intended that it should be obligatory upon magistrates to put a licence up to public auction or anything analogous thereto. If one of the conditions attached to a licence was—as it might well be—that the house should open only on six days a week, it was manifest that the same amount of money could not be extracted from the licence-holder as might be for a seven days licence. The matter ought to be discussed quite apart from the public-house trust question. One of the objections raised to the auction idea had been that it would drive out the free licence-holder, and give an unfair advantage to a certain class of brewery principals. That, evidently, the magistrates ought not to be compelled to do. If, by imposing less onerous terms, it might be made possible for a free licence-holder to obtain the licence, he thought it would be legitimate for the magistrates to impose those less onerous terms. As to the principle, they were perfectly agreed. Whether the words on the Paper carried with them that principle he was not competent to say with authority, but personally he should have thought they did.

***Sir CHARLES DILKE** said that on this question the House was very much in the hands of those who thoroughly understood the licensing law, and the view taken of these words by certain distinguished lawyers was somewhat alarming. As the question had been raised, he thought it ought to be definitely cleared up.

Mr. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.) said it was satisfactory to find that there was no difference of opinion as to the intention and as to what ought to be the effect of this clause. The only question was whether, in view of the opinions which had been expressed, the language of the clause actually carried that intention into effect. Personally, he would have said that it did. The clause contained these expressions, "having regard to proper provision for good management," "securing to the public any monopoly value," and that the monopoly value "is to be represented by the difference between the value which the premises will bear in the opinion of the justices, as licensed premises, and the value of the same premises if they were not licensed." If those three things were taken together, as they ought to be, there should not be any doubt in dealing with such cases as had been mentioned. But, in view of the opinion expressed by some eminent critics, he thought the Government would be well advised to give further consideration to the matter, and see whether there was any ground for the doubts which had been expressed.

Sir EDWARD CARSON had not the least doubt that under the clause as it stood it would be perfectly possible for magistrates to deal with each particular case according to the conditions imposed. The granting of a licence under the new system would not be merely the granting of a licence and nothing more. The premises would not become simply licensed premises; they would become licensed premises with conditions attached. The licence itself would have the conditions attached, and according as those conditions were added the value of the premises to which the conditioned licence applied would be increased or decreased. For instance, if the condition were imposed that a house should open only on three days a week, or at particular hours, the value of the house to which that licence applied "as licensed premises," would be a great deal less than the value of premises holding what was now called a full licence without restrictions. The fallacy which underlay the contrary opinion was due to an attempt to detach the conditions from the licence itself, and to consider the premises as though they had a full licence without restrictions. Many such cases might arise. There might be instances where they would only want a refreshment bar. The matter was all-important, and it had not been overlooked. He would look further into the question, and if it was found necessary an alteration in the direction indicated would be made in another place. As to the Question put to him by the hon. Member for Leicester in regard to the value of a house with and without a licence, he was very anxious to answer the Question, but he did not think he ought to commit himself in that way. Really the point was not a very large one, but he could not see his way to answer the hon. Member's conundrum.

MR. BROADHURST said the question was a large one.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said the case under consideration was that of a public-house conducted with the idea of not selling too much intoxicating drink, although that particular condition might not be attached to the licence. The words in the Bill did not cover the case where the owners endeavoured as far as possible to discourage the sale of drink.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) said he should prefer the words remaining as they were. The present form of the proposal would oblige the justices to insist upon all the conditions they imposed being attached to the licence.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment to the Bill—

"In line 2, after the word 'management' to insert the words 'and a reasonable return on the expenditure incurred in respect of the premises.'"—(*Mr. Worsley-Taylor.*)

Sir Edward Carson.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted in the proposed Amendment."

SIR EDWARD CARSON said that the particular case referred to in the Amendment seemed to be a very peculiar one. The hon. Member suggested the case of a man incurring an outlay of £2,000 upon building a house that would not let without a licence at more than £30 a year. He could not think that such a case was likely to arise, and if it did it would certainly be a very exceptional case. He could not conceive of a man incurring such an outlay, and running the chance of getting a licence, for if he failed to obtain the licence he would have the building thrown upon his hands. He would suggest that the words "and the suitability of the premises" would meet the purpose of the hon. and learned Member. But he would consider the point in order to see if anything could be done.

*MR. BOUSFIELD said he regarded the subject matter raised by the Amendment as one of the most important which had to be considered in connection with this clause. But he did not think the difficulty which the hon. Member had in view was met by the Amendment. It could only be met, he thought, by allowing the magistrates to grant a licence for such a term as would provide for the return of the capital expenditure incurred in respect of the premises. There were two alternatives suggested. One was suggested by the hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment now before the House, and the other would be moved by another hon. Gentleman with regard to the extension of the time. The difficulty with which they were faced was a very great one. He was thoroughly in sympathy with the principle intended to be introduced by the clause. The principle, as he understood it, was that a new licence should be granted under such circumstances that the public should secure the monopoly value of the licence, that there should be no equitable or moral right to the renewal of a licence, and that the magistrates should be perfectly free to consider in the public interest, without any question of compensation, whether the licence ought to be granted again. If that was to be done it was quite obvious that they must see that the term for which the licence was granted and the conditions were such that the licensee would have a fair opportunity of reimbursing his capital expenditure. He was afraid the Amendment the hon. Gentleman had proposed did not meet the situation they would have to face at a later period on this clause. The new licensee must be able to go into the premises for such a term and on such conditions as would enable him to recoup himself for his capital expenditure. Otherwise, taking, for instance, the case of a licensee who had incurred a capital expenditure of several thousand pounds, the magistrates would say at the end of seven years that this term was not enough to enable him to recoup his expenditure, and they would consider that he had a moral right to a renewal of the licence.

MR. CRIPPS said that when it was proposed to open new premises plans were submitted to the magistrates, and the applicant got a provisional licence. What his hon. and learned friend wanted to provide was that, a provisional licence having been granted, the fact that large capital expenditure had been incurred should be taken into consideration when a renewal was applied for.

MR. A. K. LOYD (Berkshire, Abingdon) suggested that the hon. Member for Blackpool should accept the words "and a reasonable return on the expenditure necessarily incurred in providing suitable premises."

SIR EDWARD CARSON said the Government could not possibly accept this suggestion.

MR. WORSLEY-TAYLOR said that, in view of the Solicitor-General's promise to take the matter into consideration, he was prepared to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment to the proposed Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

SIR JOHN GORST moved to amend line 6 by leaving out the words "licensed premises" and inserting the words "so licensed by them." He had only been induced to intervene because of the strong opinion expressed by the hon. and learned Member for Blackpool and the hon. and learned Member opposite, both of whom had large experience in these matters. His object in moving the Amendment was to enable the unlearned to understand perfectly well what the clause meant.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment to the Bill—

"In line 6, to leave out the words 'licensed premises' and insert the words 'so licensed by them.' —(*Sir John Gorst*)—instead thereof."

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment.'"

SIR EDWARD CARSON said he could not grasp the difference between the words suggested by the right hon. Gentleman and the words in the clause.

SIR JOHN GORST begged leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment to the proposed Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON said he wished to move to leave out the proviso in the first sub-section of the Amendment proposed by the Solicitor-General. He believed that it would turn out that this Amendment would be supported, or opposed, by hon. Members on quite different grounds, and from different points of view. The fact was that this Bill was of a very ambiguous character. It was said that it was a measure of temperance reform, while others regarded it from its financial aspect. It was on financial grounds that he moved his Amendment. The principle of the clause was that the monopoly value was the value accruing to the premises by the fact that they were licensed, and by the restriction of competition. If the value created by the fact that competition was restricted was to go to the State, or the public, he did not see why the collateral profit which was increased by the fact of monopoly should not also go to the public. In the case of hotels there might be ground for special consideration, but this proviso did not refer to hotels alone but to all public-houses. There was no public-house in which the profits were not partly derived from the sale of articles other than intoxicating liquors, and the publican was enabled to charge more for them on account of the privileged position which he occupied. For instance, a man who wanted soda with his whiskey had frequently to pay for that soda three times as much as he would in an unlicensed house. He begged to move.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment to the Bill—

"In line 7, to leave out from the word 'licensed' to the end of the Bill."—(*Mr. Edmund Robertson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment."

Sir EDWARD CARSON said it seemed to the Government to be absolutely necessary in setting up this new system of granting licences to draw a distinction between what he might call ordinary public-houses and hotels and restaurants. Take one of the large hotels, the profits of which largely depended on the fact that it supplied accommodation, it was impossible to say that that profit should go to the public. They must draw the line at the profit connected with the sale of liquor. It was for that reason that they had introduced the proviso.

Mr. WHITTAKER said that what he and his hon. friends desired to secure was that the whole of the extra value given to the premises by the licence, whether it was from the sale of drink or of food, should accrue to the community. He believed that unless this proviso was omitted, all sorts of difficulties and complications would arise, and the object they had in view would not be secured. He begged to support the Amendment.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 222; Noes, 126. (Division List No. 284.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Hen. Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hn Gerald W(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hon, Sir M. Hicks
Beckett, Ernest William
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bill, Charles
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bousfield, William Robert
Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, Rt Hn. J. A. (Glasgow
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C W(Derbyshire.
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn J. A.(Worc
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Charrington, Spencer
Clancy, John Joseph
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas, Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Denny, Colonel
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby, Ralph
Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Fergusson, Rt Hn Sir J.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Banantyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Philip S. (Warwick, S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gordon, Hn. J. E. (Elgin & Nairn
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Greene, Sir E W(B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hammond, John
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse, Rt Hn H(Somers't, E
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J. F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hn. Sir John H.
Kennedy, Vincent P. (Cavan, W.
Kenyon, Hon. Geo. T. (Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)

Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks. NR
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants, Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham
Long, Rt Hon. Water (Bristol, S.
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb. Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J. (Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Hugh, Patrick A.
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Maxwell, Rt Hn Sir H E (Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt Hn A Graham (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nolan, Col. P. John (Galway, N.
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Dowd, John
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Pemberton, John S. G.
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Pym, C. Guy
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remannt, James Farquharson
Renshaw, Sir Charles Bine
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hon. M W. (Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde (Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robinson, Brooke
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel, Sir Harry S. (Limehouse
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tully, Jasper
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C E H (Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Welby, Lt.-Col. A C E (Taunton
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Barlow, John Emmott
Benn, John Williams
Blake, Edward
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Channing, Francis Allston
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Cullinan, J.
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway)
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Dunn, Sir William
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herb. John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hardie, J Keir (Merthyr Tydvil
Harwood, George
Hayter, Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Joyce, Michael
Kearley, Hudson, E.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall(
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Levy, Maurice
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lundon, W.
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.
Moulton, John Fletcher
Newnes, Sir George
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Kednal (Tipperary Mid
O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, N
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Parrott, William
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robson, William (Snowdon)
Roe, Sir Thomas

Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj. J E B(Isle of Wight)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Sheehy, David
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Sloan, Thomas Henry
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Thomas, David Alfred(Merthyr
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, S.
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson, Henry J. (York, W. R.)
Woodhouse, Sir J T.(Hudders'fd

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Mr. Whittaker and Mr. Duncan.

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

And, it being after half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

LICENSING BILL [6TH ALLOTTED DAY].

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [27th July] proposed to the Bill, on Consideration, as amended.

Which Amendment was—

"In page 3, line 33, after the word 'public,' to insert the words 'subject as follows: (*a*) Such conditions shall in any case be attached as, having regard to proper provision for good management, the justices think best adapted for securing to the public any monopoly value which is represented by the difference between the value which the premises will bear, in the opinion of the justices, as licensed premises, and the value of the same premises if they were not licensed. Provided that, in estimating the value as licensed premises of hotels or other premises where the profits are not wholly derived from the sale of intoxicating liquor, no increased value arising from profits not so derived shall be taken into consideration; (*b*) The amount of any payments imposed under conditions attached in pursuance of this section shall not exceed the amount thus required to secure the monopoly value.' "—(*Sir. Edward Carson.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. J. H. LEWIS (Flint Boroughs) said he moved the Amendment standing in his name not in any hostile sense to the proposal of the Government, but in order that everybody should clearly understand the meaning of those proposals. He took it for granted that anything like selling licences by public auction was excluded by these words, but he wished to know in what way it was intended to arrive at this monopoly value. Were the magistrates to have a valuer of their own, or was it intended that they should ask for tenders not binding themselves in any particular, or in what particular mode was it proposed that the magistrates should ascertain the monopoly value so that it should not exceed the amount mentioned in Subsection (b) of the Amendment? It was for this reason, and for the purpose of asking the hon. and learned Gentleman, for the information of the House, to explain the purport of the Amendment and the way in which it was proposed to ascertain the monopoly value that he now begged to move.

Another Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment to the Bill—

"In line 12, to leave out paragraph (b)."—(*Mr. J. H. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment."

SIR EDWARD CARSON said it had been thought necessary to insert this clause for the purpose of showing that what the magistrates were to consider was not the question of who was the highest bidder but what, having regard to proper provision for good management, they deemed to be the monopoly value. It was impossible that they should ask for tenders. The application would be made exactly as it was made at the present time in respect to specific premises. The magistrates would form their conclusions as to what the premises were worth without a licence; and they would also form their conclusions as to what a suitable applicant would give for the premises if he were taking them as licensed premises. It was not a matter that could be reduced to a strictly scientific process. Honourable and skilful valuers differed in their valuation, but that did not prevent juries from making up their minds as to the value of property with which they were called upon to deal. These matters had been presented in a very exaggerated way. The question of valuation would right itself. The valuation must be a valuation relative to the disabilities created in connection with the new licences. When it was said, "How will it pay a man to take a licence at such an enormous sum for a few years?" the answer was that if the transaction would not pay people would not enter into it. It was impossible to lay down any abstract principle of valuation. Supply and demand, situation, length of term, and other questions entered into the matter. On such considerations and on such evidence as might be necessary the magistrates would come to a determination what sum they ought to ask for the monopoly value. The object of this subsection was to provide that the magistrates should not, reckless of other matters, grant a licence to a man who offered to give a great deal more than another. Such a system would lead to the selection of licence-holders without regard to character or the methods by which they conducted business, and would tend to foster a system under which their chief object would be to drive a great trade.

MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE said the right hon. Gentleman had not answered, so far as he could discover, the Question of the hon. Member for Flint Boroughs as to whether the justices in the administration of this clause would have power to employ valuers. The right hon. Gentleman had said that they would take the evidence of skilled witnesses; but would all their advice be confined to what they heard from skilled witnesses, who, in all probability, would be brought forward by the brewers? He submitted that inasmuch as under the Act of 1872 it had been found necessary to give the justices power to employ valuers to ascertain annual values, it would be necessary to give the same powers here when the value to be ascertained was the much more complicated monopoly value. It might be said that the views taken by valuers of the value of a property very often differed very widely, and it might also be said that their views sometimes varied according to the interest of the parties for whom they were engaged; it would, therefore, seem only businesslike to allow the magistrates to employ a valuer to give them advice from the public point of view, without bias. He hoped before the Bill reached its final stage this point would be considered.

MR. H. C. RICHARDS (Finsbury, E.) thought there would be great difficulty in the way of giving the magistrates power to employ skilled valuers, unless it were stipulated that the valuer retained by the magistrates should never undertake other business in the same neighbourhood; because, unless that were done, there would be the danger of the valuer coming forward in support of a licence, and the fact that he was the valuer of the magistrates would give his support much greater weight than it would otherwise possess. With regard to provisional licences, he believed that this proviso would give rise to many applications of that character. Applications would be made upon plans for certain sites, and he submitted that it would be much better that magistrates should be able to signify their requirements as to the position and nature of the premises rather than have to consider competing applications. There was certain to be a number of applications for every probable new licence in any district with a steadily increasing population. If there was no such proviso as that now proposed, there would be great danger of magistrates who were members of municipal authorities attempting to drive bargains and accepting the highest bidder, and that, he submitted, would be a grave scandal. He appealed to the real friends of temperance on the other side not to support the omission of these words, as by so doing they would simply bring about the state of affairs suggested by the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries earlier in the afternoon. If the magistrates were not to consider the personal character of the applicant and the position of the site, the matter would resolve itself simply into a question of money, and that would mean that all new licences would go into the hands of capitalists to the exclusion of the honest publican.

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH (Anglesey) said the hon. and learned Member opposite might rest assured that valuers would have no more difficulty in giving evidence in one year of a precisely opposite effect to that which they had given in a preceding year, than the hon. and learned Member himself would have in advocating different sets of views on different occasions. With regard to this new sub-section, the monopoly value was to be the difference between the value of the premises unlicensed and the value of the premises licensed. The value to whom? Was it the value to the applicant? If so, surely the applicant ought to know what was the value of the difference to him. Then the value to a brewery company would be much greater than the value to an ordinary applicant. To a brewery company deriving both the wholesale and the retail profits the monopoly value might be £1,000 as compared with £500 to the man who would have only the retail profit. Other things being equal, why should the magistrates refuse the £1,000 in order to accept the £500? In that way the brewery companies would be given a great advantage. But, being more desirous of securing good management than of obtaining the capitalised value of the new licences, he recognised that the clause was a step in the right direction, and in that spirit, though he would like the proposal to have gone farther, he thought it should be supported.

MR. DUKE (Plymouth) thought this new departure in licensing was capable of affording a solution of almost all the difficulties arising out of the present state of things in the country. But from the clause as it stood it was not quite clear how the justices were to be guided in arriving at the monopoly value. He doubted whether at present they had any sufficient or suitable machinery for that purpose. Believing as he did that the sub-section would be the means of preventing the growth of the tied-house system, he should support it; but he thought the House ought to have an explanation on the point he had raised, because it was a question of arriving at the value not in a country district where everything about a man was known, but in important urban districts where the amount involved might be large, and it was necessary to prevent the justices from being misled by the representatives of existing systems into fixing upon the new licences such exaggerated values as would result in making the new houses nothing more than replicas of the most inferior houses under the present system.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax) said the Solicitor-General appeared to distinguish between two kinds of monopoly value, and that was really where the difficulty in this question would arise. There were, indeed, two separate monopoly values—the value to the retailer, and the value to the brewery company of the monopoly which they were able to establish in regard to the output of beer through the channel of a particular public-house. The remarks of the Solicitor-General seemed to imply that the clause was to be limited to the monopoly value to the retailer. He believed the new system would have the effect of increasing the number of tied houses. The position of the tied tenant was such that the retail monopoly value diminished as the wholesale monopoly value increased; and if only the retail monopoly value was to be taken into account, it would be within the power of a brewery company who owned the premises to reduce that value to vanishing point, at the same time reserving to themselves the great monopoly value which they at present possessed. That was a serious matter, and would really destroy whatever value this proposal might otherwise have possessed. They had given the magistrates power to employ a valuer to determine the amount of compensation, but they did not possess any such power in regard to ascertaining the monopoly value. He hoped this omission in the Bill which had been pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Somerset would be remedied.

*MR. HELME (Lancashire, Lancaster) said he trusted that the Bill would provide the magistrates with funds to carry out the important suggestions which had been made, and not leave them without professional advice in determining values.

MR. J. H. LEWIS said he had formally moved the Amendment standing in his name on the Paper. He had made this proposal in no hostile sense, and he simply wanted to obtain an explanation of the sub-section. He wished to know whether the Government would provide for this extremely important point by enabling the magistrates to appoint a valuer for this purpose.

SIR EDWARD CARSON said he did not think this matter was so important as the hon. Member seemed to think. He had never known an application for a new licence where there had not been the strongest opposition, and those opposing the granting of a licence would certainly try to increase the monopoly value. As regarded Section 47, what was done there was that the magistrates, at the expense of the applicant, employed a valuer. He did not see why in this case, if it became necessary, the magistrates should not appoint a valuer in the same way.

MR. DUKE reminded the Solicitor-General that in a great many of these cases the application would be refused.

SIR EDWARD CARSON said he saw no reason why the magistrates should not say to the applicant that they were not in a position to decide the matter without appointing a valuer, and that if he went on with the application he would have to pay the cost of the valuation.

MR. J. H. LEWIS asked permission to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment to the proposed Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Proposed words inserted in the Bill.

MR. DISRAELI moved the omission of Sub-section 3 of Clause 4, which provides for the granting of a new on-licence for a term not exceeding seven years, which shall not require renewal during the continuance of the term. As the discussion on Clause 4 had proceeded they had gone from bad to worse, and the clause was now so involved and difficult to understand that he feared magistrates would not know how it would work, and the result would be that very few new licences would be granted. Those magistrates who had had any experience in this matter would be disgusted at the way this question had been treated and the difficulties which had been thrown in the way. The Solicitor-General had said that there would always be a great deal of opposition to the granting of new licences, and that this would tend to raise the value of the licence, but that had not been his experience. The opposition was generally in the direction of showing that the licence was not needed and that there was no demand for a public-house in that particular part of the district. Under this Bill the magistrates would become public-house brokers and valuers, and they would be taking upon themselves duties for which they had no machinery. He protested against this granting a longer period for a licence; if they could put these new licences upon the same basis as the old licences he ventured to think that the clause would work smoothly. This differentiation in regard to licences was not a thing which people understood, and they would not understand why in one case a certain sum had to be paid for the licence whilst a much larger sum had to be paid in another case. These new licences ought to be put upon the same basis as the old ones, at the same time retaining all the monopoly value, but ascertaining that value by some other machinery and not through the magistrates, who were totally unequipped for performing such a duty. He dreaded the first application that would be made to the bench with which he was connected for a new licence, for although his bench might be quite satisfied that the neighbourhood wanted the licence they would be sure to be very reticent about granting it. This Bill bristled so much with technical points and difficulties that it would be almost a dead letter. He submitted that it was a very bad thing to allow any class of licensee to hold his licence for seven years without the usual annual review. He was absolutely in favour of the annual licence, and he hoped that the Government would even now see that they were making this 4th Clause so involved that no body of magistrates would be able to work it. The Government contended that by obtaining the monopoly value for a licence they had done away with the vested interest, but in his opinion the vested interest existed under these new licences in a far more dangerous way that it had ever existed under the old system of annual licences. Those hon. Members who looked more to the legislation in regard to new licences for temperance reform than to the extinction of existing licences by compensation could only feel dismayed at the manner in which this clause had been mutilated and twisted.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 36, to leave out Sub-section (3) of Clause 4."—(*Mr. Disraeli.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out, to the word 'not,' in line 37, stand part of the Bill."

*Mr. BOUSFIELD wished to know what would happen if this Amendment were carried. He took it that the result would be that one year licences would continue to be granted. There was no system of compensation in regard to one year licences, and therefore he presumed that they would stand exactly upon the same footing as licences now stood. He hoped this section would be made more workable than it was as it stood. A large majority of Members of the House approved of the principle contained in the section. The fact was that the only principle on which this clause could rest, if they were not going to have the old system of equities grow up in connection with new licences, was that the term given under the clause should be sufficiently long to compensate the licence-holder for the capital expenditure he made when he applied for a new licence. That, he thought, was absolutely necessary to the success of the new system.

Mr. GRETTON said the small brewer would not be able to apply for one of the new licences because he would not be able to make the outlay on the premises, and at the same time pay for the monopoly value. He did not think it was the Government's intention that new licences should be granted exclusively to large brewery companies. The only possible way in which a valuer could ascertain the monopoly value was to find out what the new licence would fetch in the open market, and there the large brewery companies would be able to offer the highest price. It was not possible under this section, with only a seven years limit, for a small man surrendering a very large proportion of his profit to recoup himself if he did not obtain renewal after seven years. Only a large company owning many licences, some of which might succeed, would be able to recoup itself from the wholesale profits and not from the retail profits—and so be able to compete for a new licence. What he wanted to urge upon the House was that further discretion should be granted to the magistrates for the express purpose of their being able to grant licences to free licence-holders. He claimed for them equal consideration to that accorded to the trust companies. There was another aspect of the matter. The conditions were so onerous and difficult that very few brewery companies would be able to apply for those new licences, and the only solution of the question was in districts where there were large towns, where public authorities themselves would have to erect premises and hire out the licences for various periods. If that was to be the solution, however, not many Members would approve of it. What they wanted in this clause was more elasticity—that the magistrates might have power to extend the term if they considered that the small man was the best person to occupy the house.

Mr. BOND asked whether the intention of the Government was to make things slightly easier to the proposed licensee, to give him better security for the licence he was applying for, or was it intended to make things harder than they were already, and not to allow any new licence to be granted at all, except on terms so onerous and difficult that no one would apply, except now and again a brewer or hotel-keeper. Suppose the object was to make things easier, the clause was singularly ill-adapted to carry out that purpose. The discussion had proceeded upon the assumption that a term of seven years, neither more nor less, would be offered to any applicant who came forward, but, as a matter of fact, the clause said nothing of the kind. It left the discretion in the hands of the magistrates; they might not grant more than seven years but they might grant any term less than that. He supposed they might grant a term of a year only. What was the position of a man who wanted under this provision to obtain a licence? First of all the monopoly value was taken from him. Over and above that, he had got to pay for the licence, provide a house, fit it up, and his money so expended he could not hope to get back in full or anything like in full if the licence was refused, and yet he was supposed to come forward and be content if the magistrate should decide to grant the licence for one year only; at the end of that year he would have to come again and have the monopoly value charged against him once more. If it was really intended by the Bill to make it possible for the small men to take a licence and make reasonable profits, the discretion left by the clause to the magistrates should be taken away. They should not be allowed to grant a licence under these circumstances for one year, but a fixed term should be set up in the Bill and a less term than that should not be granted. If the object of the Government were to remove the sense of hardship the clause would produce and to mitigate the deterrent effect of the clause, the right course was to lay it down that if the applicant satisfied the other conditions and paid the monopoly value he should have a definite term in order that he might have security against disturbance. That object would certainly not be effected by striking out the sub-section altogether, although it might be by introducing proper Amendments. Therefore he could not vote against the Amendment.

MR. ELLIS GRIFFITH said he understood the Amendment had reference to Sub-section 2, although they were to a certain extent discussing Sub-section 3. He thought the House was to be congratulated on the fact that the hon. Member for Derbyshire had intervened in the debate. He was an authority on this question. He was in a certain sense the father of the Bill, for he introduced the deputation from the trade to the Prime Minister. At any rate, the speech the hon. Member had just delivered was an illuminating one. Speaking as a large brewer he referred to the little man who, having no money, had no chance against the big brewer, but the speech of the hon. Member, as he understood it, was directed not so much in favour of the little man, of whom he had no fear, but against the trust companies. As a matter of fact, there were two points involved in the Amendment. The first was, that the new licences might be granted for seven years, and the second was, whether the monopoly value should go to the licence-holder or to the owner. He maintained that the interpretation of the Amendment was that the monopoly value did not go to the licence-holder. He thought that they, on that side of the House, quite understood and appreciated the difficulties in connection with this matter; still, they thought that the monopoly value should go to the licence-holder and not to the brewer.

MR. CRIPPS said he naturally approached this question from an entirely different point of view from that of the hon. Gentleman opposite. His desire was to make the Bill as workable as possible. He was not concerned to discuss the monopoly value at present, although his view was that the monopoly value might be made the subject of Imperial taxation. He understood that, in the view of the Prime Minister, the clause did not in any sense interfere with the system of granting a licence for an annual term as at present.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear!

MR. CRIPPS said that to his mind that was very satisfactory, because it brought the licence within the review of the magistrates from year to year, and that was one of the most important safeguards of our licensing system. There was another point he wished to put to the Prime Minister. If they were to take the monopoly value, they must allow a sufficiently long period of time to give something in the nature of real security to the person who applied for the licence. If they made the term as short as seven years, they would either have tied houses pure and simple, or a system of municipal public-houses, which would be worse still.

Mr. GROVES (Salford, S.) said that it could not be claimed, so far as their contributions to the debates were concerned, that the voice of the brewers had been heard too much in the land. The brewers had refrained from obtruding their opinions on the House with regard to the question of new licences; but they recognised the earnest desire of the Government to place the question of new licences in the future on an entirely different footing from that in which it had stood in the past. There had been very large contributions on the theorising side of the question during the debates, and it might be as well if they had a word on the practical side. If the Bill was to be a workmanlike measure, they must decide either to make the new licences annual, with a reasonable prospect of renewal, or to fix such a period as would give the applicant a reasonable security for the outlay which the magistrates demanded of him. An applicant for a new licence did not come before a bench of magistrates with an ordinary dwelling house. He produced plans for a new house, or of an old house altered, fitted for the requirements of the neighbourhood. These would show that a large outlay was required, and, as he had said, they must give the applicant an annual grant with a reasonable prospect of renewal, or fix a period which would afford a reasonable security for the investment of his money. He desired it to be understood that the brewers did not wish their own personal views on this matter to have more than undue importance. In the future they wished to stand in the same position as any ordinary applicant. The hon. Member opposite endeavoured to draw distinction between what he called the honest publican and the brewer's nominee. He did not think that the licensing magistrates would consider, in granting a new licence, whether the applicant had £500 or £1,000, or from what source he derived his capital, but only the requirements of the neighbourhood. He thought that if the Government hampered the discretion of the licensing magistrates by fixing the maximum at seven years they would make this clause practically unworkable.

Mr. CORBETT (Glasgow, Tradeston) said that he regarded elasticity as to the period of licences as of very great importance, because if the justices were obliged to grant licences always for seven years, licences would be dropping in irregularly from year to year, whereas if they had the discretion to grant for a lengthy period they would be able to group licences together according to particular districts, these would come up for renewal at the same time and the licensing justices could examine the question as a whole with regard to what was best for the interests of the neighbourhood. He sincerely hoped the Government would not agree to any concession to grant licences beyond seven years. There would be many difficulties if a longer period were granted.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said that some of the criticisms which had been passed upon the sub-section were based upon misapprehensions of what it was the clause proposed to do and not to do. He had been asked by the hon. and learned Member for Stretford whether there was any intention on the part of the Government to suggest to the magistrates that their best course was to give new licences for the term of seven years. There was no such suggestion in the clause, and there was no such intention in the minds of the Government. The Bill simply said that new licences should not be granted for a longer term than seven years. It had been argued that that was a suggestion to the magistrates to grant new licences for seven years. But could any one suggest a form of words limiting the period to seven years which could not be said to suggest that the period should be seven years? Besides, the potential licensee would have something to say in the matter. He might prefer a licence for one year or two years, or any term of years up to seven, and the magistrates, whatever the period for which they might have a theoretical preference, would yield to his wishes in the desire to secure him as the best licensee. It had been also asked whether the attempt to capture the monopoly value for the public did not necessarily involve a long tenure. He did not think so. It had been assumed by those who had argued against the Government clause that the monopoly value would be a large sum of money in all cases. It would, in some cases, he believed, be a large sum, in other cases it would be practically nothing. This would depend not wholly, but largely, on the terms exacted by the magistrates. Their requirements as to the fashion in which a house should be built, or as to the alterations to be made, might entirely absorb the monopoly value. All the Government desired was that where monopoly value really existed it should go to the public, not to the licensee. The business of the magistrates was not to extort money for the public either by putting up licences for auction, or by exacting harsh terms from the licensee. Their business was to get the best man they could to manage the business, and to arrange with him so that there should be no monopoly value, but only a fair value. That being the principle, could it be better carried out than in the way the Government had attempted to carry it out in the clause? He did not believe the clause was in the least degree unworkable. He did not believe any jealousy would be excited as between the old licence-holders and the new. The circumstances of each would be different and the terms would be different. He did not think any complications would ensue at all. The only doubt he had ever entertained was whether, in certain circumstances, the magistrates might desire improvements on so large a scale, or impose conditions so onerous as to not only swallow up all the monopoly value, but to deter any reasonable business man from taking the premises at all on a seven years lease. He hoped and believed that this would not be so, and that the seven years lease would be found sufficient to cover all the risks. He hoped the House would accept the sub-section in the form the Government proposed.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. BOND said he wished to move an Amendment extending the term for which new licences might be granted from seven to fifteen years. He doubted whether it would be considered that there had been adequate discussion on the surprising new proposals put forward at that late stage of the Bill. It had been argued by the Prime Minister that when magistrates were considering] whether they should grant a new licence they would be disposed to take into account, in determining the monopoly value, the expenditure to which the applicant had been put in constructing the premises. But that was a misapprehension. There was a distinct direction that magistrates were to attach such conditions to the licence as to obtain for the public the whole benefit of the monopoly value, and there was nothing whatever said about taking into account the expenditure the applicant had been put to. That would be an additional burden upon him after he had paid the monopoly value of the licence. That being the case, it seemed to him that the magistrates should be given the very fullest power of granting to licensees such a term as would enable them to reap the ordinary advantages which as traders they might expect to get out of premises which they had constructed to supply the needs of a particular trade. Unless it was the settled purpose of the Government to make it almost impossible for new licences to be granted in any circumstances, he thought they might reasonably accept the Amendment. If justice was to be done to the requirements of the community and a legitimate trade was to be carried on in districts where it was needed, then he thought magistrates should at least have power to grant to licensees terms which would enable them to recoup themselves for the expenditure to which they had been put, and earn a legitimate profit upon the trade which they carried on.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 37, to leave out the word 'seven' and to insert the word 'fifteen'—(*Mr. Bond*)—instead thereof."

Question proposed, "That the word 'seven' stand part of the Bill."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said that there seemed to be confused in this discussion the interest of the future licence-holder and the interest of the public. The licence-holder need not be considered. No man need apply for a licence if he was going to be injured. The interest of the public was another matter, and he agreed with his hon. friend that it was desirable to grant licences on terms which should bring forward good buildings and good men. There was, however, no evidence to show that the alteration from seven to fifteen years would attain that result.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.) said he wished to move to insert as a proviso at the end of the clause—

"Provided that no new licence shall be granted where the premises are in the vicinity of any place of worship or school."

There was no doubt as to the desirability of such a condition being attached to a new licence. As the First Lord of the Treasury had pointed out, they had to consider not the pecuniary interests of the applicant but the interests of the public. In the United States this condition was attached to all licences, and it would also be part of the new Transvaal liquor law. A new system as regarded new licences would be established under the Act, and it was desirable that a general direction in the sense indicated should be given. The Amendment was one of substance; and he hoped the Government would be able to accept it.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 3, line 42, at the end, to add the words 'Provided that no new licence shall be granted where the premises are in the vicinity of any place of worship or school.'"—(*Mr. Herbert Roberts.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said that it was impossible to accept this Amendment, for two reasons. First, there must be a definition of "vicinity," otherwise the magistrates would be "at sea"; and, second, if the Amendment were adopted, it would inflict great injustice. At the end of a term of years, whether one year or seven years, the next licence would be a new licence. It would be impossible to grant that licence if in the meanwhile a chapel or a church had been built in the neighbourhood.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 121; Noes, 216. (Division List No. 285.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Benn, John Williams
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. (Hastings)
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice, Capt. EC(S.Andrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Gladstone, Rt. Hn. Herbert John
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis V. (Rossendale
Harwood, George
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol, E.
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea
Jones, William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Charles Henry
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh, N.)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Newnes, Sir George
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Reid, Sir R. Threshie (Dumfries
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj. J. E. B. (Isle of Wight)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick, B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal

Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, David Alfred(Merthyr
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Walton, John Lawson (Leeds,S
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)

Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason,John Cathcart (Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)

Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Mr. Herbert Roberts and Mr. Tomlinson.

NOES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher,Rt.Hn. Sir H.
Bagot,Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour,Rt.Hn. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour,Rt.Hn.GeraldW(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. Hicks
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell,J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W.(Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,RtHn J.A.(Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt. Hon. Sir John C. R
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb, Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Davies,Sir HoratioD.(Chatham
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt.Hn.Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland,Sir Fred Dixon
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-

Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose
Fitzroy,Hn.Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster,Philip S.(Warwick,S.W.
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon,Hn.J.E.(Elgin & Nairn
Gordon,Maj. Evans(T'rH'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,SirE.W.(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynem'th
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R. (Dulwich
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson,Sir A. (Stafford,W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hobhouse,RtHnH.(Somers'tE
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope,J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside)
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt.Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel,Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon,Hon.Geo. T.(Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Joseph(Monm'th
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson,JohnGrant (Yorks,N.R
Lee,Arthur H.(Hants.,Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)

Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. CharlesW.(Evesham
Long,Rt Hn.Walter (Bristol,S.)
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col, Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas,Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maxwell,RtHn.SirH.E.(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan,DavidJ.(Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray,Rt Hn.A.Graham(Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col. John P. (Galway,N.
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Peel,Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S. Forde(Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Samuel,SirHarry S.(Limehouse
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Sharpe, William Edward T.

Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.
Taylor, Austin (East Toxteth)
Thompson, Dr. E C (Monagh'n, N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tully, Jasper
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H (Sheffield
Walker, Colonel William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H. (Ashton und. Lyne
Wilson, A. Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

And it being after Eleven of the clock, Mr. Speaker proceeded, in pursuance of the Order of the House of the 5th July, successively to put forthwith the Question on any Amendments moved by the Government of which notice had been given, and on every Question necessary to dispose of the allotted Business to be concluded on the 6th allotted day.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 33, after the word 'number,' to insert the words 'and seven shall be substituted for three as the minimum number.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 4, line 33, at the end, to insert the words, 'The justices of any borough, not being a county borough but having a separate commission of the peace, shall be entitled to appoint one of their number to act with reference to the determination of any question as to the refusal of the renewal of a licence under this Act, and any proceedings consequential thereon, on the committee appointed under this section by quarter sessions, and for those purposes any justice so appointed shall be deemed to be an additional member of the committee.'"—(*Sir Edward Carson.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 5, line 7, to leave out from the word 'for,' to the word 'committees,' in line 8, and insert the words 'constituting where requisite.'—(*Sir Edward Carson*)—instead thereof."

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 5, line 8, to leave out from the word 'sessions,' to the word 'standing,' in line 10.'"—(*Sir Edward Carson.*)

Question put, "That the Amendment be made."

The House divided:—Ayes, 224; Noes, 135. (Division List No. 286.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. (Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir Michael Hicks
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Bousfield, William Robert
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt Hn. J. A. (Worc.
Chamberlayne, T. (S'thampton)
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Charles Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies, Sir Horatio D. (Chatham
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt. Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred Dixon
Doogan, P. C.
Dorington, Rt. Hn. Sir John E.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward

Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants.,W.)
Fergusson,Rt.Hn.Sir J.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, Maj. E. (T'r Hamlets)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hardy, L. (Kent, Ashford)
Harris, F. Leverton(Tynem'th)
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford,W.)
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T.(Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col.CharlesW.(Evesham)
Long, Rt.Hn.Walter(Bristol,S.)
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maxwell,RtHn.Sir H.E(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col.John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Richards, Henry Charles
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord(Lancs.)
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUniv.
Thompson,Dr.E C(Monagh'n,N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tully, Jasper
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col.Sir C.E.H(Sheffield
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Lt.-Col.A.C.E(Taunton
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley(York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith,Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Benn, John Williams
Blake, Edward
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt.E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Gladstone,Rt.Hn.Herbert John

Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Harwood, George
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C.E.H. (Bristol, E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, Vincent P.(Cavan, W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Langley, Batty
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal, W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Lewis, John Herbert
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M'Arthur, William (Cornwall)
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw.(Fermanagh, N.)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Newnes, Sir George
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Kelly, Jas. (Roscommon, N.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj. J.E.B.(Isle of Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Ure, Alexander
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, John Cathcart(Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J.(York, W.R.)
Woodhouse, Sir J.T(Huddersf'd
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Whittaker and Mr. Goddard.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 5, line 10, to leave out from the word 'and,' to the first word "for,' in line 14.'"—(*Sir Edward Carson.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 5, line 35, after the word 'an,' to insert the word 'existing.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, line 9, after the word 'an,' to insert the word 'existing.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, line 14, at the end, to insert the word 'and.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, line 17, to leave out the word 'but,' and insert the words 'Provided that.'—(*Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas*)—instead thereof."

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, line 20, to leave out the words 'quarter sessions for the whole county,' and insert the words 'the justices sitting at each such separate sessions'—(*Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas*)—instead thereof."

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, line 28, after the word 'alone,' to insert the words 'or sweets alone.'"—(*Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*)

Question, "That the Amendment be made," put, and agreed to.

Amendment proposed to the Bill—

"In page 6, line 36, at the end, to insert the words, 'Provided that where a provisional grant and order of confirmation of an on-licence has been made before the passing of this Act under Section twenty-two of The Licensing Act, 1874, and is subsequently declared to be final under that section, the licence shall, although not in force at the date of the passing of this Act, be deemed to be an existing on-licence."—(*Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*)

Question put, "That the Amendment be made."

The House divided:—Ayes, 221; Noes, 132. (Division List No. 287.)

AYES.

Agg-Gardner, James Tynte
Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arkwright, John Stanhope
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt.Hn.Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt.Hon. A.J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W.(Leeds)
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Beach,Rt.Hn.Sir MichaelHicks
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Bull, William James
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J.H.M.(Dublin Univ.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbyshire
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Wugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain,Rt Hn.J.A(Worc.
Chamberlayne, T.(S'thampton)
Charrington, Spencer
Clive, Captain Percy A.
Coates, Edward Feetham
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb,Rt. Hon. Sir John C.R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Craig,Charles Curtis(Antrim,S.)
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cust, Henry John C.
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley
Davies,Sir HoratioD.(Chatham
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Dickson, Charles Scott
Dimsdale, Rt.Hn. Sir Joseph C.
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland,Sir FredDixon
Dorington,Rt. Hon. Sir JohnE.
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Faber, Edmund B.(Hants., W.)
Fergusson, Rt.Hn.SirJ.(Manc'r
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Flower, Sir Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, P. S. (Warwick, S.W.)
Galloway, William Johnson
Gardner, Ernest
Gordon, Hn.J.E.(Elgin&Nairn)
Gordon, Maj. E. (T'r Hamlets)
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene,Sir E.W(B'rySEdm'nds
Greene, Henry D.(Shrewsbury)
Greene, W. Raymond (Cambs.)
Gretton, John
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Groves, James Grimble
Hall, Edward Marshall
Hardy,Laurence(Kent,Ashford
Harris, F.Leverton(Tynem'th)
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Hatch, Ernest Frederick Geo.
Hay, Hon. Claude George
Heath, Arthur Howard(Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords., N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Sir A.(Stafford, W.
Hermon-Hodge, Sir Robert T.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F.(Sheffield,Brightside
Hoult, Joseph
Houston, Robert Paterson
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kenyon, Hn. Geo. T.(Denbigh)
Keswick, William
Kimber, Sir Henry
Knowles, Sir Lees
Laurie, Lieut.-General
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Jos. (Monmouth)
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks., N.R.
Lee, A. H. (Hants., Fareham)
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Llewellyn, Evan Henry
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
Long, Col. CharlesW.(Evesham
Long, Rt.Hn. Walter(Bristol,S.
Lowe, Francis William
Lowther, C. (Cumb., Eskdale)
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Col. Francis (Lowestoft)
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
Majendie, James A. H.
Manners, Lord Cecil
Maxwell,RtHn.Sir H.E(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, D. J. (Walthamstow)
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nannetti, Joseph P.
Newdegate, Francis A. N.
Nicholson, William Graham
Nolan, Col.John P.(Galway,N.)
Nolan, Joseph (Louth, South)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
Peel, Hn.Wm.Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rasch, Sir Frederic Carne
Ratcliff, R. F
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Renwick, George
Ridley, Hon. M.W.(Stalybridge
Ridley, S.Forde(Bethnal Green
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward Jas.(Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.
Stone, Sir Benjamin

Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot, Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'dUinv.
Thompson,Dr.E C(Monagh'n,N
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tuff, Charles
Tufnell, Lieut.-Col. Edward
Tully, Jasper
Valentia, Viscount
Vincent,Col. SirC.E.H(Sheffield
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Walker, Col. William Hall
Wanklyn, James Leslie
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby,Lt.-Col. A.C.E(Taunton
Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley, H.(Ashton und.Lyne
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, A. Stanley(York, E.R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Wyndham-Quin, Col. W. H.
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt.Hn.HerbertHenry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Barlow, John Emmott
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Benn, John Williams
Blake, Edward
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Caldwell, James
Campbell, John (Armagh, S.)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Channing, Francis Allston
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crooks, William
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Delany, William
Devlin, Chas. Ramsay (Galway
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Edwards, Frank
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt E.C(SAndrw'sBghs
Ellis, John Edward (Notts.)
Emmott, Alfred
Eve, Harry Trelawney
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flynn, James Christopher
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grant, Corrie
Griffith, Ellis J.
Guest, Hon. Ivor Churchill
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Hammond, John
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Harwood, George
Helme, Norval Watson
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Hobhouse, C. E. H. (Bristol,E.)
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Jacoby, James Alfred
Johnson, John (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, William(Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kennedy, VincentP.(Cavan,W.
Kilbride, Denis
Lambert, George
Law, Hugh Alex. (Donegal,W.)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt, Francis
Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
Leigh, Sir Joseph
Lewis, John Herbert
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
MacVeagh, Jeremiah
M‘Kenna, Reginald
M‘Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mitchell, Edw. (Fermanagh,N.)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Newnes, Sir George
Norman, Henry
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, K. (Tipperary, Mid.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Malley, William
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.
O'Shee, James John
Partington, Oswald
Pease, J. A. (Saffron Walden)
Pirie, Duncan V.
Price, Robert John
Rea, Russell
Reckitt, Harold James
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Samuel, S. M. (Whitechapel)
Schwann, Charles E.
Seely, Maj.J.E.B.(Isleof Wight
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor, Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
Tomkinson, James
Toulmin, George
Trevelyn, Charles Philips
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, JohnCathcart(Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E. R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, Osmond (Merioneth)
Wilson, Henry J.(York, W.R.)
Woodhouse,Sir J.T(Huddersf'd

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M‘Arthur.

Bill to be read the third time upon **Friday**, and to be printed. [Bill 283.]

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir A. Acland-Hood.*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at eighteen minutes before Twelve o'clock.

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 28th July, 1904.

EARL OF CORK AND ORRERY.

Ordered, That the Report of the Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom, made to the House of Lords on Friday last, that the right of the Earl of Cork and Orrery to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to his satisfaction, be sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland, together with a certificate stating that such Report has been made, and that the House has ordered it to be sent to the said Clerk of the Crown in Ireland.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House, That the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the further Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—Leeds Corporation (Consolidation).

Also the Certificate that no further Standing Orders are applicable to the following Bill:—Electric Lighting (London). The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments.

London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill. Reported from the Select Committee, with Amendments .

Felixstowe Gas Bill; Radcliffe Tramways and Improvement Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments, and passed, and returned to the Commons.

London and India Docks Company Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments; a further Amendment made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

South Shields Gas Bill. Read 3ª, with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill. Committed. The Committees to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Glasgow Corporation (Police) Order Confirmation Bill. Read 3ª (according to order); Amendments made; Bill passed, and returned to the Commons.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill (Tynemouth Order and Newcastle-upon-Tyne Order opposed); Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill (Caerphilly Order opposed). Report from the Committee of Selection, That the following Lords be proposed to the House to form the Select Committee for the consideration of the said Bills; viz., E. Malmesbury, V. Colville of Culross, L. Kintore (*E. Kintore*) (chairman), L. Glenesk, L. Armstrong; agreed to; and the said Lords appointed accordingly. The Committee to meet on Tuesday next at Eleven o'clock; and all petitions referred to the Committee, with leave to the petitioners praying to be heard by counsel against the Bills to be heard as desired, as also counsel for the Bills.

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill. Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be printed; and (pursuant to the Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899), deemed to have been read 2ª (The Lord Kintore (*E. Kintore*)), and reported from the Committee. [No. 166.]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill; Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill.

Moved, That the order made on the 14th day of March last, "That no Provisional Order Confirmation Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after the 16th day of June next," be dispensed with, and that the above Bills be now read 2ª.—(*Lord Kenyon.*)

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Lord BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH): My Lords, before the House agrees to this Motion, I think it right to say a word or two upon it. The Local Government Board, through their own officials, have given me very courteous, frank, and, I believe, full information as to the necessity for the suspension of the Sessional Order in these cases. I believe that no fault can be laid to the charge either of the Local Government Board or of the promoters of the Orders to be confirmed on account of the delay which has taken place. There was considerable opposition to some of them in another place, and the delay arose mainly on that ground. With regard to the first three—Bills Nos. 9, 10, and 11—I am given to understand that they are now wholly unopposed, and it is therefore quite in accordance with precedent that the Sessional Order should be suspended and the Bills carried to a successful conclusion. With regard to the other Bill—No. 13—I understand that there is still some opposition to be dealt with; and the same applies to the Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 8) Bill standing on the Paper to-day in the name of the noble Lord who represents the Board of Trade. Under ordinary circumstances I should have felt it my duty to suggest to your Lordships that it was too late to enter on opposed business of this kind; but I am sure your Lordships would not wish to interpose a merely technical objection to the carrying through of Bills of this character if it can possibly be avoided. Therefore I have to say that in the special circumstances, and as there will be a good many noble Lords in London next week, I have secured a Select Committee to sit and adjudicate upon these Bills, so that we shall be able to deal with the opposition to the Orders in a proper and constitutional way. I make this explanation because six weeks have elapsed since the expiry of time for reading Provisional Order Confirmation Bills a second time, and I think the House might legitimately have objected to going on to opposed business at this late period of the session. In the special circumstances of the case, and in the hope that this will not be considered a precedent for dealing with opposed business of this kind at a similar period of another session, I would suggest to your Lordships that you should agree to the Motion to suspend the Sessional Order in these cases.

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Bills read 2ª accordingly, and committed.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ORDNANCE SURVEY.

Report of the progress of the Ordnance Survey, to the 31st March, 1904.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES)

No. 3237. Spain (Barcelona); No. 3238. Guatemala; No. 3239. Italy (Central Italy).

COLONIES (ANNUAL).

No. 421. Hong-Kong (Report for 1903).

PRISONS (IRELAND).

Twenty-sixth Report of the General Prisons Board (Ireland), 1903–4.

ARMY.

Summary of the recommendations of the Inter-Departmental Committee, 1900, on the Reserves of Guns, Stores, etc., required for the Army; showing also to what extent these recommendations have been carried out.

BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Sixty-sixth Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England and Wales (1903).

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS (IRELAND).

Agricultural Statistics of Ireland; with detailed Report for the year 1903.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

LONDON CORPORATION.

Accounts of the Chamberlain of London for 1903.

POLLING DISTRICTS (BOROUGH OF CAMBRIDGE).

Order made by the Council of the Borough of Cambridge altering certain polling districts in the borough.

COURT OF PROBATE DIVISION (HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE) (IRELAND).

Annual account of receipts and disbursements, for the year ended 31st December, 1903.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act) and ordered to lie on the Table.

COUNTY OF SUFFOLK BILL.

Read 1ª; to be printed; and referred to the Examiners. (No. 165.)

RUSSIAN SEIZURES OF BRITISH SHIPS.

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I see my noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in his place, and I should like to ask him a Question of which I have given him general notice. I want to know if he can give the House any information with respect to the recent seizures of British ships by the Russians—either by the so-called Volunteer Fleet which came through the Dardanelles as private vessels under the merchant flag and subsequently hoisted the national flag and acted as warships, or by the regular men-of-war of the Russian navy. The first class includes the "Malacca," the "Formosa," and other ships; and the second class the "Knight Commander," which is reported to have been sunk by the Russians. I need not say more, in asking this Question, than that considerable anxiety has been occasioned by these seizures and this action by the Russian ships in the Red Sea and elsewhere, and that it will give great satisfaction to the country if the noble Marquess can give us information which will reassure us on this important point.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE)**: My Lords, I gather that my noble friend has addressed this Question to me rather with the object of eliciting from me some statement of the facts and of the situation which at this moment confronts us, than with the expectation that I should enter into anything like a discussion of the complicated and difficult problems of international law which arise in connection with the incidents to which he has referred.

EARL SPENCER: Hear, hear!

***THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE**: The later phase of this question may, I think, be considered to have commenced with the seizure of the Peninsular and Oriental steamship "Malacca, to which the noble Earl referred. That ship, having on board a miscellaneous cargo of about 4,000 tons, of which twenty-three tons consisted of munitions of war, the property of His Majesty's Government, and destined for the dockyards at Hong-Kong and Singapore, was seized on the 13th of this month in the Red Sea. Her passengers and the crew were landed at Port Said, with the exception of the chief officer and two other persons. The ship was sent homewards flying the Russian flag and in charge of a Russian prize crew.

We conceived it to be our duty to make a strong representation to the Russian Government in consequence of this occurrence. Our representation was based mainly upon the character and antecedents of the ship by which the seizure was made. That ship belonged to the Russian Volunteer Fleet. She had lately passed through the Dardanelles; and, in our view, it would have been impossible for her without a breach of the law of Europe to pass through these Straits if she had at the time been a ship of war. If on the other hand it were assumed that she was, at the time of her passage through the Straits, a peaceful vessel, it seemed to us intolerable that within a short space of time she should be transformed into a ship of war and should be found harrying neutral commerce in the waters of the Red Sea. We mentioned, as a subsidiary point in our protest, the fact that the munitions of war on board of her were the property of the Government, and therefore could not be regarded as contraband of war.

My Lords, the result of our remonstrance was as follows. We received, in the first place, from the Russian Government an assurance that the "Malacca" would be released as soon as orders for her release could be conveyed to those on board. She had left Port Said before these orders could reach her, and she did not touch port again until she reached Algiers, at which place she arrived yesterday. I am glad to say she was released last night, and, I believe, at this moment flies the British flag. The second result of our representations was that orders were given by the Russian Government to prevent a recurrence of any similar captures by ships of the Volunteer Fleet; and it was also explained to us that, if any such captures should occur before the orders to prevent them could reach their destination, those captures would be regarded as *non avenus* and as the result of a misunderstanding. In compliance with that assurance the "Ardova" and "Formosa," two other steamers which had been seized, I believe by the same Russian vessel, were released yesterday. We have also been informed that these Volunteer ships are to be withdrawn from the Red Sea to some other destination, and we understand that it is not intended that they shall in the future be employed upon a similar service.

I venture to hope that your Lordships will think that, so far as these particular incidents are concerned, the controversy may be considered as having passed out of the acute stage, if, indeed, it can be said to have ever entered that stage at all. But it will be obvious to your Lordships that there remain other and very serious questions which will have to engage the attention of His Majesty's Government—such questions, I mean, as the question of principle involved in the *status* of these Volunteer ships; such questions, again, as arise in connection with the effect of international engagements upon the navigation of the approaches to the Black Sea. All these questions, at any rate, can be examined without the impediment which would certainly have been occasioned had these ships still remained in the hands of their captors. Amongst other points for consideration, I may refer to cases in which mails have been interfered with by Russian cruisers, and cases in which, unless we are misinformed, the cargoes of captured vessels have been taken off them before they have been under the adjudication of a Prize Court.

But, my Lords, in our view, infinitely the most serious of these outstanding cases is that of which the noble Earl spoke: the case, I mean of the "Knight Commander." The "Knight Commander"—a British vessel—was on her way from Hoboken to Japan with a miscellaneous cargo on board. The facts, so far as we have been able to ascertain them, are as follows. She was required to stop by ships belonging to the Vladivostok Squadron. She obeyed the orders. She was boarded by men from the Russian ships. Her captain and crew were taken off her after what appears to have been a very perfunctory examination. And when the crew had been taken on board the Russian ships, two shells were fired into the "Knight Commander," with the result that she sank immediately. The British crew were taken to Vladivostok, and the native crew were put on board another vessel which happened to be passing. Now, my Lords, unless we have been wholly misinformed in regard to the facts of the case, we can come to no other conclusion but that a serious breach of international law has been committed by the captors of the "Knight Commander." Upon no hypothesis of international law can we conceive that a neutral ship, even if it be assumed that her cargo included contraband of war, could be destroyed in this manner upon the mere fiat of the commanding officer of the capturing squadron and without reference to a properly-constituted Prize Court.

My Lords, it follows that we have considered it our duty to lodge a strong protest against the conduct of those Russian ships, and we have accompanied that protest by a request that orders may be issued to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents. We have also demanded the release of the British crew, which, as I said just now, was taken to Vladivostok. It only remains for me to say that we are confident that these representations will have the desired effect, and that the Russian Government will not hesitate to disavow the conduct of the persons by whom this outrage—for it was an outrage if the facts are as stated—was committed. I hope I may add that the manner in which the Russian Government has dealt with the representations which we have already felt it our duty to make with regard to the other cases justifies us in the hope that the representations which we have now made will not have been made in vain.

The subject then dropped.

WILD BIRDS PROTECTION ACTS AMENDMENT (ST. KILDA) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: My Lords, I venture to think your Lordships will have no difficulty in agreeing to the Second Reading of this Bill. Though a very small measure, it is of some importance from the naturalists' point of view. Your Lordships will see from the Memorandum attached to the Bill, that by Section 9 of the Wild Birds Protection Act, 1880, it was provided that the operation of that Act should not extend to the Island of St. Kilda, on the ground that a large number of birds which are protected at certain times of the year are necessary to the inhabitants of this remote island for food and other purposes. But there are two birds in the Island, the fork-tailed petrel and the St. Kilda wren, neither of which are of any use to the inhabitants for the purposes I have indicated. The St. Kilda wren is of very great interest to naturalists, because it and the red grouse are the only two birds which are exclusively found in the British Islands. I think it quite possible that the red grouse may be of more general interest to your Lordships than the St. Kilda wren. There is no immediate danger, I think, of the extinction of the red grouse; but the St. Kilda wren is found only in the Island of St. Kilda, and I believe I am right in saying that people passing under the name of naturalists have for the last season, or, perhaps, longer, taken away every egg which was laid in the Island. Obviously, if this sort of thing is allowed to continue, it must be only a question of a short time before the St. Kilda wren is extinct. It can do no possible harm to have the bird preserved, and I believe that everyone who has any interest at all in natural history will be anxious to see that so interesting, if so small, a specimen should be preserved from extinction. That is the whole purpose of the Bill, and I hope your Lordships will agree to read it a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Lord Balfour of Burleigh.*)

On Question, Bill read 2ª and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.

DEAN FOREST BILL.

Amendments reported (according to order).

THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD: My Lords, there are certain Amendments standing in my name on the Paper the effect of which is to leave out the words "or tract of coal." These words were inserted in Committee on the Motion of the noble Marquess in charge of the Bill, and I now understand that the noble Marquess is quite prepared, for reasons which he would prefer himself to state to your Lordships, to accept my Amendments to strike out these words.

Amendments moved—

"In Clause 4, page 3, line 27, to leave out the words 'or tract of coal'";

"In Clause 5, page 3, line 38, to leave out the words 'or tract of coal'";

"In Clause 6, page 3, line 42, to leave out the words 'or tract of coal'";

"In Clause 9, page 6, lines 15 and 16, to leave out the words 'any tract of coal never galed before the passing of this Act and'";

"In Clause 10, page 6, line 21, to leave out from the word 'Act' to the end of paragraph (1)."—(*The Earl of Chesterfield.*)

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY): My Lords, the noble Earl has rightly stated the facts. I think I told your Lordships when I moved the Second Reading that this was an agreed Bill; that is to say, that all the parties interested had come to an agreement as to its provisions. I believe that to have been in the main true as regards the Bill as it was read a second time in this House. When the Bill was in Committee certain Amendments were, on my Motion, introduced into it, and among those Amendments were those which my noble friend opposite now proposes to strike out. I have been informed that, although the Bill as it came from the House of Commons was an agreed measure, to the Amendments to which the noble Earl has called attention a certain amount of exception has been taken; and as there was some kind of understanding that the Bill should be agreed throughout, I am willing, on behalf of the Government, to accept these Amendments.

On Question, Amendments agreed to.

Bill to be read 3ª To-morrow.

THE FINANCE BILL.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, I understand that it is necessary that the Finance Bill should pass through all its stages to-morrow by half-past five in consequence of the arrangements of the other House of Parliament. In those circumstances I would venture to suggest that the House should meet for public business at three o'clock.

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, I am surprised to hear from the noble Marquess that it is necessary that this Bill should pass through all its stages and receive the Royal Assent by half-past five to-morrow. The noble Marquess courteously informed me of this proposal yesterday, and I do not oppose it personally, as I prefer this arrangement to having to sit to-night, which I understood was the alternative. I do, however, protest against what I call the indignity shown to the House by the presentation of the Bill at such a late period of the session, and the forcing it through all its stages at one short sitting. I shall make that protest to-morrow, and, of course, I have no control over other speakers who, acting within their right, may occupy considerable time, and in that way the object of the noble Marquess may be defeated.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Order No. XXXIX. to be considered To-morrow in order to its being suspended for that day's sitting.

House adjourned at five minutes before Five o'clock, till to-morrow, half-past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 28th July, 1904.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

UNOPPOSED PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

London United Tramways Bill; Tottenham Improvement Bill. Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to.

Cardiff Railway Bill [Lords]; Derwent Valley Water Board Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Great Western Railway Bill [Lords] (King's Consent signified). Bill read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill [Lords]. Read the third time, and passed, with Amendments.

Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads (re-committed) Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 84, 214, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be now considered.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Bill, as amended, accordingly considered. An Amendment made. Bill to be read the third time.

Belfast Corporation Tramways Bill [Lords]. Committed.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 5) Bill. Ordered, That, in the case of the Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (No.5) Bill, Standing Order 211 be suspended, and that the Committee have leave to proceed with the Bill on Monday next, provided that no Petitions shall have been deposited against the Bill.—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Edinburgh and District Water Order Confirmation. Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Edinburgh and District Water, ordered to be brought in by the Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Edinburgh and District Water Order Confirmation Bill. "To confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Edinburgh and District Water," presented accordingly; and ordered to be considered upon Monday next.

Glasgow and South Western Railway (Darvel and Lanarkshire Railway Transfer) Order Confirmation. Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the Glasgow and South Western Railway (Darvel and Lanarkshire Railway Transfer), ordered to be brought in by the Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Glasgow and South Western Railway (Darvel and Lanarkshire Railway Transfer) Order Confirmation Bill, "To confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to the Glasgow and South Western Railway (Darvel and Lanarkshire Railway Transfer)," presented accordingly; and ordered to be considered upon Monday next.

Perth Corporation Order Confirmation. Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Perth Corporation, ordered to be brought in by the Lord Advocate and Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Perth Corporation Order Confirmation Bill, "To confirm a Provisional Order, under The Private Legislation Procedure (Scotland) Act, 1899, relating to Perth Corporation," presented accordingly; and ordered to be considered upon Monday next.

Trafford Park Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments, from the Police and Sanitary Committee; Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Reported, with an Amendment [Provisional Orders confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill [Lords]. Reported, without Amendment [Provisional Order confirmed]; Report to lie upon the Table. Bill to be read the third time To-morrow.

Bristol Tramways (Extensions) Bill [Lords]; Buxton Urban District Council Bill [Lords]; Oakengates and Dawley Joint Water Board Bill [Lords]. Reported, with Amendments; Reports to lie upon the Table, and to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

That they have agreed to—Amendments to, Metropolitan District Railway Bill [Lords], without Amendment.

PETITIONS.

JURORS' EXPENSES BILL.

Petitions in favour; from London; Kent; and, Surrey; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING BILL.

Petitions against; from Dishforth; High Littleton; and Peniel Hangoid; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (TAXATION AND PURCHASE OF LAND) BILL.

Petition from London, against; to lie upon the Table.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS ACT, 1897.

Petitions for alteration of Law; from Beckenham; and Shipley; to lie upon the Table.

WAGES BOARDS BILL.

Petition from London, against; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

POLLING DISTRICTS (BOROUGH OF CAMBRIDGE).

Copy presented, of Order made by the Council of the Borough of Cambridge, altering certain Polling Districts in the Borough [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY.

Copy presented, of Summary of the Recommendations of the Inter-Departmental Committee, 1900, on the Reserve of the Guns, Stores, etc., required for the Army, showing also to what extent these recommendations have been carried out [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented, of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 3239 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS (IRELAND).

Copy presented, of Agricultural Statistics of Ireland, with detailed Report for the year 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES (ENGLAND).

Copy presented, of Sixty-sixth Annual Report of the Registrar-General, 1903 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL TAXATION RETURNS (ENGLAND).

Copy presented, of the Annual Local Taxation Returns for 1902–3 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 285.]

BOARD OF TRADE (LABOUR DEPARTMENT, CHANGES IN WAGES, ETC.).

Copy Presented, of Report on Changes in Rates of Wages and Hours of Labour in the United Kingdom, 1903, with Comparative Statistics for 1894–1902 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

GREENWICH OBSERVATORY.

Copy presented, of Report of the Astronomer Royal to the Board of Visitors of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Chamber of London. Annual Accounts of the Chamberlain of London for the year 1903 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 286.]

Caledonian Canal. Copy of Ninety-ninth Report of the Commissioners [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 287.]

Lunacy. Copy of Return to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made and the number of patients seen by the several Commissioners in Lunacy during the six months ending on the 30th June 1904 [by Act].

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (CONTRACTS).

Return ordered, "of all Contracts made in the United Kingdom for manufactured articles by the several Government Departments in the year ending the 31st day of March, 1904, either with contractors outside the United Kingdom or with contractors or agents who obtain the articles from abroad (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 342, of Session 1903)."—(*Sir Howard Vincent.*)

INSPECTION OF MEAT.

Return ordered, "showing, as regards each of the following local authorities, viz., the Councils of the City of London, the Metropolitan Boroughs, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bolton, Birkenhead, Bradford, Blackpool, Hull, Nottingham, Derby, and Portsmouth, (1) the number of Sanitary Inspectors, Inspectors of Nuisances, or other officers appointed to act as Inspectors of Meat; (2) what special qualifications, if any, these officers possess for the discharge of the duties of Inspectors of Meat; (3) the amounts received by the Council during the year ended the 31st day of March, 1904, on account of fines and costs in connection with prosecutions relating to unsound or diseased meat; and (4) the law costs paid by the Council during that year in respect of any proceedings at quarter sessions or in the High Court arising out of the decisions of justices in connection with such prosecutions."—(*Mr. Field.*)

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CIRCULATED WITH THE VOTES.

Accidents caused by Leakage of Gas into Telegraph Inspection Chambers.

SIR THOMAS DEWAR (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to an accident in Regent Street on Thursday, the 21st instant, occasioned through gas escaping into a telegraph inspection chamber and coming into contact with leakage in an electric wire; and will he state whether any explosions arising through leakage of a similar character have been reported by the police during the last two years.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) I am informed by the police that, so far as they are aware, there were within the metropolitan police district during the two years ended the 30th June last, twenty-one explosions of a character similar to that mentioned in the Question. The explosions resulted in injury to eleven persons and in the death of two horses. It does not appear to be a matter as to which I have any power.

Closing of Vauxhall Bridge—Obstruction to Traffic.

MR. FISON (Yorkshire, W.R., Doncaster): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the police have made any complaints in reference to the obstruction caused to traffic by the lengthened closing of Vauxhall Bridge; and, if so, what steps he proposes to take.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Akers-Douglas.*) No complaints on this subject have come to my knowledge; but, in view of the length of time during which the bridge has been closed, I have made inquiries, and am informed that the undertaking (which has not merely consisted in building a new bridge, but has involved preliminary operations of considerable magnitude and difficulty) has been actively proceeded with from the beginning. I learn, further, that the time specified in the contract for the completion of the superstructure of the new bridge is the 31st day of December, 1905, with a provision for heavy penalties against the contractor in the event of delay beyond that date.

International Arrangement relative to the Traité des Blanches.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if the international arrangements made at the Paris Conference in 1902 relative to the *traité des blanches* have been duly ratified; and, if they are now in force, what are the principal provisions.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) An international agreement, to which His Majesty's Government is a party, was signed at Paris on 18th May last. The deposit of ratifications has not yet taken place, and the agreement will not come into force until six months after their deposit.

British Pilots employed by the Suez Canal Company.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): To ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what is the percentage of pilots of British nationality employed by the Suez Canal Company as compared with the percentage of British ships passing through the canal.

(*Answered by Earl Percy.*) There is no information on the subject in the possession of His Majesty's Government, but the necessary inquiries will be made.

Increase of Pay for Stokers and Enginemen of House of Commons' Staff.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): To ask the hon. Member for Chorley, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, whether, seeing that an increase of 2s. a week was given on 8th April, 1899, to all men of the general staff of the House of Commons with less than 30s. a week wages and that the mechanics have had no advance during the last forty years, and that on the 25th March, 1903, the Office of Works Board promised to consider the question of the hours of duty and increased pay, in response to a petition of stokers and enginemen, he will now say what decision, if any, has been arrived at.

(*Answered by Lord Balcarres.*) The object kept in view is to approximate the pay to that given in outside employment. That of the stokers was advanced last April, and cases calling for attention will be brought under review yearly. No mechanic possessing a trade knowledge is paid less than 30s. a week, and the rates paid for unskilled labour are equal to those current outside. The hours of duty have been reduced so far as possible in recent years. It must be remembered, in considering the question of hours, that service in the Houses of Parliament carries advantages as to sick pay and holidays and continuity of employment, which are not found in the ordinary labour market.

Fraudulent Trustees—Proposed Establishment of a Public Trustee.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: To ask Mr. Attorney-General if his attention has been called to the increasing frequency of cases of breach of trust and the fraudulent application of trust funds, and to the suffering thereby entailed; and, if so, will he take any steps for the prevention of this class of crime by furthering the legislation proposed to Parliament for many years past for the establishment of a public trustee and executor, or in enforcing the adoption of The Judicial Trustees Act, 1896.

(*Answered by Sir Robert Finlay.*) My attention has been called to the frequency of cases of this description. The matter has been under consideration, but I am not able at present to make any statement as to possible legislation of the nature suggested in the Question.

Stornoway Mail Delays.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): To ask the Postmaster-General, having regard to the fact that the mail steamer from Kyle was late in her arrival at Stornoway on 120 occasions between the 1st January last and the 16th June, and that the delay exceeded half-an-hour on twenty-three occasions, will he state how the contractor accounts for the delay; and whether any of the penalties attaching thereto have been enforced.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The train by which the mails are conveyed to Kyle is generally a few minutes late in arrival at that place, with the result that the Stornoway steamer is frequently unable to leave Kyle at the appointed time. The delays which have occurred on the voyage have been chiefly due to stormy weather and adverse winds, and when the weather has been favourable, time has frequently been gained. The steamship contractor has furnished an explanation whenever the authorised time allowed for the voyage has been exceeded, and his explanations have been accepted. There has been no case for the imposition of a penalty.

Postal Savings Bank, Withdrawals by Telegraph.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Postmaster-General if he will state the number of withdrawals by telegraph for each month during the present year; and how the figures compare with the corresponding months of last year.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The figures asked for are as follows:—

Number of withdrawals by telegraph from the Post Office Savings Bank.

Month.	1903.	1904.
January - - - -	16,338	13,922
February - - - -	14,228	13,706
March - - - -	16,793	17,668
April - - - - -	19,416	17,246
May - - - - -	18,101	18,205
June - - - - -	18,381	17,567

Extension of Trunk Telephone System in the South of Ireland.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Cork): To ask the Postmaster-General whether his attention has been called to a resolution of the Cork Incorporated Chamber of Commerce and Shipping respecting the necessity for an extension of the trunk telephone system to such important centres in the South of Ireland as Fermoy, Youghal, Clonmel, Tralee, and Killarney; and, if so, whether he will be able at an early date to extend the telephone system to the places named.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) I have received a copy of the resolution of the Cork Incorporated Chamber of Commerce and Shipping as to the extension of the telephone trunk wire system in the South of Ireland. That question is now under consideration. At present there does not seem to be sufficient demand for telephonic facilities at Youghal and Fermoy to justify an extension to those towns; but I shall be glad to receive the names of persons who are willing to become subscribers to Post Office exchanges. A canvass is being made in Killarney and the surrounding district with a view to the establishment of an exchange and to its connection with the trunk wire system, if sufficient support is forthcoming. The National Telephone Company have exchanges at Clonmel and Tralee. The company are also considering the question of opening exchanges at Cahir and Carrick-on-Suir, and I am in correspondence with them as to the possibility of connecting these exchanges with the trunk wire system.

Post Office Wages—Adoption of Wages Proposed by the Bradford Committee.

MR. BELL (Derby): To ask the Postmaster-General when does he propose to put into operation the terms and conditions of wages of Post Office employees recommended in the Report made by the Bradford Committee.

(*Answered by Lord Stanley.*) The Report of the Bradford Committee is under my consideration. I hope to have an opportunity for making a general statement of the manner in which it will be dealt with on the Vote for Post Office Telegraphs.

Extra Remuneration for Mates and Engineers of the Fleet Coaling Service.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): To ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is now in a position to give a definite Answer with regard to the extra remuneration claimed by the mates and engineers of the Fleet coaling service vessels C21 and C22.

(*Answered by Mr. Pretyman.*) It has been decided to grant the mates and engineers of coaling vessels C21 and C22 extra remuneration of sixpence a day.

Customs Statistics and Ships' Files.

MR. ERNEST GRAY (West Ham, N.): To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether it is the practice of the specification branch of the Statistical Department of the Customs to systematically leave a percentage of the ships' files unchecked, thereby affecting the accuracy of Trade Returns; if so, whether this practice has prevailed for a considerable time; and, if so, if he will cause inquiry to be made with a view to providing the public with information on trade matters which shall not be open to dispute.

(*Answered by Mr. Victor Cavendish.*) It has been the practice for the last twenty years to leave a small percentage of the ships' export files unchecked. It is not deemed necessary to check every file, and the number checked is considered sufficient to ensure the substantial accuracy of the Trade Returns. It is not proposed to alter the present practice.

Indian Irrigation Works.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether it has yet been decided to proceed with any of the irrigation works recommended in the Report of the Irrigation Commission; and, if not, will he state the cause of the delay.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) Provision has been made by the Government of India in their forecast of capital outlay on irrigation works for 1904–5, for expenditure on some of the schemes recommended in the Report of the Irrigation Commission. Other schemes will be taken up as funds are available.

Publication of Report on Police in India.

MR. WEIR: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is now in a position to state when the Report on the Police of India will be laid upon the Table of the House.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I have nothing to add to the Answer I gave to the hon. Member on the 19th May last.† I have not yet received the proposals of the Government of India on the Report.

Value of Boots, Shoes, and Hosiery Imported into India.

SIR JOHN ROLLESTON (Leicester): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will state the value of boots and shoes and hosiery imported into India since the last Budget statement, and the countries of origin, which is omitted from the published accounts 1904–5.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) The annual Trade Returns for 1903-4 have not yet been received and the monthly Returns do not show the imports of hosiery separately, and do not give the countries of origin in respect of the imports of boots and shoes. From the 1st April, 1903, to the end of May, 1904, the total value of boots and shoes imported into India was £235,944.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 350.

Redress for Murder of Captain Warneford.

Sir EDWARD SASSOON (Hythe): To ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to the murder of Captain Warneford recently at Aden; and whether, seeing that the steps taken by General Maitland to arrest the murderer have failed, he will consider the desirability, in the interests of British prestige, of ordering the infliction of some punishment on the tribe to which the murderer belonged.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Brodrick.*) I received on the 9th March, with great regret for the loss of a very valuable officer, a telegram from the Resident at Aden stating that Captain Warneford had been shot at Am Rija on the previous day by a police sowar in our service. I subsequently received a full report on the circumstances, including the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry which was ordered to be held. The murderer escaped, and fled into tribal territory beyond the reach of our police. All the neighbouring sheikhs were written to and warned not to give asylum to the murderer, but he has not yet been discovered. Efforts continue to be made to secure his arrest. As regards punishment of the murderer's tribe it must be pointed out that the man was a police sowar in our employ.

Alleged Wrongful Dismissal of S. J. Carmichael from Mountjoy Prison.

Mr. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that Samuel J. Carmichael, ex-warder of Mountjoy Prison, was dismissed from the service for an alleged assault on a prisoner, which was afterwards admitted to be the action of a warder called Bell; and whether, in view of the fact that Chief Warder Hennessy swore in his evidence that he was informed by a prisoner who witnessed the assault that Bell committed it, he will direct a further inquiry to be held in the case.

(*Answered by Mr. Wyndham.*) Carmichael was dismissed as a result of a sworn inquiry held by one of the visiting justices, and of a further sworn inquiry held by the Inspector of Prisons. The charge of assault on a prisoner was fully and clearly established against him. It was not admitted that the assault had been committed by Warder Bell, and no statement, such as alleged, was made by the chief warder. It is not proposed to re-open the case.

Epizootic Lymphangitis in Army Horses.

Mr. HAYES FISHER (Fulham): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, seeing that there is no known method of detecting occult cases of epizootic lymphangitis while the animals are alive, he will take steps, wherever an outbreak has occurred, to prevent such cases being transferred from one station to another, thereby increasing the number of centres of infection; whether, in view of the fact that no less than 64·40 per cent. of Army horses have had to be slaughtered, while 27·38 per cent. are still under treatment, and only 8·12 per cent. have recovered (and of these apparently recovered cases there is always a liability of the disease recurring, even after a considerable period), he will consider the desirability of slaughtering all clinically infected animals, as being the most likely method of stamping out the disease, and reducing the risk of infecting civilian studs; and whether he can state what was the average period of treatment of the 254 slaughtered, the thirty cured, and the 108 uncured cases respectively, and at what stations outbreaks have occurred in the United Kingdom.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The replies to the first two parts of the Question are in the affirmative. It must, however, be pointed out that the figures 64·40 per cent. refer to the proportion of horses slaughtered to horses infected and not to Army horses generally. The average period of treatment of the 254 slaughtered was twelve days; of the thirty-two cured cannot be stated definitely, but none were considered cured until they had been under observation for six months; and of the 108 uncured cases cannot be stated as they are still under observation. The list of stations at which outbreaks have occurred, and the statistics for each station are as follows:—

Station.	Number Admitted.	Cured	Remaining.	Destroyed.
Waterford	6	2	—	4
Kilkenny	4	1	—	3
Aldershot	61	11	—	50
Curragh	6	—	—	6
Brighton	1	—	—	1
Manchester	2	—	—	2
Sheffield	2	—	—	2
Newcastle-on-Tyne	20	4	9	7
Woolwich	231	14	86	131
Bradford	21	—	4	17
Ipswich	4	—	2	2
Colchester	1	—	1	—
Bulford	2	—	1	1
Trowbridge	1	—	—	1
Shorncliffe	2	—	1	1
Newbridge	1	—	—	1
Leeds	1	—	—	1
Dover	1	—	—	1
Clogheen	6	—	—	6
Deepcut	1	—	—	1
Fermoy	1	—	—	1
Limerick	1	—	—	1
Chelsea	3	—	1	2
Birmingham	2	—	—	2
St. John's Wood	1	—	—	1
Bandon	2	—	—	2
Chatham	3	—	3	—
Dorchester	2	—	—	2
Glen Imaal	4	—	—	4
Christchurch	1	—	—	1
Total	394	32	108	254

Volunteer Camps—Orderly Tents and Improved Accommodation for Staff Sergeants.

Mr. TILLETT (Norwich): To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, with a view to securing better discipline, sergeant-majors and sergeant-instructors of Volunteers having book returns and forms of an official nature to compile whilst in camp, can be provided with better accommodation than that allotted to privates of their corps, eight persons to a tent; and whether he will consider the advisability of providing a tent for use as orderly room whilst in camp.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Foster.*) The point has been considered, but it is held that the proportion of tents allowed is ample for a camp which is not of long duration. It may be pointed out that by putting nine men in a tent, which is not unusual, accommodation could be gained up to one tent per company.

Construction of Screened Rifle Ranges.

Mr. TILLETT: To ask the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the scientific precautions now available in the construction of screened ranges, he will sanction the provision of such rifle ranges, 200 or 300 yards in length, near large centres of population, and without regard to the contour of the land occupied by the range.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster*). After exhaustive experiments at the School of Musketry, Hythe, it has been decided that no further protected ranges are to be constructed, either for Regular or Auxiliary Forces, as the scientific precautions now available in the construction of these ranges in the vicinity of habitations do not secure absolute safety which could only be attained by a most expensive system of tunnelling. There is also involved the question of nuisance created by the noise of continual firing, which might become the subject of an injunction in the case of a range near a large centre of population.

Infantry Soldiers in Great Britain.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for War what was the total number of infantry soldiers in Great Britain on 1st October, 1899, and of these how many were five years service and over, and how many over two years service and under five.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Arnold-Forster.*) The figures are as follows—

Corps.	Total number of rank and file serving at Home on 1st October, 1899.	Number with five years service and upwards.	Number with two years service and under five.
Foot Guards . . .	6,178	1,076	1,731
Infantry of the Line .	52,972	14,806	10,444
Total . . .	59,150	15,882	12,175

The Government and the Standard Bank of South Africa—Progress of Negotiations.

SIR ERNEST FLOWER (Bradford, W.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he can state the progress of the negotiations between His Majesty's Government and the Standard Bank of South Africa.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I presume that the hon. Member refers to the claims of the bank in regard to the specie commandeered by the Government of the late South African Republic; if so, the answer is that there has been a considerable correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Standard Bank on behalf of itself and other South African banks. In the result of that correspondence, while sincerely regretting the loss sustained by the banks, I have seen no reason to alter the view taken by my predecessor, that the banks cannot claim for their commandeered property a compensation which His Majesty's Government have been obliged to refuse to other large companies who suffered losses.

Regulations under the Transvaal Labour Immigration Ordinance.

SIR HENRY FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will lay upon the Table a copy of the Regulations which have been made under the powers contained in the Transvaal Labour Immigration Ordinance.

(*Answered by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.*) I will lay the official copy of Regulations with some other Papers within the next few days.

Law as to Contraband Goods.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will consider the advisability of issuing a Memorandum defining the position under international law of non-contraband goods in a ship carrying contraband goods, when the former belong neither to the owners of the ship nor to the owners of the contraband goods.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) It does not seem desirable that any official Memorandum should be issued dealing in the abstract with questions of law which may become the subject of judical decision.

Belligerent Ships Coaling at British Ports.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury are His Majesty's Government aware that the Russian Volunteer Fleet ship "Dmitri Donskoi" was allowed to take on board at Port Said 500 tons of coal, upon her captain giving an undertaking upon his honour that his ship on leaving Port Said would proceed at once and by the direct route to the port of Cadiz; that on leaving Port Said, instead of proceeding to Cadiz, in accordance with her captain's undertaking, the "Dmitri Donskoi" remained in the offing between Port Said and Damietta for three days, during which her captain stopped and examined the papers of six merchant vessels about to enter the Suez Canal; and that, a few days later, he continued the same practice off Alexandria; and, in view of these facts, what steps do His Majesty's Government propose to take in order to secure that belligerent ships of war shall not be supplied at British ports with coal to be used for conducting the operations of war.

(*Answered by Mr. A. J. Balfour.*) The Russian vessel in question, which was not one of the Volunteer Fleet but a man-of-war, after being supplied with 500 tons of coal at Port Said, on the declaration made by her captain that she intended to proceed direct to Cadiz en route for Cronstadt, proceeded to sea, and during the next three days stopped and examined the papers of six merchant vessels, two of them British. In the view of His Majesty's Government any ship which uses the coal supplied to her for purposes other than that for which it was obtained should not in the future be accorded coaling facilities.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

Dockyard Employees and the Press.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will state on whose authority and for what reason have notices been posted in offices and workshops connected with the dockyard at Portsmouth, warning the operatives against giving information with reference to dockyard or naval officers to the Press on pain of instant dismissal.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. PRETYMAN, Suffolk, Woodbridge): Two posters to this effect were inadvertently exhibited at Portsmouth for a short time. This occurred through a misunderstanding, and they were removed as soon as the error was noticed.

Boys in the Navy—Caning Conditions.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether boys or youths who enlist for the Navy are previously informed of the conditions under which they enter the service, and the birchings and canings authorised under the King's Naval Regulations for trivial offences.

MR. PRETYMAN: No such special warning is given or considered necessary, as all boys are aware of their liability to this form of punishment, which is not limited to those who enter the Navy.

Volunteer Force—Norfolk Commission's Recommendations.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what steps are being taken to carry out the recommendations of the Norfolk Commission with regard to the organisation of the Volunteer Force for effective service.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. ARNOLD-FORSTER, Belfast, W.): No steps have yet been taken to carry out the recommendations of the Commission. The question of the organisation of the Volunteers must be dealt with concurrently with that of the rest of the Army.

War Store Scandals in South Africa.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that the Transvaal Press commented strongly on the remarks made by the Chief Justice of the Transvaal with reference to the War Office goods sold by Colonel Morgan for £300, which were resold for £1,800, of which a third, or a sum of £600, was paid to Colonel

Morgan's brother; whether Colonel Morgan has instituted proceedings against English newspapers at the suggestion, direct or indirect, of the War Office; if so, why were not proceedings taken against the Transvaal Press, and what steps has the War Office taken to ascertain the value of these goods sold by Colonel Morgan; and whether, having regard to the position held by Colonel Morgan as director of supplies for the Army during the war, steps will be taken by the War Office for the investigation of this matter.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I have already informed the hon. Member that the War Office will not take any action in this matter, until the case brought by Colonel Morgan has been decided in Court, and I have nothing to add to this statement. In the meanwhile I am not in a position to reply to the further Questions put by the hon. Member.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Was it not at the instigation of the War Office that these proceedings were taken by Colonel Morgan?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Not in any way.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Having regard to the allegation that these stores were misappropriated, will not an independent inquiry be held by the War Office authorities?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I do not propose to form any opinion until the case has been decided in Court.

Desertions of Recruits.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE (Bristol, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state the total number of desertions amongst the 42,216 recruits enlisted this year.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The total number of desertions amongst the recruits who enlisted during the twelve months ending the 1st June, 1904, cannot be obtained without referring to every unit in the Army. I cannot, therefore, undertake to supply the hon. Member with the information.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: Can we have it later?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: It will appear in the Annual Return.

MR. PIRIE (Aberdeen, N.): Are not these returns made monthly?

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: Not the Returns of desertions.

The Reserve.

MR. CHARLES HOBHOUSE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he will state what is the number of Reservists at present available for Cavalry, Artillery, Engineers, Infantry, Foot Guards, Army Service Corps, Ordnance Corps, and Medical Staff.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The strength on 1st July was—

Cavalry - - - -	5,831
Royal Artillery - - -	8,816
Royal Engineers - - -	2,942
Foot Guards - - -	6,137
Infantry - - - -	45,310
Army Service Corps - -	3,037
Army Ordnance Corps - -	127
Royal Army Medical Corps -	1,235
Total - - - -	73,435

Indian Garrison—Re-engagements of Soldiers.

SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what number and percentage of soldiers stationed in India, who were entitled to prolong their service, have re-engaged during the first six months of 1904; what number similarly re-engaged in India in 1903; and how many in the first six months of that year.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: The information asked for cannot be given without great delay, as the Returns from which it could be compiled are at present in the hands of the contractors for binding. The number, however, of three-years men eligible to extend, and the percentage of those who have extended, on the strength of the Army in India, on the 1st June and 1st July respectively, can be given, and is as follows:—

	I. Numbers eligible to extend.	II. Numbers extended.	III. Percentage of those in Column I. who have extended as in Column II.
1st June - -	5,799	2,325	40·09
1st July - -	6,170	2,596	42·07

The Crown Agents and Company Directorships.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state on what grounds he has declined to sanction the retention by Sir Ernest Blake, as one of the Crown Agents, of a directorship in a public company which he had held for a considerable time.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES (Mr. Lyttelton, Warwick and Leamington): I may be allowed to repeat what I said in the debate on the Colonial Vote that Sir Ernest Blake accepted the directorship in accordance with precedent, and his association with the company had been absolutely honourable and worthy and had really inured to the benefit of the public service. Since I have held my present office, I have had constantly to consider the position and the duties of the Crown Agents, which in some respects are different from, but in others very similar to, those of ordinary public servants of the Crown. In this matter of holding directorships, after much consideration I was unable to draw any clear or satisfactory distinction between the case of Civil servants and that of the Crown Agents. It therefore appeared to me that the rule which prohibited British Civil servants from becoming directors of public companies should embrace the case of the Crown Agents, and that, as Sir Ernest Blake had placed himself unreservedly in my hands, I had not seen any sufficient reason for postponing the bringing into operation of the rule in question.

Mr. SWIFT MACNEILL: Will the right hon. Gentleman apply the same rule and dismiss himself from the directorships he holds?

Mr. LYTTELTON: Since the question has been asked, I may say that since I have been in office I have accepted no remuneration, and I have performed no services in respect to public companies with which I am connected.

Recruitment of Chinese Coolies.

Major SEELY (Isle of Wight): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that in some districts in China the proclamations inviting the enlistment of labourers for the South African mines contained no reference to some terms of the contract restricting the liberty of the labourers; and whether, seeing that the distance of the port of embarkation from the place of enlistment would render it difficult for the labourers to refuse to embark when the real terms of the contract were explained, he will take steps to ensure that all labourers enlisted by these methods shall be given the option of returning to China forthwith at the expense of the importer.

Mr. LYTTELTON: My attention has been called to advertisements which were issued by the importers before the convention with China was finally settled, and I presume that it is to these that the hon. and gallant Member refers. He will perceive, however, on reference to Sections 2 and 3 and Sub-section 5 of Section 15 of the Regulations published in Cd. 2026 that effective safeguards have been provided to prevent any such hardship as is contemplated in the second part of his Question.

Major SEELY said he referred to the statements made by Mr. Arnold-Forster that these labourers were recruited without knowing the conditions. That had not been contradicted.

Mr. LYTTELTON replied that he was afraid he would require more verification of the statements than a typewritten letter purporting to come from Mr. Arnold-Forster, which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton did not think fit to read.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) observed that he had given the right hon. Gentleman the dates of the newspapers in which the advertisements appeared, and had received a promise that inquiry would be made. Was not the result of the inquiry yet known?

MR. LYTTELTON: I have not yet received the information.

Chinese Coolies for the Transvaal—Depots in China.

MR. WHITLEY (Halifax): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs how many depots are being built in China for the reception of indentured labourers for Transvaal mines under the agreement with the Chinese Government; and from what source are the costs being provided.

MR. LYTTELTON: Perhaps I may be allowed to answer this. Tientsin and Ching-wang-toa have been notified as ports of embarkation under the convention, and depots will be provided at these ports. With regard to the second part of the Question I would refer the hon. Member to my reply to a similar Question on 31st May.†

MR. WHITLEY: But are not these depots under the control of the Foreign Office? who are building depots at these places with the unpronounceable names?

MR. LYTTELTON: Neither the Foreign Office nor the Colonial Office.

MR. WHITLEY: Are they being built at all?

MR. LYTTELTON: I believe they are being built by those who represent the Chinese Government.

The Mission to Tibet.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS (Denbighshire, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will give the latest information as to the position of the military expedition to Tibet; whether he will state what is the approximate cost of the expedition up to the present date; and whether, having regard to the issues involved in the expedition, the Government still adhere to their decision to charge the whole cost of the hostilities upon the Indian revenue.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The latest information I have received states that Khamba-La was found unoccupied, and that General Macdonald hoped to secure the passage of the Sangpo River, forty-five miles from Lhasa, on the 24th July. As to the cost, I have nothing to add to the information I gave the hon. Member on the 31st May, that the total estimated cost of the Mission to the 31st March last was £308,500, and that the cost since then is estimated at a little over £50,000 a month.† There is no intention to modify the decision as to the incidence of the cost.

Assam Tea Plantations—Vernacular Education for Labourers' Children.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he has received any communication from the Government of India in regard to the suggestion transmitted by him last March to provide proper facilities for the vernacular education of the children of labourers employed on tea and other plantations in Assam; and can he state if the suggestion has been acted upon.

MR. BRODRICK: I transmitted my hon. friend's Question to the Government of India in April last, but have not yet had any communication in reply. I will inquire when one may be expected.

Action of the Dutch in Achin—Protection of Europeans in the Malay States.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he is aware that the Dutch in the thirty-second year of their war with Achin, killed at Likat on 20th June, 124 women and eighty-eight children; and whether, having regard to the effect produced in the Malay States under British protection, where the Europeans are to the Malays in the proportion of about one to a hundred, he will consider the advisability of making representations to the Dutch Government, with the view to the cessation of such measures.

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† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 434.

† See (4) *Debates*, cxxxv., 435.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Earl PERCY, Kensington, S.): No such information has reached the Foreign Office, but in any case the matter is not one in which His Majesty's Government could properly interfere.

Macedonian Gendarmerie.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can now say definitely whether any instructions have been sent to Hilmi Pasha from Constantinople directing that the European officers of *gendarmerie* in Macedonia shall not receive any complaints from the inhabitants; and, if so, when and by whose authority such instructions were issued; and whether His Majesty's Government have protested against such a breach of the understanding arrived at when the European officers were sent.

EARL PERCY: The Grand Vizier informed Sir N. O'Conor on the 13th June that he was not aware of any instructions having been sent to Hilmi Pasha in the sense indicated. It is of course the right and duty of the *gendarmerie* officers to accept all petitions bearing directly upon the *gendarmerie* scheme; but they are clearly not competent nor have they the time to deal with petitions or complaints relating to matters which fall within the province of the Civil Assessors.

MR. BRYCE: Is it true that the Government of Russia and Austria have lately increased the number of their officers in the *gendarmerie?*

EARL PERCY: I do not think there has been any increase.

MR. BRYCE: As this Answer was given on the 13th June, has it not been possible to make subsequent inquiries to ascertain whether or not the orders were issued?

EARL PERCY: I think we may take it that they were not issued. At all events there has been no attempt to carry them out.

State-Aided Agriculture in Foreign Countries.

MR. A. K. LOYD (Berkshire, Abingdon): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether there is any intention of obtaining from His Majesty's Representatives abroad Reports on the organisation and work of departments of agriculture, and the assistance rendered by the State in the interests of agriculture in foreign countries, and of presenting such Reports to Parliament, in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, Commercial No. 3 (1894), which continued Commercial No. 24 (1889), which supplemented Commercial No. 9 (1884).

EARL PERCY: The matter will be considered in consultation with the Board of Agriculture, but it seems doubtful whether such Reports repay the labour involved.

MR. A. K. LOYD: Might not the labour be very much reduced by confining the instructions to matters of interest that may have arisen since the last Report? Will the noble Lord consider that?

EARL PERCY: Yes, I will consider it.

Colonel Fairholme's Reports on Macedonia.

MR. HUGH LAW (Donegal, W.): I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether His Majesty's Government will publish the reports received from Colonel Fairholme, Chief British Officer of *Gendarmerie*; and when the next Blue-book on Macedonia will be presented.

EARL PERCY: A Blue-book on Macedonia will be laid as soon as possible. The reports of Colonel Fairholme contain matter which is largely of a confidential character, and I cannot without further consideration make any definite promise with regard to their publication.

Ilavés for Macedonia.

MR. HUGH LAW: I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can say whether Ilavés have recently been embodied for service in

Macedonia; and whether such action is contrary to the promises made by the Porte to the Powers; and, if so, what action His Majesty's Government have taken in the matter.

EARL PERCY: No, Sir; we have received no such information.

Transvaal War Contribution.

MR. WHITLEY: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if his attention has been called to the fact that the Transvaal Estimates for the year ending 30th June, 1905, contain no provision for the first instalment of the war contribution which was due in January last; and whether he has made any protest against so long a postponement.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.): The Answer to the first paragraph is in the affirmative and the Answer to the second is in the negative.

MR. WHITLEY: Does the right hon. Gentleman really propose to allow another twelve months to elapse, and to make no protest?

Reduction of National Debt.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer what is the whole amount of the reduction of the National Debt affected through the redemption of the Land Tax and composition of Stamp Duty respectively.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The amount of the National Debt redeemed up to the 31st March last by the operation of redemption of Land Tax was, £33,032,898; and by the composition of Stamp Duty £2,156,845, making a total of £35,189,743.

Plain British Spirit.

MR. KILBRIDE (Kildare, S.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will state the quantities of maize, foreign barley, and beet molasses used in distilleries in the United Kingdom during the last financial year for the manufacture of plain British spirits; if he will consider the advisability of imposing an import duty on those commodities with a view to encouraging the cultivation of cereals in the United Kingdom, and also with a view to lessening the production of cheap patent alcohol which is extracted from these foreign importations and condemned by the medical profession as unfit for consumption.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The official records of materials used in distilleries in the United Kingdom for the manufacture of plain British spirits do not distinguish under separate heads any of the articles mentioned in the first part of the Question. The suggestion contained in the latter part of the Question is inconsistent with the existing financial system of the country.

MR. KILBRIDE: Will the right hon. Gentleman take steps to ascertain the quantities imported?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I think the hon. Gentleman can get the information as to quantities from the Board of Trade Returns.

Sulphuric Acid in Patent Spirit.

MR. KILBRIDE: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer if sulphuric acid is used in the manufacture of patent spirit in the United Kingdom; and, if so, will he state the quantities used for this purpose during the last financial year.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Sulphuric acid is used only in the inversion of molasses where that material is employed in the manufacture of patent spirit. No official account is taken or kept of the quantity used.

MR. KILBRIDE: Does the right hon. Gentleman think that whisky distilled through the medium of sulphuric acid is fit for human consumption?

Production of the British Distilleries.

MR. KILBRIDE: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can state the respective total production, during the year 1901, 1902, and 1903, of the distilleries of England, Scotland, and Ireland, classifying the distilleries of each country under the headings of distilleries using pot stills only; distilleries using patent stills only; and distilleries using both pot and patent stills.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: I shall be happy to give the figures asked for by the hon. Member if he will put down an unstarred Question.

Licensing Bill—Compensation for Goodwill.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Dewsbury): On behalf of the hon. Member for the Saffron Walden Division of Essex, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether steps will be taken to introduce, in another place, an Amendment to the Licensing Bill securing to the licensee compensation for goodwill in event of quarter sessions refusing the renewal of a licence.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. AKERS-DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): As the hon. Member is aware, the Government have made special provision as to the interest of the licence-holder in any compensation paid in respect of the non-renewal of a licence. The hon. Member appears to desire a further definition of the elements which are to be taken into account in calculating the amount of compensation, but that is a matter for the consideration of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue under the provisions of the Bill and the Government see no necessity for any Amendment.

MR. RUNCIMAN: But is there a provision in the Bill giving compensation for goodwill.

*MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS: It must be an element in the question the Commissioners have to consider.

MR. RUNCIMAN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that that is not the opinion expressed by the Solicitor-General?

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CARSON, Dublin University): I have expressed no such opinion.

Departmental Committee on the System of Levying Harbour and Dock Dues.

MR. RUNCIMAN: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, on the Departmental Committee which he is about to appoint to inquire into the net tonnage basis for the levying of harbour and dock dues, he is prepared to appoint a representative of the crews whose living and working spaces may be affected by the decisions of the Committee.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. GERALD BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): Yes, Sir.

British Forestry.

MR. A. K LOYD: I beg to ask the hon. Member for North Huntingdonshire, as representing the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether any progress has been made in carrying out the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on British Forestry; and, if so, will he state generally under which of the heads mentioned in the summary of conclusions at pages 9 and 10 of the Committee's Report.

MR. AILWYN FELLOWES (Huntingdonshire, Ramsey): The recommendations of the Departmental Committee on British Forestry have received the earnest consideration of my noble friend. A sum of money has been included in the Board's Estimates for the coming year, from which it is proposed to make grants to two collegiate institutions for the establishment of lectureships in forestry. Arrangements also have been made by the Office of Woods for courses of instruction to be given in the Forest of Dean for the training of young woodmen. The Board are now engaged in considering the preliminary arrangements for repeating the statistical inquiry recommended by the Committee, which will, they hope, be carried out next year after an interval of ten years. They have published a leaflet on the relation of Woods to Domestic Water Supply and have specially brought it to the notice of local authorities; and they have in hand a Return as to the afforestation of catchment areas. My hon. friend will find further details as to the action taken in regard to forestry education in an article contained in the April number of the Journal of the Board of Agriculture, a copy of which I shall be pleased to send him.

Motor-Car Speed Regulations at Blackrock.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork County, E): On behalf of the hon. Member for the St. Patrick Division of Dublin, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Blackrock Urban District Council have passed a resolution expressing its disapproval of the speed allowed to motor-cars when driving through the streets and on the high roads of the district; and whether he will make inquiries into this complaint and consult with the authorities respecting the precautions to be taken to protect the public.

MR. WYNDHAM: The district council has been in correspondence in this matter with the Chief Commissioner of Dublin Metropolitan Police, who pointed out that the legal limit of speed, namely, 20 miles an hour, prescribed by the Motor Car Act of 1903, has not been exceeded. Section 9 of the Act empowers the Local Government Board, on the application of the local authority, to make regulations limiting the rate of speed to ten miles a hour. It rests with the local authority to determine whether it should make the necessary application in this respect to the Local Government Board.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: How many casualties are necessary to induce the Government to take some really effective steps to regulate the speed?

MR. WYNDHAM: It does not rest with the Government. It is for the local authorities to make application to the Local Government Board if they wish the special limit reduced. If cars are driven recklessly or negligently the police can take action even though the limit of speed be not exceeded.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Will applications be favourably considered?

MR. WYNDHAM: Let them make it.

Mahon's Estate, County Galway.

MR. ROCHE (Galway, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland what was the price per Irish acre paid by the Congested Districts Board for Mahon's property at Ballydonlan, county Galway; and if he can state the price the tenants will have to pay per Irish acre.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Congested Districts Board has not purchased this property.

Drainage of Owenmore River.

MR. O'DOWD (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the fact that the Owenmore River takes its rise in and flows for a considerable distance through a scheduled congested district in the county of Sligo, the Congested Districts Board will make a contribution to the council of that county towards any scheme it may deem practicable for the drainage of that river.

MR. WYNDHAM: The question will be considered by the Board at its next meeting. There are no funds, however, at its disposal for the purpose at present.

Irish Poultry Rearing Industry—Railway Rates.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY (Limerick, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on the 7th July a case of poultry weighing about 100 lbs. was sent from Rathkeale Co-operative Society, Limited, to Glasgow, for which the railway company charged 13s.; and, considering that the charge amounted to almost half the price of the contents of the case, he will take steps to have a special rate made for the carriage of such articles with a view to encouraging poultry rearing in Ireland.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Department has no information on the subject. But if the facts are represented by the society to the Department, the matter will be investigated.

Commitment of a Catholic Child to a Protestant Industrial School.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: On behalf of the hon. Member for South Cork, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the fact that at the Rosscarbery Petty Sessions, held on the 22nd June, an application was made by the Dean of Ross to commit a child named Callaghan to a Protestant institution under the Industrial Schools Act; whether he is aware that the child has been for seven years deserted by his father, who is a Protestant and is separated from his wife, who is a Catholic; that an uncle of the child, who is a Catholic, has for seven years maintained the child; and that the sergeant of police swore that the little boy was always well fed and well clothed by the uncle; and, if so, whether, in view of the latter's character and his willingness to keep the child, steps will be taken to discharge the child from this Protestant industrial school to which he has been committed.

I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to an application heard at the Rosscarbery Petty Sessions, held on 22nd June, to commit a boy named Callaghan to a Protestant industrial school, and to the fact that one of the magistrates was a son of Dean Reeves, on whose behalf the application was made; if so, will he say how many magistrates were present and what was their religious denomination; is he aware that the hearing of the application was adjourned to 20th July; that at the adjourned hearing four magistrates who were not present on the first occasion were not allowed to adjudicate by the chairman, Mr. Harrell, R.M., and that these magistrates left the Court as a protest against the chairman's ruling; and, if so, whether any steps will be taken to quash the decision arrived at in the absence of these magistrates.

MR. WYNDHAM: Application to commit this child to a Protestant industrial school was made on the 22nd June. I am informed that the child had been left during the past seven years by its father, who is a Protestant, with the child's maternal uncle, who is a Catholic. The police stated that the boy had been well fed and clothed by the latter. Eight magistrates were present at the hearing of the application; six of them were Protestants and two Catholics. The case, which was almost concluded on this day, was adjourned to 20th July to enable police inquiries to be made. At the adjourned hearing, four justices, who were not present on the 22nd June, were in attendance, and as the magistrates who presided on the 22nd June decided that the case should not be commenced *de novo*, the former could not adjudicate. These four justices then left the Court. One of the magistrates who adjudicated was son of Dean Reeves, whose curate applied for the committal of the child. On the 20th July the child was committed to a Protestant industrial school. He is stated in the committal order to be a Protestant. No application for the boy's discharge has been made. The order of committal is in legal form. If the Bench have acted improperly their conduct and decision are open to review, and no duty is imposed upon the Executive of taking steps for the purpose of reviewing the decision of the magistrates.

National Gallery of Ireland.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): On behalf of the hon. Member for South Kerry, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the vacancy on the Board of Governors and Guardians of the National Gallery of Ireland, caused by the death of Lord Powerscourt, has yet been filled up.

MR. WYNDHAM: The vacancy has not yet been filled.

Dublin Castle Telegraph Office—Appointment of Constable Woulfe.

MR. SLOAN (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland if he can explain why Constable Woulfe, of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, was appointed to the telegraph office, Dublin Castle, over the heads of other members of the force who had obtained first and second-class certificates; and whether, in view of the police orders that no such appointment will be given to any person having only a third-class certificate, he will inquire why Woulfe was selected for the position.

MR. WYNDHAM: The constable was the senior eligible man of those recommended as fit for the appointment.

There is no police order limiting the selection to men having first or second-class certificates.

Trinity College Estate Commission.

Mr. FLAVIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state when the Trinity College Estate Commission will hold its first sitting to inquire into the position of the tenants holding direct under Trinity College, as also the lessees and the grantees; and whether, for the convenience of the interested parties, especially the tenants, sittings of the Commission will be held at suitable times and in convenient districts, so as to allow the tenants who so wish to appear before the Commission.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The notice issued by the Commissioners and published in the Dublin Press of Monday last deals with the matters referred to in this Question. The Commission will hold a public sitting at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, August 3rd, in the Chancery Court, Four Courts, Dublin, when the grantees and lessees and under-tenants of the college estates will be heard in person, or by their counsel, solicitors, or other representatives. Local sittings will subsequently be held between August 10th and August 20th, in the counties of Armagh, Donegal, Fermanagh, Kerry, and Limerick, of which further notice will be given by the Commissioners.

Mr. FLAVIN: Will the right hon. Gentleman circulate that notice?

Mr. WYNDHAM: Yes.

Mr. KILBRIDE: And see that it appears in the local Press?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I will consider that.

Irish Department of Agriculture—Superintendent of the Statistical Section.

Mr. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether the position of superintendent of the statistical section of the Department of Agriculture in Ireland, now vacant for eight months, has yet been filled up; and, if not, whether, in the event of its being considered necessary to fill this position at all, it is intended to appoint to it an Irishman.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The appointment to the vacant office has not yet been completed, and I am unable to make any announcement in the matter at present.

Portumna Railway.

Mr. THORNTON (Clapham): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the present derelict state of the Portumna Railway is owing to the loss of a security for £32,420, through the negligence of a Department of the Government, and that this loss has been the cause of the difficulties that have befallen the railway, including a loss to the Treasury of their loan on mortgage of £12,000 and interest; and, if so, whether the Government will take the necessary steps for renewing the permanent way, and get the line re-opened for traffic for the benefit of the district at an early date; or failing the above, whether he will cause a full investigation into the circumstances referred to.

Mr. WYNDHAM: The Public Works Loan Commissioners have no knowledge of the loss of any security affecting this railway. But even if such a loss had occurred it would not have caused the difficulties that have arisen. The Commissioners advanced a sum of £12,000 towards the construction of the line in 1867. They took possession of it in 1878 as first mortgagees, and remained in possession until 1883. The gross receipts for the three years prior to 1878 averaged less than £2 per mile per week. The Great Southern and Western Railway Company, by whom the line was worked, lost about £1,500 a year on the transaction. It does not appear that the traffic conditions would be more favourable if the line were re-opened.

Mr. THORNTON: Was not the railway allowed to become derelict through the negligence of the Government in 1885.

MR. WYNDHAM: The Government do not accept any responsibility in this matter, although, of course, they very much regret the state of affairs.

Lisnagade Disturbance.

MR. SLOAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, on the 13th July, a man named Samuel Ewarts, accompanied by his wife and four children, were driving home from Scarva when, coming to Lisnagade School, a number of persons stopped the car and used abusive language to the occupants; whether, in view of the fact that Ewarts was struck on the head several times and that one of his children was struck, he can say why District Inspector Bell, who witnessed the assault, made no arrests; and, as the offenders are known to the Crown, will he order a prosecution.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): Samuel Ewarts alleges that on the occasion referred to he was struck on the head and neck, and that his child was struck on the legs by a man named Hyland. None of the police who were present saw him struck by anybody, and have difficulty in believing that he could have been struck by Hyland without their knowledge. None of the adult persons who were with Ewarts corroborate his story, and no injury has been inflicted on either him or his child. It is not a case for police action, but Ewarts can himself prosecute if so advised.

Irish Trade with Great Britain.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the repeal of the Act 4 Geo. 4, c. 72, by The Statute Law Revision Act, 1873, he will explain how the Treasury Warrant, declaring the trade between Great Britain and Ireland to be a coasting trade, issued under the authority of the Act of 1823, is still in force; and under what authority does the Treasury continue to treat Irish trade on the basis of a coasting trade only.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: The Treasury Warrant declaring the trade between Great Britain and Ireland to be a coasting trade was issued in pursuance of the Act 4 George IV. Cap. 72, in November, 1823, when the Act was still in force. The present authority for treating the trade between Great Britain and Ireland as a coasting trade is contained in the Customs Consolidation Act, 1876, 39 & 40 Vict., Cap. 36, Section 140.

MR. FLYNN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that there is a considerable discrepancy owing to this system of keeping the figures?

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir.

Commercial Gambling.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: On behalf of the hon. Member for the St. Patrick Division of Dublin, I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is aware that certain Liverpool banks have been financing gambling transactions with the object of facilitating leading operators to create fictitious values in Liverpool, to the detriment of legitimate importers and other commercial interests of Liverpool; and whether he will make inquiries into this subject with a view of devising some remedy in this country, such as has already been adopted by the American banks with the object of preventing similar gambling operations in the United States.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The Board of Trade have no information substantiating the first branch of the Question, and I have received information, which I believe to be trustworthy, to the effect that the hon. Member who put down the Question is mistaken as to the facts. As regards the second part of the Question, I have before stated that, at all events, an important branch of this subject is being investigated by the Commission on Food Supplies.

Military Protection against Invasion.

SIR HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if the Committee of Imperial Defence has been able yet to arrive at a definite calculation of the numbers of the land forces necessary for the protection of Great Britain and Ireland against the possibility of invasion, and of the numbers it is necessay to have available at home for the strengthening of the land forces in India, Canada, Australasia, South Africa, or elsewhere in the Empire in a time of stress; and if there is any objection to stating what these numbers are before the House is asked to sanction the proposals of the Secretary of State for War for the reduction of the Regular and Auxiliary Forces.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It seems to me that the problem put by my hon. friend is not really capable of definite numerical solution. The number of troops required to defend our shores must evidently depend, and depends very largely, upon the character of those troops.

Imperial Service Medal.

MR. ERNEST GRAY (West Ham, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Imperial Service medal is recommended on behalf of Civil servants in the lower grades who, having given long and faithful service, still retain their appointments; or whether it is reserved for those who have completed their service.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: By the statutes of the Order, it is on retirement that this honour is given.

RUSSIAN SEIZURES OF BRITISH SHIPS.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I believe the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury said yesterday that he would make a statement to-day with regard to the vessels that have been interfered with by the Russian ships.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have very little to add to what I think is now common property. The House will remember that the "Malacca," a P. and O. steamship, was on 13th July seized by one of the Volunteer Fleet which had recently issued from the Black Sea. We took the strongest possible exception to that course, on the ground that no ship of war could issue from the Black Sea, and that in our judgment the members of the Volunteer Fleet, if they issued from the Black Sea, and then took belligerent action, either had no right to issue or no right to take that action. The Russian Government have met us in this matter, I will not say upon the general principle, but as regards the particular incident. The "Malacca" could not be stopped before she left Port Said; but she went to Algiers, and she has now been released. The Russian Government, at the same time, gave us assurances that if the Volunteer Fleet made further captures before intimation could reach them, pending the discussion of general principles, action should not be taken, and that those captures should be regarded as not having taken place. In accordance with that pledge the "Ardova" and "Formosa" were released yesterday. We have received assurances that the Volunteer ships are to be withdrawn from the Red Sea; and I have little doubt that there will be no further desire on the part of the Russian Government to employ them as cruisers. So far, therefore, as these ships go, the controversy has passed out of the acute stage. I will not say that the Governments of His Majesty and of Russia have come to an agreement upon the general principle; but I think we need not anticipate that any practical violation of the view which we very strongly hold is likely to take place. There are, I am sorry to say, other questions not connected with this incident at all which must cause some discussion between the Governments, which, like all discussions between Governments, may be legitimate cause of anxiety. We hold that it is not proper that, on the authority of a captain of a cruiser, goods alleged to be contraband of war should be taken from a merchant ship without trial. The proper course, according to international practice, is that any ship reasonably suspected of carrying contraband of war should be taken by the belligerent into one of its own ports, and that trial should there take place before a Prize Court, by which the case would be determined. Evidently if it is left to a captain of a cruiser to decide on his own initiative and authority as to whether the particular articles carried by the ship do or do not belong to the category of contraband of war, what is not merely the practice of nations, but what is a necessary foundation of equitable relations between belligerents and neutrals, would be cut down to the root.

An even more serious case has arisen, if, as our information leads us to fear, a ship called the "Knight Commander" was sunk by cruisers of the Vladivostok squadron on the ground that she carried contraband of war, her crew having been, in the meanwhile, removed. In our view that is entirely contrary to the accepted practice of civilised nations in the case of war; and we have earnestly pressed our view on the Russian Government. We are under the strong impression that when the case is brought, as it has been brought by us, before the Russian Government they will give such orders as will prevent the recurrence of unfortunate incidents of this character. I feel confident that that will be the case. I do not know that there is anything else I need say upon the international aspect of the question. But perhaps the House will allow me to say, upon a matter in which we are directly concerned, that I cannot help thinking there is some misapprehension—I will not say in this House, but outside this House—as to the duties incumbent on neutrals. I have so far merely stated what we believe to be the duties and obligations of belligerents. Those duties we mean to the best of our abilities to see carried into effect. The belligerent of to-day may be the neutral of to-morrow; and the neutral of to-day may be the belligerent of to-morrow; and there are duties incumbent upon neutrals which must be borne in mind by shipowners of this country. Undoubtedly, it is the duty of a captain of a neutral ship to stop, when summoned to stop by a cruiser of a belligerent; and for the captain to allow at once, and without difficulty, his papers to be examined. That is an obligation on neutrals which we have systemically, consistently, and sternly enforced when we have been in the position of a belligerent, and it would not become us to indulge in any attempt to minimise that obligation on neutrals.

MR. RUNCIMAN: The right hon. Gentleman has stated, with regard to the captures of the "Formosa" and "Ardova," that the Russian Government had agreed to consider those captures as not having been made. Does that leave open the matter of compensation to be adjusted hereafter?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Oh, yes. Undoubtedly damage has been done, and of course the claims of the owners of those ships for compensation remain untouched.

MR. KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr Tydvil): In the event of any question arising between the two countries likely to lead to hostilities, will the right hon. Gentleman refer the matter to the Hague Tribunal?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think that is a hypothetical Question which the hon. Gentleman will hardly expect me to answer. He will not suspect His Majesty's Government of any desire to plunge recklessly into hostilities. I should be travelling beyond my function to say what cases are or are not of a character to be submitted to the Hague Tribunal until such cases actually arise.

Irish Estimates.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can arrange that an opportunity will be given for the discussion of the Estimate for the Queen's Colleges in Ireland.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have every hope of being able to make an arrangement which will enable the Queen's College Vote to be discussed. I rather think negotiations have been going on which point to that favourable result.

MR. LONSDALE: May I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman is aware of the understanding with the Chief Unionist Whip that a full Parliamentary day shall be given for the discussion of the Chief Secretary's salary, and whether he is aware that Irish Unionist Members desire to discuss Constable Anderson's case, and the charges for extra police, subjects which cannot be adequately debated if less than a full sitting is given to them.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have every confidence that time will be given to discuss the Anderson case, which I know interests hon. Gentlemen very deeply.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: Has it not been the practice for many years to take into account the wishes of the Opposition in selecting Votes for discussion in Committee of Supply, and may I ask why, in this case, the wishes of the Opposition have been over-ridden, and the desires and convenience of supporters of the Government alone considered.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think the hon. Member has quite accurately stated the practice. Of course, the object of putting down Supply is that an opportunity should be given of criticising the executive action of the Government, and the natural critics of the Government are chiefly drawn from the other side. But we are occasionally fortunate enough to have upon our own side hon. Gentlemen who desire to call attention to special parts of our policy, and they, of course, deserve consideration as well as hon. Gentlemen opposite.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND: May I ask when we may expect the revised Estimate for the Irish Development Grant. It is now nearly the end of the session. Is it again the stone wall of the Treasury ?

Mr. WYNDHAM: I hope it will be circulated to-morrow or the next day.

The Indian Budget.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the military expedition to Tibet and other questions of importance to India awaiting discussion, he will arrange for the debate on the Indian Budget to be taken before the concluding days of this session.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: May I at the same time ask the First Lord of the Treasury when it is proposed to take the Indian Budget; and if he can arrange to appoint for the debate a date in the first week of August.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: It is not possible to fix a day for the discussion of the Indian Budget. I can hold out little or no hope that it will be taken in the first week of August.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS: Will the right hon. Gentleman give an undertaking that it shall not be taken on the last day of the session.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I cannot give even that promise.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The right hon. Gentleman referred yesterday to a mysterious Treasury Bill which must be passed this session. I think the House would like to know the nature of the Bill, and if it is likely to give rise to discussion.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that on Tuesday he proposed to submit a Resolution on which to found a Bill to enable the Government to make provision for raising money for capital expenditure on works which had been passed in recent sessions, and to meet their obligations under the Cunard Agreement, which was sanctioned last session. In moving the Resolution he would explain the exact method by which the money was to be raised. Hitherto it had been done by means of terminable annuities which were taken up on behalf of the Savings Bank, but he was sorry to say that the money available to be invested by the Savings Bank was not sufficient to meet the need. He would therefore have to ask the House to make provision for borrowing in another form.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) inquired if one Resolution would suffice both for the £10,000,000 required for capital expenditure on works and for the Cunard Agreement.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN replied that this was not new loan expenditure, as it had already been approved by Parliament. The circumstances of the time having prevented his raising the money in the way it had hitherto been done, he had to ask the House for power to raise it in a different form, but not, so far as the Loan Acts were concerned, for authority to borrow more than the

House had already sanctioned. If two separate Committees were required he should propose to proceed with the one immediately after the conclusion of the other.

REGISTRATION OF CLUBS (IRELAND) BILL.

Lords Amendments to be considered To-morrow, and to be printed. [Bill 285.]

RESERVE FORCES BILL [LORDS].

Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 286.]

LIGHT RAILWAYS BILL [LORDS].

Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 284.]

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Third Report, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read.

Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 288.]

PUBLIC HEALTH BILL [LORDS].

Read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 287.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).

Ordered, That the proceedings on the Third Reading of the Finance Bill have precedence over the Business of Supply this day.—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (SUPPLY).

Ordered, That Three additional days be allotted to the Business of Supply.—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

FINANCE BILL.

[THIRD READING.]

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

MR. THOMAS SHAW (Hawick Burghs): I beg to move as an Amendment that the Bill be read a third time this day three months. The circumstances certainly justify the course we are now adopting. We have a very good precedent in this course in 1894, when Sir J. Lubbock moved the rejection of the Finance Bill of that year and the Unionist Party voted solid in the attempt to destroy a scheme which subsequent experience has proved to be fraught with great benefit to the community. If circumstances then were strongly in favour of that course, I hold that they are ten times stronger now. For instance, in the present case force has been applied to the passing of the Bill. Therefore I say the circumstances are much graver now than they were in 1894, especially in view of the contrast between the situation in which we find ourselves now with regard to national finance and the situation which obtained at the beginning of the decade. But my primary objection to the Bill is that it lays an undue strain on the resources of the taxpayers. It fails in what I consider is the primary duty of statesmanship at this moment—the duty of retrenchment and circumspection in our finance.

In the ten years of uninterrupted Unionist domination the finance of the country has reached breaking point. Every lover of his country must view the situation with alarm. We are aware that for a while retrenchment was not a popular idea; it had become a by-word fit only to be used by those who held antiquated notions of our Imperial destinies. Now, however, there has arisen a change for the better. Retrenchment, economy, and circumspection in finance are again viewed with favour as cardinal elements of national and Imperial statesmanship. But it would be as well for one moment to see how our finances stand now as compared to those of 1894–5. In the latter year the total expenditure chargeable against revenue was £93,918,000, a sum which the greatest statesman of that generation declared to almost represent finality in our expenditure. This year it is £142,380,000. The expenditure has been increased by £50,000,000, equal to 24s. per head of the entire population, or an increase upon each family of five persons of no less than £6. Some of the taxation provided for in this Bill was put on while the war was in progress. The war is over, but the taxes still remain. The increase of taxation, too, has gone on all round. The expenditure on the Army ten years ago was £17,900,000, this year it is £29,450,000, an increase of £11,550,000. The net cost of the Navy ten years ago was £17,545,000. It has now reached the stupendous total of £36,889,000, or an increase of £19,344,000 in ten years. The military services of the Crown cost, ten years ago, £35,445,000; now they have reached the appalling figure out of revenue alone to be provided this year of £66,289,000, or an increase of £30,844,000. It is well that the country should be reminded of these figures. We often hear high-sounding phrases with regard to our Imperial destinies, and we are apt to have great financial issues clouded by what are called Imperial methods. Let us be Imperial on both sides of the account.

I have said that the figures I have quoted are sufficiently astounding. But they make no allowance for Supplementary Estimates. The whole truth is not revealed by these figures. There is a system going on, insidious, silent, constant, automatic, of increasing the cost of the armed services of the Crown, and it does not appear in the Estimates. The system can only be found out by examining the various columns of figures affecting the National Debt. There is, for example, the automatic increase under the Naval Works Act, so that instead of the Navy costing £37,000,000 a year, it will in a few years time by the system of automatic increase amount to no less a sum than £54,000,000 a year. The time has clearly come for the House to record its protest in favour of retrenchment. I find also that in respect of the garrison in South Africa and its equipment for huts and other accessories, an expenditure of £5,500,000 is being incurred for a new area which has been acquired amid much waving of flags. It is not a new area for British expansion; it is only an area for British expenditure. How is it all to end? Is this peaceful little island to be turned into, as is apparently the opinion of some Members opposite, an arsenal or an armed camp If this is part of the Imperial scheme, how does it look in figures? In order to defend the population of these shores and our Colonies, how much does the Empire contribute. Roughly, the outlay is £43,000,000 a year for naval defence; and the Colonies, including India, contributed, according to the Naval Estimates for this year; £431,000. The contribution from the Colonies is equal to 1 per cent. I say, in view of these figures, that you are standing upon an apex from which you are bound to totter and fall. In these circumstances, can any one doubt that there is need for economy, watchfulness, prudence—prudence in our walk and conversation among the nations of the world—an avoidance of bluster, and the maintenance of a quiet demeanour? It is only by practising these humble virtues that the country will be able to tread the road of Imperial safety.

I say that the true need of the day is not for armament, but for a better educational equipment of the citizen. We spend £14,606,000 on education and £66,289,000 on the military forces. When I contrast these figures I cannot help thinking of the saying of Carlyle—

> "Alas! so will it be till communities and individuals discover, not without surprise, that fashioning the souls of the generation by knowledge can rank on a level with blowing their bodies to pieces with gunpowder."

What is the proposal of this Bill? Instead of finding a reduction of expenditure, demanded of a prudent Government, I discover in the financial arrangements of the year, set and determined devices to avoid a deficit. I do not desire to deal in detail with these matters, but I would like to call attention to the way in which the unclaimed dividends have been seized by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to stop a hole in his finance. The right hon. Gentleman has taken money that should have been a credit to capital and turned it into a credit to revenue. He has unquestionably allocated too small a fixed amount for the Debt charge of the year. He has fixed it at £27,000,000. That is not enough. Then there is the question of the Transvaal and the war contribution. The right hon. Member for Croydon said last year—

> "We confidently hope to obtain from the Transvaal this year—and it will be obtained immediately—a sum of £4,000,000 out of the guaranteed loan, and in the course of the three following years a further sum of £30,000,000 by way of contribution towards the expenses of the country."

Where is the £10,000,000? It was underwritten, but there is money from neither the Transvaal nor the underwriters. The Transvaal has its financial Budget, and in that Budget for the year ending June, 1905, no provision is made for paying to this country even the debt of £10,000,000 which was due in January, 1904. My contention is that in these circumstances it is utterly improper finance to treat that contribution as if it were paid. But it is a way the Government have of doing things whenever the Transvaal comes in. You are to treat the opinion of a country which is not self-governing as if it were self-governing, and you are to treat a debt which is not paid as if it were paid, and finance accordingly.

The National Debt itself is an illustration of the very argument which I have been using as to the need for a large allowance being annually made for the automatic reduction of the Debt. The war added £159,000,000 to the National Debt, and not a penny of that has yet been covered. According to the last published figures the Debt stands at £794,000,000, and it is a serious consideration that it is necessary to go back thirty years to find a parallel to such a scale of debt. Not since 1870 have we had a Debt of more than £793,000,000. Prior to the war the Debt stood at £638,000,000; it now stands at £794,000,000, and we have lost thirty years of sound finance. What was it that gave us our endurance—and this is the Imperial side of the question—in the wearisome conflict with that little Power in South Africa? It was not our preparedness for the conflict, or our wisdom under arms, but the strength of our finance which had been buttressed by the wisdom of successive Chancellors of the Exchequer for a long period of years. There were two sources to which we owed the strengthening of our hands in that conflict. The first was the splendid line of Chancellors of the Exchequer, beginning with Sir Stafford Northcote, who established the new Sinking Fund, and who loyally adhered to it year after year, thereby reducing the indebtedness of the country and enabling it to undertake the sudden spasm of a necessary increase. The second was my right hon. friend the Member for West Monmouth, who had the resource and skill to tap a new and splendid source of revenue. These were the two strengtheners of Empire, who, without using or appropriating to themselves high-sounding names, silently worked; the first lightening the overwhelming burdens of the country, and the other broadening and deepening the foundations of the great fabric of our national credit. These are the men who ought to be honoured.

Sir, my complaint against this Budget is in both directions: first, that it is not adequately loyal to the principles of the reduction of the National Debt in the sense which I have described; and, secondly, and more important, that it totally fails to tap any fresh source of revenue. Many such sources of revenue have been referred to. Three have been mentioned in these discussions. The first is a graduated income-tax. What has the Chancellor of the Exchequer done with regard to that? He has appointed a Select Committee to inquire into the questions of evasion and over-payment, but the question of graduation is excluded from the sphere of its operations. I never heard of such a proposal. It is touching the merest fringe of the subject. Everything connected with a graduated income-tax would be cognate with the questions of evasion and over-payment, and yet that question is expressly excluded. "It is impossible," says the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Very well. That was the word which Napoleon called a beast of a word. It was the word used with regard to the death duties. The whole scheme was impossible; it would never work. Estimable men in this House predicted that less revenue would be derived from the death duties in consequence of the Bill than before. Consequently, I am not alarmed when a Chancellor of the Exchequer deals with a question by whisking it out of the way and saying "Impossible." It has also been urged in these discussions that there is a constant leakage from the finances of the country through subventions to local authorities. How can it be stopped? You cannot suddenly withdraw these subventions, but you can provide local authorities with a power of tapping, in lieu of Imperial institutions, a new source of revenue within the ambit of their own jurisdiction. The third point which has been mentioned in these discussions is the question of high licence duties. I suppose the Chancellor of the Exchequer would say to me, "I will not have these things, because I do not believe in them." I put this point to him. We are familiar with the ideas of urgency, Imperial safety, and commercial stability, which have been strongly pressed upon us from important quarters. If the right hon. Gentleman will not tap new sources of revenue in which he does not believe, why in the name of common honesty does he not tap new sources of revenue in which he does believe? I can understand plain men in the ranks of his own Party, or part of that Party, saying, "We are feeling these burdens; we believe in the danger to the Empire; we think that that danger is most urgent; we believe that £15,000,000 could be got by a 10 per cent. duty upon imported manufactured articles, and we agree that we ought to surround and protect the pioneer if he is attacked." Holding those views, they would not, I think, consider that this is an honest Budget. It appears to me not to be a Budget in accordance with profession or with the faith that you have in financial affairs. Why this avoidance of resort? Why the minimum of courage in this Budget? It is because the ship is sailing as a free-trade merchantman in a very narrow strait, but it will emerge soon into the open waters, and hoist the black flag of protection, and provoke the hostility of every nation on earth. In this respect the Budget is unique. It has been the fine tradition of this country that in financial affairs when your opinions or faith change your policy must be altered. The Budget is unique not because it represents the failure of the Government in the matter of retrenchment, or to draw upon new sources of revenue, nor even in the fact that it strains to breaking point the resources of the people, but because it is not in accordance with the faith of those who introduce it. My last word upon the subject, compelled by a sense of duty, is this: I believe there is no national danger greater than that of a Government charged with the revenue and expenditure of the Empire, which fails in the first and highest duty of statesmanship, viz., to be true to its own financial faith. I beg to move.

Mr. WHITLEY (Halifax), in seconding the Motion, said that all who took an interest in the financial affairs of the country were entitled in the present condition of affairs carefully to examine the Bill to which the House were asked to give a Third Reading. The Chancellor of the Exchequer could not complain if his attitude was closely scrutinised. It was at any rate to the credit of the right hon. Gentleman that he had had the courage to avow his principles; he had sailed under no false flag, and knowing what his principles were the House were bound to ask what manner of Budget he had produced as his first attempt. The hon. and learned Member for Hawick Burghs had called attention to the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman had met his deficit by drawing upon funds which properly belonged to capital account. To meet a deficit of £10 000,000 the right hon. Gentleman had only found £4,500,000 from revenue sources, and he had covered the balance by abstracting money which properly belonged to the capital side of the account. They could not look upon that as satisfactory finance. The country should be taught that it would have to find this money, and to meet a deficit by taking money which ought to go to the reduction of debt was not straightforward. He could not congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the soundness of his balance-sheet.

They were forced to look at the nature of the taxes proposed. The right hon. Gentleman was raising rather less than half his revenue by new taxes, and upon this question he thought he was justified in taking for comparison two years, the current year and the preceding year. Taking the two years which had elapsed since the war, what did they find? That when taxes were put on they were imposed upon direct and indirect taxation in equal proportions; but when they had to be taken off, the proportion taken off was four to one in favour of the rich. Last year it was the income tax-payer who was first relieved, and the amount taken off direct taxation was four times the amount taken off the shoulders of the indirect taxpayer. That was one of the reasons why they had so stoutly fought the proposals of this Bill. They should leave money when they could in the pockets of those who most needed it, where it would fructify in the trade of the country and lead to increased employment in factories and workshops and greater comfort in the homes of the people. There was one new tax upon which the Chancellor prided himself to no small extent in the early stages of his Budget—he alluded to the tax upon stripped tobacco. That was not now so great a matter of pride, because there never was a tax which had been so hopelessly riddled by argument and left without a leg to stand upon as that unfortunate tax. The right hon. Gentleman had admitted, by withdrawing one-half of the tax, the unsoundness of his proposal, and he was sorry that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not had the courage to "go the whole hog" and remove the other half as well after he had found out his mistake. He had no personal interest in the tobacco trade, and his constituency was not interested, but he thought this tax illustrated the fallacy which existed in the protectionist mind. He was not surprised that the right hon. Gentleman had made this mistake, because it was an error which was common in countries with high tariffs and drawbacks. In the tin-plate trade there was more money paid in drawbacks than for tin-plate goods, and that would happen in any country that adopted the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. By this tax on tobacco they were enabling certain persons to make profits at the public expense, and they introduced all the attendant evils to such a system.

The next point he wished to refer to was how this Budget had affected what he might call our heritage in South Africa. They had had many promises and prophecies. It was scarcely more than twelve months ago since the distinguished relative of the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave the House a glowing account of how much money they were going to receive from that land of promise in South Africa. He confessed that he had read with no little indignation a recent speech made by Lord Milner in which he spoke of the crocodile tears which some persons had shed over the finances of the Transvaal. In introducing the Estimates for the current year in the Transvaal Legislative Council, Lord Milner pointed the finger of scorn at the Budget of this country, and asked, "What right have you in the mother country, when you have an assured deficit yourselves of £5,500,000, to shed crocodile tears over our finances when we have no deficit at all?" But how was it that there was no deficit in the Transvaal? Because of the laxness of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his colleagues, who had permitted Lord Milner to place burden after burden on this country which ought properly to be paid by the taxpayers of the Transvaal. He had endeavoured to make out a little account upon this subject. In the first place there was this £30,000,000, the first instalment of which was due last January. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had just stated that not only had he not received that instalment, but no provision had been made for the next twelve months, and yet the right hon. Gentleman had made no protest whatever to Lord Milner. He did not know how long he proposed to remain quiescent in this matter. Then there was £1,250,000 on account of railways which remained unpaid, and, as far as he could ascertain by Questions, no attempt had been made to get that claim settled. There was also spent on capital account £3,500,000 on barracks in South Africa. That was spent out of money borrowed for a term of thirty years under the Military Works Act. How were they going to stand with relation to the Transvaal when it got self-government, in respect to the millions we had sunk there? We were piling up debt while they were using the property. It was a curious thing to spend out of capital account, on a thirty years term, money of this kind, in a country to which we had the avowed intention of speedily giving self-government. Under capital account, we had placed on the shoulders of the people of this country £35,600,000, which ought, according not only to prophecies but promises, to fall on the Colony. In addition to that we were paying £3,100,000 for the military force in that country.

The only plea put forward in defence of this kind of finance was that it was no good pressing for these payments, because they could not be paid. Was that really the case? He did not believe that the Chancellor could even attempt to prove it was the case. The so-called 10 per cent. profit tax on the Transvaal mines was one of the promises of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. It was really working out at something less than 3½ per cent. on the profit—something less than half the amount the gold mines had gained from the reduction in the cost of dynamite through the change of Government after the war. The owners of the gold mines were actually saving money on the taxation paid under Mr. Kruger's Government, and at the same time they were pleading that they could not pay their debts. If this 10 per cent. had been fully paid last year the amount obtained would have been £350,000, but the Treasury only received £117,000. He found the gold mines had been permitted—and he supposed the Chancellor of the Exchequer must have given his approval—to value their lives at only fourteen and a half years. He noticed that when the chairmen of the companies were speaking to the shareholders they talked about thirty years as the life of the gold mines; but when it came to paying taxes to the Treasury, fourteen and a half years had been permitted on the part of the Government to be the calculated term. Presumably the mining companies in their own accounts made proper provision for depreciation, yet they were not taxed on the profits appearing in the balance-sheets, but on considerably less than half those sums, so that the plea of the poverty of the Transvaal was one which was no answer. It was, after all, a comparative question. Were they less able than the taxpayers of this country to meet the payment of these large sums of money? Those who knew the condition of trade in this country during the last few years would agree that a burden of £35,000,000 of capital and £3,000,000 of annual expenditure was one which the people of this country could not bear without great distress. He sincerely hoped that we should not see another Budget like the present in this generation. The last ten years had seen some strange finance in financial circles, but he did not think there had been anything more strange or more unsound than the present Budget. It was a kind of warning flag to the people of this country as to what they might expect if they gave credence to what were called the new theories of finance.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

*MR. SPEAR (Devonshire, Tavistock) said although he should certainly vote against the Motion for the rejection of the Bill, he readily admitted that the greatly increased expenditure of this country must give rise to anxiety in the minds of men, or, at any rate, of business men. Therefore he thought it very desirable that the discussion should arise. The hon. Member for the Border Burghs emphasised the necessity for economy, but he himself could not help remembering that if the many projects which had been brought forward on the Opposition side, including payment of Members, had been carried into effect, they would have entailed upon the taxpayers a very considerable additional burden. Believing that the maintenance of the Army and Navy in a state of efficiency would contribute to peace, he strongly felt that money spent wisely and well on those forces was a necessary and desirable national insurance. Much of the increased expenditure had arisen in providing better pay, clothing, and food for the soldiers, and with that expenditure he was in hearty accord. As an opponent of conscription, he had always said that unless this country treated soldiers better in the future than in the past, it could not expect to maintain the Army in a state of efficiency. He believed the increased cost of the Navy had been money wisely spent, because it was absolutely necessary that the Navy should be sufficiently strong to protect our food supply in time of war. In connection with the unpleasant incidents that had just occurred between this country and Russia, and hoping as he did that not a stone would be left unturned in aiming at a just and peaceable settlement, he recognised in what an unfortunate position this country would be if it had not an Army and Navy sufficiently strong to protect the dignity and just rights of the country. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for the Border Burghs that there had been considerable dislocation of expenditure consequent on the South African War, and that that had been one of the chief causes of the increase in expenditure; but he ventured to say that the war was rendered inevitable by the Majuba settlement, which though made in the best interests, proved disastrous. It could not be urged that all the responsibility for that expenditure rested upon the Ministerial side of the House. Turning to the Navy, he said it was perfectly monstrous that the Colonies, which depended upon the throughly efficient Navy of this country,should not contribute towards it more than £431,000 per annum. He could not help thinking that if the matter were represented to the Colonies they would readily see the reasonableness of making a larger contribution.

He admitted all the arguments that had been brought forward in favour of economy, and he thought the suggestion of the hon. Member for Exeter that there should be a Committee to review the expenditure a capital one. He hoped the Government would take good care that the expenditure on large salaries did not increase. He thought it was wrong that the Law Officers of the Crown, notwithstanding their great ability, should be paid partly by salary and partly by fees. It was not a businesslike way of proceeding.

*MR. SPEAKER: This would be more material on the Votes for the salaries of these hon. Gentlemen when it comes before the House.

MR. SPEAR said he had no desire to go further into that matter. Connected as he was with many public bodies, he must say that he never heard more unbusinesslike discussions in his life. First, there was the discussion on the coal tax, and even though the Board of Trade Returns showed that that industry had derived more benefit from the war than any other, the proposals of the Government received the strongest opposition from all the Members on the other side of the House. Again, hon. Members opposite were opposed to the imposition of additional taxes on spirits and cigarettes, and a considerable amount of time was wasted over the income-tax. He did not want to increase the income-tax or any other tax, but he held that when national responsibilities had to be met, all classes of the people should bear their fair share. Hon. Members opposite were very anxious to save the rich coalowners from their legitimate contributions to the revenue of the country, to save cigarette smokers and spirit drinkers, and at the same time proposed to increase taxation on the industrial industry by moving an Amendment to the Bill under discussion discontinuing the Agricultural Rating Act. Hon. Members opposite had not shown a discriminating sense of justice in appropriating the taxation of the country on different classes of the people. It had been said that the contributions to the national burdens should be made according to the paying powers of different classes of the people. With that he agreed; but when hon. Members opposite proposed to increase the burdens on the agricultural community, he confessed he was very much surprised. Recent Returns showed that the income of agriculturists had, during the last thirty years, declined £70,000,000, and that the agriculturists of the country had not received a penny of interest on their capital during the last twenty years. [OPPOSITION ironical laughter.] Oh, yes. He had had experience as an agriculturist, both as a landlord and tenant, and he did not hesitate to say that the average British agriculturists had not received a penny of interest on their capital. They had, perhaps, been able to make bread and cheese for themselves from their labour, but no more. He wished to protest against the efforts of hon. Members opposite to impose fresh taxation on the agricultural community through the Budget. He insisted that the repeal of the Agricultural Rating Act would be to place additional taxation on the agricultural community, because so considerable had been the natural increase of the rates that the farmers were paying to-day as much in rates as they were paying before the Agricultural Rating Act was passed.

*SIR WILLIAM HOLLAND (Yorkshire, W.R., Rotherham) said he would like to express his obligation, and that of a great many Members of the House and of people outside the House, to his hon. and learned friend the Member for the Hawick Burghs for his powerful indictment of the unwarrantable extravagance which unfortunately at present prevailed in high places. The debates on the Budget had been very interesting, but in some respects very humiliating. It had been a humiliating spectacle that so many Members of the House had had, day after day, to defend various businesses from attack, not by foreign competitors or foreign Governments, but by our own Government. Certain sections of the tobacco trade, the coal trade, and of industries employing sugar as a raw material, had been thus attacked. In the case of the coal tax, he held that the export duty on coal had just the same effect as if every foreign country had discriminated against us, and against us alone, to the extent of that duty. And the measure of their indignation at such treatment ought to be the measure of their condemnation of the continuance of the coal tax. Then, there were the new tobacco duties. In the course of the debate on that subject it was stated again and again that the extra duty of 3d. a pound on strips would in effect very likely involve some firms in absolute ruin; and he presumed that half the amount, which had been substituted for the original 3d., would be likely to half ruin some firms. They prided themselves in that House on being fair. At least they tried to be, although they might not always succeed. But he could not bring himself to consider a tax a fair one which could be shown to be likely to have as its effect the half ruining of some individuals connected with a particular trade. At any rate, the new tobacco tax had demonstrated very effectually the utter futility of any Chancellor of the Exchequer attempting to hold the balance with absolute fairness between different branches of a great trade. That was the main reason why he objected to the complicated and delicate machinery of some of our industries being upset and interfered with by Chancellors of the Exchequer. He was sorry the arguments against the continuance of the war taxes on tea and sugar had been of no avail. The taxes on coal and on sugar had had the effect in their respective trades of diminishing employment. The increased duties on sugar and tea had also had the undoubted effect of increasing the cost of living. So that they found themselves face to face with these unhappy circumstances, that many of the workers were earning less at the same time that they were made to spend more. It was not easy to exaggerate the importance of the proposal to have all duties removed from alcohol used for manufacturing purposes, especially from the point of view of the employment of our people. By the continuance of those taxes it was quite clear that we were playing into the hands of foreigners, and not only admitting foreign goods into our market on equal terms with our own, but by placing embargoes on our own goods we were virtually giving a preference in our own markets to foreign goods. He maintained that it was high time to put a stop to such folly. This was a case of preference turned topsy-turvy, and he was strongly opposed to it.

*Mr. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) said that the hon. Member for Tavistock stated, very truly, that they complained very bitterly of the coal tax; but the hon. Gentleman approved of it as a fair tax, because he said it was levied on those who made a large amount of profit during the war. It was pretty evident, however, that the hon. Gentleman had not followed the course of the debates on that tax, and that he had thoroughly failed to appreciate the argument which those of them who represented constituencies affected by the tax had attempted to bring to the notice of the House. There was no doubt that coal-owners who produced for the home market during a time of inflated prices made a very considerable profit. But the Government, in proposing the tax, did not touch the man who produced for the home market. It was the producer for the foreign market who was affected. He was the man who made the least profit in the coal trade, because he had to regulate his price in competition with foreign producers. No coal was imported into this country; and the producer for the home market had a monopoly, and was able to charge what prices he pleased, and he got them too. But men who produced for the foreign market—and 80 per cent. of the coal produced in Northumberland was sent abroad—made the least profit of all engaged in the coal trade during the three years 1900, 1901, and 1902. Yet it was on that branch of the industry that the tax was imposed. He could not help feeling amused at the observations of the hon. Member for Tavistock. The hon. Member said that the best way to maintain peace was to be prepared for war. He himself had often heard that statement; but it seemed to him that it rested on a fallacy. He believed, with the late Lord Randolph Churchill, that the possession of a very sharp sword produced an irresistible temptation to test its efficiency in a practical way. When a nation or a trades union felt that it was in a state of warlike efficiency, there was a tendency to become arrogant and arbitrary in dealing with its opponents, and to desire to provoke hostilities.

He only desired to enter his protest against this Budget because he believed that it dealt very unfairly with the working classes. The working classes of this country were not indisposed to bear their fair share of the burden required to maintain this vast Empire; but he did not believe that the Government had distributed that burden anything like fairly or equally over the citizens of the whole Kingdom. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon, in a speech delivered to his constituents in November last, said that the total amount of taxation, direct and indirect, imposed for the purposes of the war was £38,250,000. When the first remission was possible last year, how was taxation remitted? Four-fifths of the remission was on direct taxation, and one-fifth on indirect taxation. Further, in the present Budget indirect taxation was increased to the tune of £2,550,000; and those who were given the least remission had now to bear the greater burden of the war. His hon. friend who moved the rejection of the Bill said that it was two years ago since the war was over; but on the authority of the Government it was four years; yet the working classes were still called upon to pay this enormous taxation on the food on which they supported themselves and their families. He often wondered whether hon. and right hon. Gentlemen ever endeavoured to ascertain what this huge expenditure meant to the working classes. It had been computed on very high authority that the national expenditure, including the interest on the National Debt, and the expenditure on the Army, Navy, and Civil Service, was equal to a charge on the wage-earners of the country of no less than two hours per day; or twelve hours per week of six working days. That was a very serious matter; and if it were not that the Government managed to conceal it by the method in which it was levied, they would not be able to continue to draw this huge burden from the working classes. This burden was very unequally distributed; and it was because of that that he wished to enter his protest against the exorbitant figure at which the national expenditure stood. He did not believe that they would ever be able to economise so long as the present Government remained in office. The Government appealed in 1895, and not unsuccessfully, to the working classes of this country for support for a programme which they themselves declared to be one of wholesale social reform. They got a second verdict in 1900 under false pretences; they exploited the patriotism of the country for the maintenance of their own Party; and he, therefore, as representing a large industrial community, protested against the extravagance which had been shown by the Government in all their public affairs. They had subsidised special classes and special interests; and the working classes, to whom they were indebted for their majority on two occasions, were left absolutely unprovided for. Only this year they were promised in the King's Speech a measure to extend the Workmen's Compensation Act to other industries; but not one single step had been taken in that direction. Even the Bill was not introduced. Therefore, on behalf of those whom the Government had plundered, whose interests they had raided, he entered his most emphatic protest against this Budget.

*Sir EDGAR VINCENT (Exeter) said he was glad to hear the vigorous protest against extravagance which had just been made by the hon. Member. Whatever the tendency of the Government might be, he did not think that extravagance would have reached its present pitch if speeches such as that to which the House had just listened had been delivered earlier and more frequently. He hoped the new leaf which had now been turned over would remain open for a long time; and that hon. Gentlemen opposite would continue to resist the absurd extravagance which prevailed. He believed that if the working classes felt the burden of taxation to be excessive there was only one remedy, namely, the reduction of expenditure. He did not see how any readjustment of taxation as between direct and indirect taxation could be made with any general advantage to the financial position in such a way as to give relief to indirect taxation. It was admitted, on all sides, that the income-tax payer, who was the first to be called upon to contribute to war expenditure, should have that tax reduced during peace time to a level which would allow of the increase that would be necessary in time of war. He believed no authority would hold that an income-tax of 1s. in the £ was a proper level for a peace tax. Therefore, ingenuity must be exercised, and an effort must be made to get the income-tax down to a level which would allow for a reserve in time of war. With reference to expenditure, he had observed with regret that the Government had not taken any steps pursuant on the Report of the Select Committee appointed to examine what method could be devised to increase the control over expenditure by this House. No one would contend that the present system was satisfactory. The Committee went into the matter very thoroughly. Their Report might be on sound lines or it might not. Personally, he believed they were the most practical lines that could be devised; but even if the Government did not accept the recommendations of the Committee, that was no reason or excuse for neglecting the whole subject. The Committee dealt with an admitted grievance; and if the Government could not accept what the Committee proposed they should put forward counter-proposals. At any rate, the question should not be left in its present unsatisfactory and dangerous position. The Government should not be satisfied with the present level of our financial achievements. Too much attention was directed to getting Estimates through the House, to preparing taxation that would just pass through the House; without really examining whether the financial position so established was sound in the interest of the nation.

He submitted that the present financial condition was totally unsatisfactory. He would not refer again to the laxity of control over expenditure: that was said to be a detail of administration; he regarded it as a matter of the gravest importance to the nation. One result of the state of affairs was that the credit of the country had fallen to a very undesirable level. Not only had Consols fallen in greater ratio than foreign securities, but the whole character of the market had changed. On all sides in the City he heard that the amount of our floating debt was excessive and that our gold reserve, if not short, was in such a condition as to deserve the careful attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Not only had Consols fallen, but the position in the market had greatly altered. Consols, which were once a high-class investment, had now come to be a kind of financial barometer; they were the favourite medium of speculators and foreign brokers. That was a most unsatisfactory position. The most sensitive market in the whole list was the Consol market, and if a great crisis arose in what condition should we find our finances? Would our financial strength survive a severe strain such as would occur in case of war? He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to put an end to this policy of financial expedients. These expedients were not worthy of the best traditions of this nation. They heard from the right hon. Gentleman that the old borrowing resource of the Treasury, namely, the resource of the Post Office Savings Bank, had run dry, and a new appeal would have to be made to credit. To have to make an appeal to credit in a time of profound peace was altogether wrong. We ought to pay our way, and the net balance of indebtedness at the end of the year in times of peace ought to be less than it was at the beginning by £5,000,000. This was a low figure for the reduction of our indebtedness in a normal year. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to take his courage in both hands; there were only two systems of finance, the lax system and the severe, and he urged the right hon. Gentleman to adopt the severe course, and put the finances of the country on a sound basis.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) said at no time had the Budget been brought in at so late a period of the session. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had had a very trying time throughout the long debates that had ensued upon it, and he would like to congratulate him on the good temper he had displayed in the conduct of those debates. Those discussions had been spread over three and a half months, and if the House looked back to the first of them, they would recollect the right hon. Gentleman received many congratulations upon his plans. On that occasion he was the only faithful friend the right hon. Gentleman had. He warned the right hon. Gentleman that his proposals contained principles which the House would be loth to sanction, and that if the House should sanction them, a storm of indignation would arise in the country. Those evil forebodings had been fulfilled. There had been trouble in the House, and the proposals had gone through, but the right hon. Gentleman had had to throw half his cargo overboard. But though the proposals had passed in the House, in the country there was a very strong feeling against the Budget. The reason of the long discussions was that the financial state of the country was most uncertain, and the people were unwilling to tolerate this large expenditure; they had expected some relief, instead of which they had the same Budget as that of last year with additions of a very worrying character made to some of the taxes. He did not agree that the right hon. Gentleman's Budget was a free-trade Budget; he held it was very far from being a free-trade Budget. One would have expected some expression of regret at such a Budget having to be brought in, for it provided for a high and inflated expenditure. There was not a word of regret that the expenditure should be so high, but rather a prophecy that it would be higher next year, and not only that, but the Budget contained a heavy tax on the food of the people, which the free-fooders opposite ought to have opposed. Then there was the tobacco tax, which was generally admitted to be an objectionable tax, but was justified by the statement that all the tobacco taxes were protectionist. The right hon. Gentleman ought to have provided for this high expenditure without any tax on food. It was that which so far removed this Budget from the ideal of a free-trade Budget.

But the really important matter to be dealt with was the broad issue raised by the hon. Member for the Hawick Burghs. The country was face to face with a serious financial crisis. Every day brought forth some fresh illustration of its severity. The Bill of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had that day given notice arose directly out of the financial situation and the bad provision the Treasury had been able to make for the requirements of the nation. Money for Works Bills could no longer be borrowed upon the same easy terms as formerly was the case, and no doubt the House would be forced to assent to whatever new principles the Government might suggest at so late a period of the session. The general financial situation had not been at all too seriously regarded. With the Supplementary Estimate to be introduced on Tuesday next, and the capital loan expenditure, the total for the year would be not £143,000,000, but £154,000,000 or £155,000,000, while if to that were added the contributions from Imperial funds to local taxation, the expenditure for the year would be £162,000,000 or £163,000,000. That was a most serious situation demanding strict and immediate attention. In 1859 Disraeli declared that no country could go on raising £70,000,000 a year in time of peace with impunity—that England could not, and if England could not, no country could. The nation at large was not able now to bear heavier burdens than then, because new demands of an extraordinary character had arisen. Thirty-five years ago the total rates amounted to £35,000,000, in 1902 the amount was £105,000,000. That, added to the figures he had already given, brought the total up to £270,000,000 roughly, and the effect of such a huge expenditure was being felt in every part of our financial system. No relief was to be expected in the direction of the restriction of municipal borrowing. New borrowing forces were being set up under the Licensing Bill, and new duties involving expenditure and borrowing were constantly being thrown upon municipal bodies. If the people were brought face to face with the alternatives of not providing themselves with the necessaries for healthful existence, such as water supply and so forth, or of cutting down Imperial expenditure, he firmly believed that an overwhelming mandate would be given in favour of the latter alternative.

The Liberal Party were not yet sufficiently strongly pledged to the policy of cutting down expenditure. They would probably get all right before serious responsibilities were cast upon them, but he thought they might have made a more emphatic protest against the growth of expenditure than they had done. It was true that on the Second Reading of the Finance Bill the Leader of the Opposition moved an Amendment in favour of restricting the growth of expenditure, but that was not enough. Not only must the growth be stopped, but the expenditure must be reduced. After every other great war there had been a reduction of expenditure. Since the South African War not only had the expenditure not been reduced, but it had been actually increased. He thought the recommendations of the recent Select Committee ought to have received more attention at the hands of the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition. The situation was so serious that Parliament ought to catch at any straw that promised a reduction of expenditure. In the Report of the Committee there appeared an interesting table with regard to the growth of expenditure. Deducting expenditure under the Consolidated Fund and for debt, which could not be reduced, it showed that in the years 1884, 1894, 1904, the expenditure increased from £50,500,000 to £63,000,000 and £118,000,000 respectively. Of the £13,000,000 increase in the first decennial period £8,500,000 was for education, while of the £55,000,000 increase in the second period no less than £47,000,000 was for Army and Navy expenditure. That contrast revealed very graphically the course which the nation had been taking. A further striking contrast was afforded by the fact that in 1884 only £40,000 of borrowed money was spent, whereas in 1904 the amount was no less than £9,500,000. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer might well promise that some attempt would be made to restrict these borrowings for the service of the year. This system of borrowing was spreading from the Army and Navy into the Civil Service. It was no use the Chancellor of the Exchequer lecturing municipalities upon this subject. In India they paid for these things out of the tax of the year, and all Indian military works were paid for out of the taxation of the year. He wished the Government to set up a pure and sound system of national expenditure, and then they could call upon local bodies to imitate them.

His right hon. friend had said a great deal about a reduction of military expenditure, and he had also hinted that the naval expenditure must be restricted, but he did not refer to the Civil Service Estimates, and he hinted that there might be a great increase in the Education Vote. He was not in favour of increasing expenditure upon education, because he was not satisfied that they were getting value for their money, and there was a good deal of extravagance in this system of equivalent grants. The Civil Service expenditure required close examination, but the greatest scandal was in the expenditure upon the Army and Navy. The whole treatment of Army and military matters by the Government was a reproach not only to the Government but also to the House of Commons. About a week before the session commenced the Secretary for War delivered a speech in Liverpool in which he said that the man would be crazy who expected to see a reduction in military expenditure. Only a week ago they were told that the result of the new military scheme would be to considerably reduce the Army Estimates. They had heard something about an additional charge of £3,500,000 for barrack accommodation, and therefore he could not see the least prospect of any economy in military expenditure. This country could not continue to find the large sums which were being demanded by the Government. The naval expenditure should be largely decreased. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Croydon was Chancellor of the Exchequer he declined to purchase the Chilian battleships, but the present Chancellor of the Exchequer agreed to purchase them, and thus added £2,000,000 to the Navy Estimates. That was an absolute reversal of the policy of his immediate predecessor. The situation was getting very serious, for the people could not continue bearing these heavy burdens. Everyone could see the check which had been given to commercial enterprises, and surely it would be better to decrease expenditure. The constituencies were beginning to realise the situation. The successful candidate at the Oswestry election, after the declaration of the poll, said that the people had risen up against the Government because they objected entirely to the way in which the interests of the people had been sacrificed to the selfish interests of the few.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said he wished to repeat the serious warnings he had given from time to time as to the present financial situation of the country. Similar warnings had recently been made from so many quarters of the House that he had begun to think that hon. Members were taking financial reform seriously. The hon. Member opposite had drawn a dismal picture of the financial state of the country, but his statement upon that point was entirely unfounded. He believed this country never was in such a condition of prosperity, and never so well able to bear heavy taxation with so little effort, as it was at the present time. He disagreed with the contention of the hon. Member for Exeter, who suggested that our financial credit was low. This country at the present moment could borrow at a lower rate than any other country in the world. Our credit was not only as good but relatively better than ever it was. [Cries of "No, no!"] He contended that it was. He had gone carefully into the matter, and he considered that British credit was better than that of any other country. He agreed that extravagances had been indulged in and mistakes committed, but he hoped that with the new feeling towards economy and the better management of accounts, some effect would be produced upon those who sat upon the Treasury Bench.

There was one important matter he desired to allude to. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that the Savings Bank would no longer enable him to obtain money for his Naval and Military Works Bills although he wished to draw another £10,000,000 for that purpose. The Savings Bank had been the great reserve of successive Governments during the last twenty or thirty years, and it was looked upon as a sort of family arrangement under which borrowings could be carried on with the greatest facility. The condition of the Savings Bank really suggested something far more serious as to the credit of this country than the price of Consols or anything else. For three years the Savings Bank had been shown to be insolvent, and it had not sufficient money to meet its liabilities. That did not concern the depositors because they had the Consolidated Fund behind them. At the present time the amount of money available in the Savings Bank was not such as to enable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to carry on the financing of the Government. Although he regretted the diminution in the balances of the Savings Bank from the point of view of a financial economist, perhaps he ought to rejoice that one of the temptations to extravagance had been cut off and in the future borrowing would be more difficult. His advice was that it would be much better to postpone, if not the whole, at any rate a considerable portion of this £10,000,000 loan until better times.

MR. LOUGH: But the money has been spent.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES said he did not think the money had been spent, but that was another matter. This was an extra £10,000,000 and it had not been provided yet, and therefore it had not and could not have been spent. The financial condition of the country was still sound. That was true. There had been much that was unsound in the management of our finance. Our accounts had been systematically falsified. Nobody could tell from the most intimate study, unless he had personal knowledge, what even the finance accounts, admirable as they were, meant. The whole of our system wanted overhauling. We should recur to that financial Magna Charta — the Exchequer and Audit Act of 1866—which regulated the whole of our financial proceedings, but which, from 1866 to the present day, had been departed from by successive Governments who were all equally guilty, and this House with them, he was bound to say. There were now left scarcely any of the securities which that Act provided. He hoped we were approaching the term of financial extravagance and irregularities. But it would require, in order to inaugurate a better system, a combination of circumstances and statesmen, which, perhaps, even now, we might not have. We should have a determined Chancellor of the Exchequer, who would rather resign than put on an unnecessary tax. We should want a determined Prime Minister, who would stand by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the struggle for economy. We should want, above all, a House of Commons, determined to do its duty, and not afraid to vote, as he intended to vote now, against this £10,000,000 of irregular debt when it was brought before the House. A determined House of Commons would be enough. He hoped they would inaugurate a system of reform which would put our financial system where it should be, and where the credit, the capacities, and the resources of the country demanded that it should be.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said he recognised that by supporting the proposal for the rejection of the Finance Bill he was taking a serious responsibility. His hon. and learned friend who moved the rejection of the Bill quoted a precedent in the case of the Budget brought in by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire. An interesting point in connection with that precedent was that in the discussion on the Bill one of the foremost opponents was the hon. Member for South Islington who was now not only in favour of the death duties, but actually desired that they should be increased. That at all events would not be a precedent for the action of the Opposition in this case, for he did not think they would ever be converted to the opinion that this was a good Budget, and that it ought to be allowed to pass. He felt also that they had been justified in the action they had taken in regard to this Bill at every stage. They were justified on two grounds. In the first place the only way in which they could reduce the expenditure of the country was, in his opinion, by reducing Supply. The present Government did not enjoy the confidence of the country, and therefore he was not prepared to vote supplies to them to keep them in office.

The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down said he thought the financial position of the country was good and its credit high. Whatever might be the credit of this country as compared with that of other nations it was unfortunately clear that we were in a worse position than we were a few years ago. If we had to go to war at the present moment we should not be in so good a position as we were some years ago. Our credit, tested by the price of Consols, had fallen from 110 to 88; we had a Debt of £760,000,000 to provide for; and we had a Sinking Fund totally inadequate for the purpose. We had also £30,000,000 of addditional ordinary expenditure as compared with what we had at that time, so that while our position might not relatively to that of other countries be very bad, as a matter of fact, as compared with the period before the war, it was very bad indeed. It was perfectly true that other Governments before the present one had been extravagant. For some years past there had not been a really economical Government in office, but what distinguished this Government from others was that they had increased expenditure at a higher rate than any of their predecessors. He looked to the influence of public opinion as the only chance we had of reducing it. The taxes put on during the last few years were mostly talked about as war taxation. But a very small proportion of the £33,000,000 put on at the time of the war had been remitted. The amount of the remission was something like £8,000,000, so that £25,000,000 was still being imposed for the purposes of peace expenditure. The present Government came into office with a surplus of of £4,500,000. They had imposed £21,000,000 additional taxation. Owing to the financial policy of the last few years the country was now groaning under additional taxation for peace purposes of £10,000,000 direct and £14,500,000 indirect taxation, an amount which represented £6 per family per annum in this country. Surely it was enough to injure the trade of the country and to prejudice the position of the consumer when that enormous amount of taxation had to be maintained from year to year. It was far easier to increase expenditure than to reduce it—to add millions to the expenditure than to economise. He was bound to say that there did not really seem to be any express desire on the part of the present Government to go to the root of the matter, and to frame their Estimates of expenditure in such a way as to lead to some genuine economy.

The two great items of expenditure were the Army and the Navy. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had held out no hope that there would be any reduction in Navy expenditure. He himself, for one, was not afraid to say that he believed there was an opening for economy in the Navy Estimates as well as in those of the Army. The standard of our Navy was a matter of proportion, and the purchase of the Chilian war vessels and the serious diminution which had taken place in Russian naval strength during the war with Japan affected that proportion in a manner which ought to be favourable to economy. As to the Army, we had the hope held out in April of a reduction in our military expenditure. What had happened? The Secretary for War in his speech the other day pointed out twenty-five evils and plague spots in our Army system. The chief plague spot of the Army system was the great expenditure connected with it. The upshot of his speech was that there would be a comparatively small amount of diminution of expenditure unless the particular scheme which the right hon. Gentleman urged, and which apparently the Government had not assented to, for the abolition of the Militia was carried through. But even if that were set aside, the whole economy would amount to £500,000 a year on this enormously swollen Army expenditure. His hon. and learned friend who moved the Amendment pointed to the very significant fact that the comparatively small saving would be more than swallowed up by the Army Votes. The Secretary for War had himself admitted that for armaments, clothing, stores, etc., in the following two years there would be required £1,800,000 and £2,300,000 respectively, making in all an addition to the Army Estimates of no less than £4,000,000 a year. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman was a great disappointment to the House and the country, because the general opinion, both inside and outside the House, was that we were spending far more on the Army than we ought to do, and that the expenditure should be reduced and greater efficiency at the same time obtained. The result, of course, of all this expenditure was the present Budget, with its various items of taxation—the extra 2d. on tea and the extra 1d. on income-tax. The proportion between direct and indirect taxation before and since the war had been discussed; but his complaint was that when it came to a question of remission of taxation direct taxation was much more largely reduced than indirect. One of the chief objections felt to this particular Bill was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not raising revenue by revenue taxes, but by taxes producing little revenue and introducing something in the nature of protection to particular industries.

He wished to say a word as to the financial position in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be placed with regard to the tobacco duty. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to get £550,000 from these extra duties, £50,000 of which would come from cigars and cigarettes. It was quite obvious in regard to the price of these articles that the consumer would have to pay a larger sum both for home and foreign cigarettes. When it came to the question of stripped tobacco, there again the position was a somewhat unfortunate one. The right hon. Gentleman expected to get £500,000 from the extra tax on strips, but he had already given up the half of his proposed tax for the benefit of the importers. It was quite evident from the tobacco Returns showing the proportion between stripped and unstripped tobacco that the right hon. Gentleman would be fortunate if he received half the sum that he had originally estimated to secure from the duty. The last Returns showed that the proportion between unstripped and stripped tobacco was as thirty to seventy, but with the imposition of the duty the proportion would be entirely reversed; and it did not seem to him that the right hon. Gentleman could get £300,000 out of the duty this year, of which he had already given back £200,000. Not only was the tobacco tax tending to disturb the trade of the country but it was an object-lesson in regard to some familiar proposals having a flavour of protection about them. Here was a tax put on primarily as a revenue tax, but the result was that the revenue would disappear. That was always the way with these protective duties; the more successful they were the less revenue they yielded. It was not, he confessed, easy to understand the fiscal and financial position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to this matter. The right hon. Gentleman said that the character of his proposals were in the nature of a free-trade Budget. He did not think it was altogether so; but, supposing it was a free-trade Budget, he contended that it was a duty of the right hon. Gentleman, having regard to the position of the country, to produce a Budget which would press less hardly on the consumer while conferring the greatest benefit on the trade of the country. The right hon. Gentleman had said—

> "That it was not beyond the possibilities of civilisation to raise fresh revenues without injury to any class, without undue friction or undue disturbance to trade or of commerce."

The right hon. Gentleman for West Birmingham went further and said—

> "It was still possible that a scientific taxation might be developed which would secure all the money the country required without anybody being the worse or the wiser for it."

That might be so; he did not dispute that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have some scheme in his mind by which the industries of the country would be fairly increased; but it was the duty of the right hon. Gentleman and the Prime Minister not to postpone the revelation of their new fiscal scheme indefinitely, but to produce it at once, if they believed that they were going to do good to the trading interest and to the taxpayer, and have it discussed across the floor of the House. If they would not adopt that obvious course, then the Government should go to the country, and ask for the mandate that they said they needed before the new fiscal scheme was submitted. A free-trade Budget ought to be introduced by a free-trade Minister.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford) said that he could hardly think that anyone who looked at the condition of the House would imagine that hon. Members were engaged in a discussion whose object was to defeat the chief Government Bill of the session. He could not say that the speeches delivered by the Opposition that afternoon were cheerful, and still less did he admit that they had any connection, exclusively, with the subject of the Motion. Everyone knew that the financial condition of the country must cause serious consideration not only to the critics of the Government but to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The situation which his right hon. friend had to deal with was a serious one, and no one would grudge his right hon. friend the tribute which had been paid to him by the hon. Member for West Islington in congratulating him on the way in which he had fulfilled his task. There was every reason for a lack of cheerfulness being shown by those who attacked the Government. This despairing Motion came at the end of one of the most unsuccessful Parliamentary sessions that the Opposition had ever enjoyed. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oswestry."] During the last recess no prophecy was more consistently put forward in the speeches delivered by Opposition speakers in November, December, and January than that the Government would be forced to flounder in a financial morass in consequence of the late war; that they would have to extricate themselves by plunging into the new fiscal policy which had been so much deprecated; that there would be great fear that the Government would "rush" a decision by the country.

Now, however, the Government was blamed for not submitting their fiscal policy at once to the decision of the constituencies. He thought the concluding words of the hon. Member for Poplar rather reflected that view. In the opinion of the Opposition the time had now come when the constituencies might be trusted to give a proper verdict on the fiscal question. He submitted that his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer throughout the discussions on the Bill had preserved entirely the position which the Government originally took up. It might be urged, as had been urged by his right hon. friend the Member for West Birmingham, that another solution for the financial necessities of the country might be found, but the position of the Government was that until they obtained a verdict from the country in that direction they would proceed on the old recognised lines.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said he understood the Government to say that they had this great remedy for the trade and finance of the country. If they had, they ought to go to the country at once.

*MR. BRODRICK said the hon. Gentleman would hardly have said that a few months ago. The Government were not bound to consult the constituencies at the psychological moment chosen by the Opposition. A short time ago, if the Government had proposed to go to the country they would have been accused of rushing the constituencies. He wished to ask the House to consider whether the extremely lugubrious tones of hon. Members opposite as to the financial position and credit of the country were justified by the facts? It had been pointed out by his hon. friend that although the credit of the country had stood higher, it had never been as low as the highest point reached by the credit of other countries. The hon. Member for Poplar said that was a serious matter that Consols should have fallen from 110 to 88. It was a serious matter; but Consols were never at 110 since the interest was decreased.

MR. TOMKINSON (Cheshire, Crewe) said that $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Consols were at 114 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Consols at 110.

*MR. BRODRICK said that there was, of course, no doubt that Consols had seriously fallen. As to the increase of the National Debt, with a national income and wealth at least double those of 1870, the Debt to-day only stood at the same figure as in 1870. That surely was not a very damaging fact. What affected the price of Consols was the enormous increase of local expenditure and borrowings. Between 1880 and 1902 the increase in local borrowings had been £206,000,000 or 130 per cent Undoubtedly that had a very serious effect in depreciating certain classes of gilt-edged securities. He should, however, be the last person in the House to deny that the great increase in Army and Navy expenditure was a serious factor. He even put that factor higher than many hon. Members opposite, because they believed that this expenditure could be reduced at a stroke of a magician's wand. He had no such belief. He thought more seriously of the matter, because he saw more difficulties than hon. Gentlemen. The increase in the Navy expenditure had been enormous, but it had been approved by three successive Chancellors of the Exchequer. The Government had adopted the standard and policy of maintaining a Navy slightly superior to any two foreign navies. That was the standard, and that was the policy; and if there were to be a reduction, that standard would have to be given up. If he would point the moral, he would say, "Look at what had recently occurred in the Far East." One thing the war in the Far East had made clear—that a very slight preponderance of force on the part of the Japanese had enabled them practically to clear the sea. The slight preponderance of force which had been thought necessary for the British Navy had, therefore, received additional justification.

As to the Army, he had said more frequently than any one else that the demands which had been made on behalf of the Army would lead to a reaction when the war in South Africa was over. But while that was going on, there was no Minister who had to resist so many demands for increased expenditure as the Minister for War. They had since the outbreak of the war increased the charge for the Army by £10,000,000, and they had raised 60,000 additional troops. One of the chief critics of expenditure during the earlier years of the Government was now responsible for the War Office, and the speeches which that Minister now made showed that in his hope an efficient result might be attained with a considerable decrease in expenditure. Hon. Members would excuse him discussing that point until the full figures were before the House, but he thought it would be found that, speaking generally, a decrease of expenditure in the War Department must be carried out in connection with a decreased force. Whether that decrease was to be effected by reducing the number of troops for service abroad—a plan which he hoped would not be carried out—or by reducing the troops for the defence of these shores he would not discuss; but though many critics had urged reduced Army expenditure, no one had yet supplied a scheme by which that reduction could be effected.

There was one point on which the Government had a right to claim consideration from the House of Commons in regard to this naval and military expenditure. He had himself felt very strongly the absolute necessity of co-ordinating the work of the War Office and the Admiralty. Their Estimates up to very recent years had been to a large extent separate. The old Defence Committee established in 1895 did great service in co-ordinating some of the work of those two Departments and in examining closely the Estimates which were to be submitted; but that was not sufficient; and immediately at the close of the war, in concert with the First Lord of the Admiralty, he brought before the new Prime Minister the absolute necessity of forming some body under his own presidency which would succeed in bringing those Estimates side by side and in considering them in relation to the schemes which had to be framed for the protection of our possessions in all parts of the world. This was not the time for him to enter further into the matter, but he did not look to the labours of the Defence Committee beyond anything else to secure the end they all had in view of obtaining national defence at a cost considerably below the present. Far better than any loud professions by hon. Members who had not themselves been responsible for recommending expenditure or for administering these services would be a consensus on the part of the House to make the most of an organisation which, containing all the best expert advisers under the immediate supervision of responsible members of the Government, could be held accountable for the schemes submitted and the Estimates submitted in support of them. He was by no means certain that when right hon. Gentlemen opposite replaced them they would not hold that the institution of the Defence Committee had been not merely from the Imperial but from the economical standpoint one of the best titles the present Government had to the confidence of the country.

He was afraid that he must call attention to the fact that the greatest Treasury economists had often proved to be the least trustworthy curators of national finance. No man in the recollection of hon. Members had tried harder to reduce the Naval and Military Estimates than the late Mr. Gladstone, and he thought no man in the last century found himself ultimately responsible for heavier charges in consequence. Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time of the Crimean War, and the appalling losses and the appalling want of preparedness which characterised that war, a great deal of which had grown up when he was a member of the Cabinet, caused the prodigious expenditure which took place in that war. When they remembered that in the late war they had at times to maintain nearly 250,000 men in the field and that in the Crimea there were never more than 52,000, and when they considered the relative cost of the two campaigns, he thought they would realise how far things had advanced since those days. Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister from 1880 to 1885 and Chancellor of the Exchequer for part of the time, and everybody knew that that Government came in with a determination to reduce expenditure, especially on the Navy and the Army. There were not many in the House now who were Members in 1880, but those who were would recollect that from that moment, beginning with the withdrawal of our troops from South Africa at a very critical moment, every step which the

Government could take was taken to reduce expenditure. The result was that we gradually floundered into spending an enormous sum. £9,000,000 was spent in a campaign in Egypt in order to lose that province in the Sudan which the present Government in 1898 spent £1,000,000 to regain; and there was a vote of credit for £11,000,000 in consequence of complications with Russia in 1885 which it was the strong belief of most who were then present in the House would never have been required if our forces had been kept in a more efficient condition. He trusted that, whatever were the results of this debate and of the next general election, Members opposite would have regard to the history of the past before they hastily established an economy which might cost very much more in the future.

There was one part of the speech of the hon. Member for Hawick which he regretted to hear. He called attention to the insufficient share which the Colonies took in the upkeep of the Navy. He regretted these calculations, which were not only irritating to the Colonies, but—[Cries of "Oh," and "Hear, hear!"] Well, we had the control of the Fleet, and a good many Colonies might not need the Fleet. Those who did—he would not say all of them—had subscribed something to the Fleet, and other Colonies subscribed very largely for their own defence. A speech like that of the hon. and learned Member remained on record, and he was afraid that, if there were any idea of his holding high administrative office in the next Government, that might cause, and would cause, some apprehension on the part of the Colonies. Hon. Members opposite could not have it both ways. The Government were as anxious as they were that all parts of the Empire should share in the burden; it must be recollected, however, that those who paid the piper as a rule called the tune, and they could not expect that the Colonies, whose foreign affairs were administered for them by that House, would contribute in equal shares with those who had the control of the administration.

Mr. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): Why did you ask them to?

*Mr. BRODRICK said that at the Colonial Conference a great deal passed between the responsible Ministers of the Colonies and the right hon. Gentlemen who was then Colonial Secretary, and there never had been any indisposition, so far as he knew, on the part of the Colonies to bear a fair share of the expenditure. He did not think that this was the moment, after the exertions made in the war, for us to call the Colonies to account on a matter on which he believed they had every desire fairly to meet us.

Mr. THOMAS SHAW said that he never used the term "sufficient" or "insufficient." He merely referred to the way in which the relative facts stood, and the moral he drew from them was that there should be greater circumspection in our finance. He could not subscribe to the doctrine that the mention of facts absolutely germane to the subject under debate could be injurious either to this country or to the Colonies.

*Mr. BRODRICK said that he accepted the hon. Gentleman's explanation, but he thought that some expressions he had used and the way in which they were taken might have been received in the sense he had indicated. Was there not something hollow about the whole of these attempts to reduce Supply to the Government by rejecting the Finance Bill? The debates had shown the most extraordinary tendency on the part of the Opposition to attack not only the taxes to which they objected, but those on which they would themselves rely if they came into power. They had voted, or some of them had voted, against the coal tax, the tax on cigarettes, and the tax on spirits; and his hon. friend the Member for Tavistock was justified in observing that their operations with regard to this taxation did not show a discriminating sense of justice. There was no part of the conduct of the Opposition on which he congratulated them so little as on their taking a division, not against the items of which they disapproved, but against the whole of the finance of the year. His right hon. friend had made the best of the resources at his disposal. It undoubtedly was the proper work of that House to review not only our naval and military but our

Civil Service expenditure. But in voting against the whole finance of the year, in refusing supplies to the Government, he ventured to think that hon. Gentlemen opposite, if they should be placed at an early period on the Government Benches, would find they had given a vote which would be most embarrassing to them in their future policy, and that they had practically given pledges which they would find it very difficult to carry out.

*Mr. TOMKINSON said the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for India had twitted the Opposition upon the want of success which had attended their attacks upon the present Administration, but he thought that when it was remembered that the Government had an almost automatic majority of 100, the Members of which were drawn more closely together as each successive by-election showed how completely they had lost the confidence of the country, and what an overwhelming defeat awaited them when they ventured to take the plunge, the fact required very little further explanation. That was the obvious reason for their action, though whether that action was altogether consonant with consistency and self-respect he would leave the House to judge. The statement of the hon. Member for the Tavistock Division that for many years past no agriculturist had received a penny interest upon his capital was an amazing assertion. Farming, if properly conducted, under fair conditions of security and rent, and with sufficient capital, was never on a more satisfactory basis, and agriculture, although it did not like being further taxed for education and other purposes, was, nevertheless, in as good a position to bear its fair share of taxation as any other industry.

Mr. SPEAR pointed out that according to reliable statistics the income of the agricultural community to-day was £7,000,000 a year less than it was thirty years ago. How in the face of that it could be contended that the industry was prosperous he was at a loss to understand.

*Mr. TOMKINSON asked how it was that farmers in many parts of the country were willing to pay rents of £2 per acre? They knew their business, and they would not take farms at such a rental unless it paid them to do so. He knew that in various parts of the country agriculture was decidedly prosperous, and had never been on a better basis. The hon. Member had placed the whole burden of responsibility for the increased taxation upon the war. But the war was over, and their complaint was that the war taxation continued. The present rate of expenditure was most disquieting. From the figures given by the hon. Member for West Islington it appeared that eliminating the item of Service of Debt in the decennial period 1883–93 the increase of expenditure was 5 per cent., the real expenditure being in 1883, £60,000,000; in 1893, £63,000,000; in 1903 it was £113,000,000, or an increase of nearly 90 per cent. But if Post Office expenditure—which was not out-of-pocket expenditure—was also eliminated, the expenditure would be seen to have increased from £50,000,000 in 1883 to £98,000,000 in 1903, or an increase in out-of-pocket expenditure of practically 100 per cent. The hon. Member for King's Lynn had taken a roseate view of the condition of the credit of the country. No doubt the country had been, and was, extraordinarily prosperous, but the fact could not be gainsaid that whereas in 1897 2½ per cent. Consols stood at 110, they were now at 88½.

Mr. GIBSON BOWLES said the hon. Member was doubtless aware that at the time he mentioned the price was largely fictitious in consequence of large purchases by the Government.

*Mr. TOMKINSON said he did not admit it to be fictitious because the Government were investing in the sinking fund, for that was, and ought to be, the normal state of things. This constant exploitation of the credit of the country was a very serious thing, as he had ventured to point out in the debates on the recent Irish Land Purchase Bill. They could not always be making raids upon the credit of the country without seriously injuring our national credit. When they so loaded the market that Government securities dropped from 110 to 88 it was not pleasant to contemplate at what rate they would have to issue fresh stock in case they had to find £100,000,000 for another war. He believed that this extra tax on tea was wholly unjustifiable, and it was injurious to British interests from first to last. If there was one article to which a remission of taxation was due it was tea. A tax was increased 50 per cent. for the purpose of the war, and therefore tea was entitled to a remission as soon as any other tax instead of being further raised to 100 per cent. Everyone would sympathise with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to the conditions under which he took office, but in his opinion this Budget would be remembered as one of the most unfortunate in its conception and unsuccessful in its results of the long line of balance sheets that had been laid before the House of Commons.

Mr. COGHILL (Stoke-upon-Trent, expressed entire disagreement with the observation of the hon. Member for Islington as to the expenditure on the Navy being too great. Probably there were items of that expenditure which had not been made as wisely as they might have been, but as to the sum total, he did not think a penny too much had been spent. With reference to the Army Votes, he was still waiting to see the Army Corps proposed by the present Secretary of State for India. The House voted for them last year, and he was still waiting to see them. The Civil Service Estimates showed wholesale extravagance all round. He was surprised to hear what the right hon. Baronet the Member for Berwick said about the income-tax. He remembered that in the autumn the Chancellor of the Exchequer told them there would be a reduction of 3d. in the amount of that tax; but now an addition of 1d. had been made. He was not surprised, however, because when the Government made a free gift of £12,000,000 sterling to one portion of the United Kingdom they must impose a considerable strain upon the resources of the country. He protested against the wasteful way in which £5,000,000 of Irish Land Stock was raised by its issue in the month of March at 86. The Government should have waited until a month or two later before making the issue, for the stock had stood at a premium of £5 or £6 pounds ever since March. The Government issued £5,000,000 of Irish Land Stock at 86 in March and lost £250,000 on the transaction. Why did they not wait until May, when a higher price could have been obtained? If money were wasted in that way there seemed to be no limit to the expenditure of the Government. He thought the Secretary of State for India was a little hard in his criticism of the Opposition that afternoon. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to have forgotten entirely that, on the income-tax, if they had not received the support of the Opposition, the Government would have been turned out of office. If more Irish Land Stock were issued he hoped that the issue would be made at a price nearer to the present market rate. Until he saw a more resolute and determined attempt on the part of the Government to check extravagance and promote economy he certainly would not vote for the Third Reading of the Finance Bill.

***Mr. JOSEPH WALTON** (Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley) said that under the present arrangement the House had not opportunities of making a sufficiently close examination into the national expenditure in every department. In order that the House might obtain proper control over the national expenditure, it was obviously desirable that the recommendations of the Committee on National Expenditure of 1902 should be given effect to without delay. That Committee reported that it was desirable to appoint a Committee of the House to make each year a close examination into one class of Estimates, so that every four years each class of Estimates would receive an infinitely more careful examination than they had hitherto received, and a Report thereon was to be submitted to the House. The same Committee also recommended that one day should be devoted to the consideration of the accounts of the Public Accounts Committee. It was obviously most desirable that that recommendation should be given effect to without further delay. He sympathised with the present Chancellor of the Exchequer inasmuch as the right hon. Gentleman came into office in the course of a year for which he was not responsible —a year in which the expenditure was under-estimated by £3,000,000, and the revenue over-estimated by £2,750,000. That left him with a very considerable deficit. The House had never had a satisfactory explanation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to why he had appropriated the £3,000,000 repaid by the Transvaal, and taken £1,000,000 of unclaimed dividends These sums were not revenue in any sense of the word, and they should not have been so regarded.

In considering the finances of the country they had to take into account local as well as Imperial expenditure. Imperial and local expenditure amounted to the enormous total of £274,000,000. Was it any wonder that our trade and commerce were languishing under this ever-increasing burden of taxation and expenditure? His hon. friend who moved the rejection of the Bill told the House that our ordinary normal expenditure had gone up £50,000,000 in ten years. That alone had a detrimental effect on the trade of the country. Of that sum £40,000,000 had gone on national armaments. If that money had been spent on better food and clothing for the people it would have made an enormous difference in many of the standard trades of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had succeeded to a very difficult position. At the beginning of 1903–4 he had a working capital in the shape of Exchequer balances of nearly £10,000,000, while at the beginning of 1904–5 he had only a little over £4,000,000. The condition of our finances was unsound. We ought to have more working capital, and we ought to have greater Exchequer balances so that if there was a sudden demand for £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 we should not have to go into the money market to borrow. The House was at present considering a Budget in a time of peace. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol had uttered weighty words of warning, to the House and the country, on the question of the increasing national expenditure. Speaking on 19th April last, the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "I have looked back to the year 1881-2, twenty-three years ago, and I find that, in that year the total expenditure of the country was £85,500,000. For the seven years following it increased at the rate of £500,000 a year; for the seven years again following that, it increased at the rate of £2,250,000 a year, and for the nine years ending this year it has increased at the rate of £4,250,000. I say such an increase cannot go on. If it goes on, in my belief it will impose a burden of taxation that this country will not stand. It has already imposed upon us £23,500,000 of taxation primarily imposed for war purposes, but maintained in time of peace and added to this year by my right hon. friend to the extent of another £4,000,000."

What they had to complain of was that there was no evidence before them that the Government had realised the seriousness of this enormous growth of national expenditure. The Government had failed to take into consideration the fact that while last year's Budget was £9,000,000 greater in time of peace than the preceding year's Budget, this year, owing to there having been a deficit, that £9,000,000 was increased to £12,000,000. Yet this year, another year in time of peace, a Budget was introduced giving only a reduction of £1,500,000, leaving an increase of £10,500,000 as compared with two years ago and exclusive of the £4,500,000 last year for war purposes.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer was face to face with this deficit. How had he chosen to raise it? When taxes were put on they were added equally in the matter of direct and indirect taxes. Indeed, in 1902 the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, told them with regard to the income-tax that he made it 1s. 3d. in order to balance direct and indirect taxation. Last year, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in a position to remit £10,500,000 of taxation, he took four-fifths off the direct taxpayer and only one-fifth off the indirect taxpayer. He had asked before and he now repeated the question—If justice was done last year when taxation was remitted by taking four-fifths off the direct and one-fifth off the indirect taxpayer, did it not follow that justice could only be done this year by putting only one-fifth on the indirect and four-fifths on the direct taxpayer. If that was not so, then an injustice was done last year. Surely the same proportion between direct and indirect taxation ought to have been imposed this year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer himself admitted that £27,500,000 of extra taxation imposed during the last four or five years, primarily for war purposes, were continued in time of peace. And now the duty on tea was to be increased to 8d. per lb., which, it was admitted, would press very heavily on poor people, as did also the sugar duty. There was no question that at the present moment, having regard to the statements made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the right hon. Gentleman had failed to properly relieve the working classes from the burden of taxation imposed on them during the continuance of the war, out of the enormous surplus which he had last year. Some people contended that the working classes were not heavily taxed. But the ordinary working man who paid 7s. 6d. a week for house rent had included 2s. 6d. per week Local Rates or £6 10s. a year; that was 10 per cent. on his wage of 25s. per week. If, in addition to that, he had to pay 10 per cent. in Imperial taxation, that made 20 per 'cent. on the whole of the wages he earned; that was an income tax of 4s. on the £. These figures could not be questioned, and could any one say that that was a fair burden to put on the working man as compared with other members of the community?

The recent growth of expenditure had been chiefly on the Naval and Military Departments. He was amazed at the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for India, having regard to the speech the other day of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War. The present Secretary for War said that a huge amount of expenditure on the Army was absolutely wasted, and that we got no benefit from it. He could only say that the speech of the present Secretary of War was an absolute reply to the speech of the Secretary of State for India in regard to Army expenditure and Army efficiency. The country had a very strong view as to the condition of the Army; and there was a very uneasy feeling that the ex-Secretary of State for War was not giving the loyal co-operation to the present Secretary of State for War which the latter ought to receive. They were always told that a man was killed by worry and not by work; and the present Secretary of State for War was evidently being killed politically more by worry than by work. The Secretary of State for India ought to put patriotism before personal reputation and give the present Secretary for War his loyal co-operation. This was a serious matter. He believed it was absolutely true that the reorganisation and reforming of the Army was being hindered; and that the expenditure on the Army could not be reduced because of the conflict of opinion between one school of military reform and another. The country had a right to expect that if the ex-Secretary of State for War had made mistakes he should willingly admit the fact, so that the nation should not lose so heavily by the expenditure which he had incurred.

Then, as regarded the Navy expenditure, they had never been able to draw from the Government any reply to the contention repeatedly put forward that they ought to learn lessons from what was taking place in the Far East. They could see that battleships, costing £1,000,000 or £1,500,000, could be sent to the bottom in a few minutes. Had not the Admiralty seriously considered whether it would not be better to put their money, instead of into battleships, into smaller vessels heavily armed? The expenditure on the naval and military forces, including naval and military works, was perfectly appalling. It was £76,250,000, which was more more than double what it was ten years ago. The increase in the last ten years was 120 per cent., whereas the increase in Germany was only 30 per cent., in France 25 per cent., and in Italy 6 per cent. That was surely greater than it need be, even if we got value for our money. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol had said that nobody outside the War Office believed that we got value for our money.

The Secretary of State for India took exception to the remarks of his hon. friend the Member for the Hawick Burghs on the question of colonial contribution to Imperial defence. Why should not the matter be fairly considered? Why should not the facts in regard to it be fully stated? What were the facts in regard to Canada? Whereas, every man, woman, and child in this country had a burden of £1 12s. 6d. for naval and military defence, the 5,000,000 of people in Canada enjoyed the benefit of that expenditure equally with the people of this country, and made no contribution at all to this huge revenue beyond bearing the cost of their local Militia. Further, they taxed the £10,000,000 sterling worth of goods imported from this country to the extent of £2,000,000 sterling; whereas this country admitted £23,000,000 sterling worth of goods absolutely free. Talk about fiscal preference! What about Canada? Canada got a fiscal grant in the matter of Imperial defence of between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000 sterling per annum. Australia, New Zealand, and the other great Colonies only made an aggregate contribution of £400,000 to Imperial defence. He hoped that those who went in for preferential tariffs would adjust a relative contribution towards Imperial defence as between the Colonies and the mother country, giving the Colonies a voice in the spending of the money by representation on some general council of Imperial Defence.

Again, the House had a right to hear a definite statement from the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the time when this country was to get the first instalment of £10,000,000 sterling from the Transvaal. A bargain was made by the ex-Colonial Secretary in South Africa, under which the Transvaal was to get £35,000,000 for the development of the country, this country getting £30,000,000, which was an infinitesimal contribution towards the £230,000,000 which the war cost. They were told £10,000,000 had been underwritten; but, up to the present moment, not a single penny had been paid, although the £35,000,000 for the development of the Transvaal had been contributed on the guarantee of this country. At the present moment there was an enormous expenditure in providing barracks in South Africa; and the taxpayers of this country were being bled to the tune of £3,000,000 sterling for the cost of garrisons in South Africa. Yet no contribution was received from the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, or Cape Colony. Did the Government from first to last make any serious attempt to obtain a contribution towards the cost of the war from Natal or Cape Colony? The war was undertaken to repel the invasion of these colonies; and they benefited through the war. Many towns and several classes of the community made enormous fortunes during the war; the invasion of the colonies was repelled at a cost of £230,000,000; and he ventured to submit that there were sections of the community in those colonies who were better able to bear a share of the cost of the war than the overburdened taxpayers of this country. They had never yet had any definite statement as to whether the Government ever thought of asking Natal and Cape Colony to contribute to the war.

They were anxious that the national credit should not be reduced; and, therefore, it was absolutely essential that national expenditure should be reduced. The funded and unfunded debt amounted to £794,000,000; the local debt to £412,000,000; the Transvaal loan to £35,000,000; and there was a possible financial responsibility in connection with the Irish Land Act of £100,000,000—a total financial responsibility of £1,350,000,000. Was it any wonder that the development and prosperity of trade was hindered with such a huge incubus upon it? They ought to have a proper financial balance-sheet, dealing not only with Imperial expenditure but also with local expenditure. They ought to know where they were. By all means let the revenue-producing assets be valued also. They had valuable assets in the Post Office and the Suez Canal shares; and one-half of the local debt had been expended in revenue-producing works. The nation would not tolerate the huge expenditure now going on if the working classes only realised how much they were paying. How many working men knew that out of every 1s. they paid for tobacco, 10d. went to the Government, and that 8d. out of the price of every lb. of tea went to the Government. After all, this question ought not to be a Party question. It was a question in which both sides of the House were equally interested. He only hoped that the advice of the Committee which reported in 1902 would be speedily given effect to by the Government if they remained in power, and that next year they might have a closer scrutiny of the expenditure of every Department of the State with a view to securing a substantial reduction.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth) said the hon. Member who had just sat down had made a most interesting speech, but he was only concerned to say a few words on the last part of it, in which the hon. Gentleman called attention to the growth of the expenditure for the defence of the Empire. He himself did not think we heard nearly enough of this matter. It should become a matter of calm and deliberate consideration and should be brought forward in a manner that should not repel but attract the attention of all the citizens of the Empire at home and in the self-governing Colonies. So far as the Navy was concerned, we could not look forward to any reduction of expense, unless we could stop other nations building, or stop the progress of our sea trade. We must keep up a standard which would prevent war by discouraging the idea that our power on the seas could be contested, or, if we could not prevent war, such a standard as would enable us to give a good account of ourselves to our enemies. He admitted some reduction could be made on military expenditure, but he doubted whether it would be as great as some people supposed, because the moment the question of the Army was touched innumerable local and professional interests were affected, which in that House blocked and thwarted reforms, At the same time he quite agreed that full value was not obtained for the money spent; that, however, was another question.

This expenditure, he reminded the House, was to maintain an Empire which was really a triple Empire, the home Empire consisting of these islands; the Empire of dependencies, including India; and the Colonial Empire—an Empire of practically independent States self-governing like ourselves. We were trying to run this great Empire, excepting India, with the resources of these Islands, but that could not go on. In the past we had been a great deal too hesitating in not going to the Colonies and telling them they must face the fact of this expenditure if they wished the Empire to be preserved. No Minister had spoken so openly and so distinctly upon this question as the right hon. Member for West Birmingham had done at the Colonial Conference, but he (Sir John) desired more Ministers to speak out in that way. When he remembered that Australia looked at Japan's great successes and then looked and saw shelter and the hope of peace for herself in Japanese help to our powerful Navy, he was also driven to recollect that the revenue of Australasia was greater than that of Japan, and yet she paid nothing. The whole of the Empire should combine for this purpose. It was the business of every responsible Minister of the Crown, from whatever Party he came, to bring this fact before our fellow-citizens across the seas. He believed in their common sense, but no man ever lived, young or middle-aged, who liked to be asked to pay for that which he had always had for nothing. When we remembered the great resources of our own self-governing Colonies, their territories, their mineral wealth, their timber, and all their great potentialities of future greatness which was the heritage of the British people, made over freely to our kinsmen, and then regarded the events now taking place in the Pacific, and the sea trade of Australia on the one side and of Canada on the other, we were well entitled to say to these two self-governing colonies, "How are you going to face the future? Do you expect the mother country to discharge all your obligations and to bear all your burdens? Do you think she can do it, and if she cannot what is going to happen to you?" That was the pacific and friendly spirit in which this question ought to be looked at, and he hoped it would be raised in that way. It was one of the greatest questions of the day, it had been neglected in the past and it ought to be faced now in a plain, friendly and businesslike spirit.

And, it being half-past Seven of the clock, the debate stood adjourned till this Evening's Sitting.

EVENING SITTING.

FINANCE BILL.

Order read, for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment to Question [28th July], "That the Bill be now read the third time."

Which Amendment was—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day three months.'"—(*Mr. Thomas Shaw.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."—

*Mr. HELME (Lancashire, Lancaster), resuming the debate on the Finance Bill, said that although the opposition yielded to none in their desire to support the adequacy and efficiency of the Services they desired to enter a serious protest against the financial policy and administration of the Government. The national expenditure had now reached a figure that in times of peace had never been equalled, and by this formal vote the Opposition desired to emphatically express the opinion that the methods of the Government in superintending the Departments had not been adequate to the national requirements in point of economy combined with efficiency. It appeared now to be the fact that the House of Commons, although the custodian of the purse of the nation, had lost control over the country's expenditure, and that it had simply come to be a House to register the decrees of the Government. The constitutional power of the House had been cut short by the closure, which made the Opposition powerless to effect any improvement, and in the face of the big majority of the Government they could only take advantage of all opportunities to urge the adoption of their proposals. As to the general question of taxation, he would press upon the Government the consideration that the strain was too great, that the abstraction of such a sum as £143,000,000 for ordinary expenses of the nation in time of peace was too large, and that such an imposition was particularly oppressive on the poor. The increase on the tea duty affected the every-day life of the people, and the millions a year now paid more than were formerly necessary, on account of the sugar bounties abolition, had greatly increased the people's burdens and affected their comfort. The industrial population were crying out for consideration, and therefore it was only right that they should assert and re-assert, again and again, that this excessive taxation was sapping the foundation of the prosperity of the country and must be reduced. The purchasing power of the people was lessened by the huge amount of taxation now imposed, and so taken out of the pockets of the people, and hence it was that much of the demand for manufactures at home was considerably lessened. Employment, therefore, was more and more restricted, smaller amounts were paid as wages, and therefore the Opposition were justified in saying that the prospects of the Imperial Exchequer were not so rosy as they would like them to be. Expenditure depended on Policy and that was fixed by the Cabinet; thus, as the protests of the Opposition were unable to affect the Government's policy, there was a great responsibility resting upon the individual supporters of the Government. Those hon. Members had a very potent weapon in their hands, and if they used it they would affect the decisions of the Government in a manner which the Opposition could not hope to obtain. The people had made up their minds that a peace Budget should not be as large as the present one and would refuse to go on paying the £48,000,000 increase. The value of commodities had fallen during the past few years, and the country had not secured the advantages they were entitled to because of the altered value of those commodities as admitted by the present Secretary of State for War. The Opposition, therefore, demanded that the Government should carry out a system of economy in all their branches.

Sir CARNE RASCH (Essex, Chelmsford) said he was not often surprised at the things that were said by hon. Gentlemen opposite, but he confessed he was astonished at the statement of the hon. Member for Crewe, that agriculture was more or less prosperous. Some time ago an hon. friend of his let a farm rent free and tithe free to prevent the land from going out of cultivation, with the result that he paid about five shillings an acre for the privilege. He wished the hon. Member for Crewe and other hon. Gentlemen opposite would go down into that part of Essex which he represented and see for themselves the condition of agriculture there. They might go down on Bank Holiday. He would be glad to conduct them personally, and he thought they might be back in time for the division on the vote of censure. In the Valley of the Crouch they would see a great stretch of country which looked more like cocoa-nut matting than anything else, with docks growing as high as a horse's knees, gates off their hinges, and cottages more or less dilapidated. When land went out of cultivation the agricultural labourer went with it. It did not matter to him how cheap the 4lb. loaf might be if he had not money to pay for it. He did not say that as a protectionist or a "whole-hogger," for he did not profess to be the one or the other. He was glad the Member for Crewe had brought this matter within the purview of the House, and if he could be induced to visit Essex he would probably be found more frequently on the Ministerial side than he was at present.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) recalled attention to the history of the Bill. When it was first introduced the House, mesmerised by the clear exposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, looked upon it as being framed on free-trade lines. But when they began to look into it they quickly discovered beneath the veneer of free trade the ugly features of protection. He regarded the Budget as extremely unsatisfactory. The increase of the tea duty was a pitiable device in the present economic circumstances of the nation. He said pitiable because any man who had regard for the great mass of the industrial population would be extremely loath to tax what had become almost a necessary of life. Tea was an article which ought to be touched last of all for the purpose of raising revenue, because such a tax pressed most hardly on the poorest classes. A good deal of nonsense had been talked about tea. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that the country was saturated with tea. He had no sympathy with such views. Knowing as he did the life of the poor, having lived and worked amongst them during many years, he knew that tea was one of the few comforts of the poor, and he regretted that anything had been done in the Budget to lesson the ability of the poor to enjoy that comfort. Hon. Members had stated that tea was injurious to the system, but he could say that of the many thousands of cases which had passed under his hands professionally, he had never known a death from tea-drinking. Tea was one of the least injurious of beverages. One hon. Member had said the constituents of tea were similar to the constituents of strychnine. That sort of comparison ought not to be made in a scientific sense, because the ultimate constituents of any article were no guide to the effect of the article. He had seen thousands of people grossly injured through being saturated with beer, but while the Government had been making tea less accessible, and incidentally placing tea producers in our Colonies at a serious disadvantage, they had been engaged in protecting the people who produced beer, which was the cause of serious injury to the population. Such action might be good for the Party, but he could not congratulate the Government upon their choice from the point of view of the public welfare.

There was another reason why he regretted the increase of the tea duty. A certain Member of the House, who had made himself very prominent as the exponent of a new fiscal policy, had in his capacity of missionary made a proposal by which a reduction of the tea duty would make way for the introduction of other taxes, which would be injurious to the people. That being so, the present Government, in view of the pledges it had given, ought not to have tampered with the tea duty, which appeared to favour the policy of the Member for West Birmingham, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have been the very last man to identify himself with such a course of procedure. He wished to protest in the first instance against the tea duty, which was injurious to the poorer classes and the colonial tea-grower, and generally to the welfare of the country.

Then came the question of tobacco. In the financial history of the country every Chancellor of the Exchequer who had touched tobacco had burned his fingers, and the right hon. Gentleman had proved no exception to the rule. The tobacco duties brought in £12,000,000 to the Exchequer, and taxes which produced so much and represented so enormous a percentage on the actual value of the articles taxed required to be dealt with very cautiously indeed. The variations of the tobacco duties in the present Bill exhibited bad finance, and were strongly marked with the evil of protection. They were cruel, not only to the trade—and especially to the retail trade—but also to the consumer. Looking at the taxes as imposts upon luxuries, one could see how very unequally they effected different classes of smokers. In the case of cigars, an extra sixpence was put upon a box, value from 60s. to 100s., to the purchaser, and it was not a large increase to the class who smoked cigars. But on fifty shillings worth of cigarettes the extra duty would be three or four shillings, or four or five times the amount on cigars. Surely, in the name of justice, the tax in these cases ought to be relatively equal. The proposals of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to stripped tobacco and cigarettes were suicidal imposts, because they tended to destroy themselves. Some 10,000,000 lbs. of cigarettes were consumed in the year, of which only 500,000 lbs. were foreign-made, and upon that one-twentieth an extra 1s. per lb. was to be placed. The result would affect two classes of imported cigarettes very unequally. Cheap cigarettes would practically be kept out of the country altogether, and the dearer cigarettes would be affected unjustly. In fact, he was assured on high authority that the foreign cigarette trade would be killed. There was a certain quantity of foreign cigarettes, chiefly Egyptian, but some Russian, brought into this country. These cigarettes, which were of high quality, had to compete with cigarettes made in this country from the same tobacco, which would not have to pay the extra duty. The result would be that cigarettes made from Turkish tobacco, matured in Egypt, and made in this country, which were indistinguishable to the ordinary smoker from the foreign-made cigarettes, would be given a great advantage. Moreover, these English cigarettes imitated the labels and boxes of their competitors so closely that, to the ordinary superficial observer, there was no difference whatever. That was unfair competition. The makers had asked that if they were to pay the extra duty a special stamp should be allowed to protect them from the spurious article, but the request had been refused, and the trade would be steadily squeezed out of existence.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, Worcestershire, E.) said the remedy for that was to put into force the Merchandise Marks Act, not to seek protection, as the hon. Member was doing.

SIR WALTER FOSTER said that had been tried, but it was not sufficient to prevent the fraud upon the public. Thus the tax was obnoxious in itself, and would bring a diminishing amount to the revenue. The proposal would also have an important effect upon the market. The great tobacco business which manufactured probably three-fourths of the cigarettes consumed in this country had not yet largely increased its prices, but there were various indications that the price would go up. If the Imperial Tobacco Company, which made hundreds of millions of cigarettes every week, took advantage of the exclusion of the foreign article to raise its prices, an enormous profit would go to one firm, and a comparatively small amount to the Exchequer. If the price were raised 6d. per lb., the home manufacturers would make £225,000 a year extra profit, and the Exchequer would benefit by only £20,000. Any tax which made that possible was based upon a bad system of finance.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham) asked whether the hon. Gentleman objected to home manufacturers making £225,000?

SIR WALTER FOSTER said he objected to home manufacturers being enabled by this House to make £225,000 at the expense of the public, while the Exchequer received only £20,000. That was the basis of his argument against the tax. Every tax was bad which interfered with trade, punished the public, and did not proportionately benefit the general revenue of the country. Again, with reference to strips, the right hon. Gentleman sat convicted by his own action. By relieving certain importers of the penalties of the clause he had given up £200,000 in connection with the stocks of that particular kind of tobacco, but by relieving the trade to that extent he had practically admitted that the tax was an unjust imposition upon the people who had been importing strips up to the date of the Budget speech. The tax would continue to affect the tobacco trade, because by reason of the imposition being greater than the cost of stripping, it would not be worth while importing strips in the future. Therefore this also was a suicidal tax, inasmuch as it would kill itself so far as the Exchequer was concerned, and instead of getting the same amount of money from the tax year by year, the right hon. Gentleman would get a diminishing amount, and for that reason the tax was an example of bad finance. Moreover, the tax would inflict a very grave injury upon the retail traders, of whom there were some 120,000 in the country. In consequence of the tax they had to pay to the manufacturers a slightly higher price for their cigarettes, but they were not able to charge any more to their customers.

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY: I thought the hon. Gentleman said just now that the public were going to pay £225,000 more for their cigarettes, but he now says the extra cost will fall upon the retailer.

SIR WALTER FOSTER regretted that he had not reduced his argument to the level of the comprehension of the hon. Baronet. [Cries of "Order," and "Withdraw."]

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY made a remark which did not reach the Press Gallery.

SIR WALTER FOSTER said the hon. Baronet had interrupted him two or three times with frivolous remarks, and he thought, therefore, he was entitled to make that retort. The two arguments were not inconsistent. The hon. Baronet was confusing the profit of the manufacturer with the profit of the retailer, which was a totally different thing. The retailer could not protect himself, the manufacturer could. The retailer received his cigarettes in packets, and had to sell them at a certain price; the manufacturers made up the packets, and could, naturally, in various ways, recoup himself for the extra duty. In many cases the difference meant a loss of several shillings a week to the retailer, and in that respect the tax was a cruel one, inflicting injustice upon particular sections of the community. He regretted that the Budget of a year such as the present should be defaced by such defects. The Bill contained many points which were unworthy of the House of Commons, and of the present crisis in national taxation. It professed to go upon the old lines, but it introduced a form of protection naked and unashamed, which it was necessary for all free-traders to resist, even to a division upon the Third Reading. The Bill was an object-lesson in bad finance. The duties upon stripped tobacco and cigarettes would be of diminishing value to the revenue, and would probably introduce serious alterations in the profits of a particular trade. That was not the object of taxation. The object of taxation should be to get money for the Exchequer, at the same time adequately protecting the public. The taxes, instead of protecting the public, played into the hands of a huge tobacco monopoly, and on that account they were bad financially. They would be unprofitable to the Exchequer, burdensome to the consumer, favourable to the big manufacturer, and hurtful to the small trader. Any Finance Bill containing defects of this character all believers in honest trading were bound to resist to the very end.

MR. ROBSON (South Shields) said he certainly could not allow the Third Reading of the Finance Bill to pass without drawing attention to one feature of it—by far the most prominent feature—viz., that for the first time in sixty years the country had now a Budget which deliberately destroyed a flourishing branch of international trade. This was not a mere question of passing finance. The country was here faced with the destruction of a branch of its international trade, deliberately undertaken, in the first instance, he dared say in ignorance, but certainly maintained with a full knowledge of the facts. That destruction of trade could no longer be said to be in doubt. They had heard it repeatedly from people engaged in the importation of stripped leaf that that importation had ceased entirely. What the Government were doing was not merely hampering or impeding that trade; for the moment, at all events, they had destroyed it. That was a very remarkable condition of things. There was no doubt also that, with the destruction of this branch of imports, there had been a destruction going on somewhere in the corresponding branch of the export trade, because the additional value which this stripping gave to the imported leaf was a value paid for by exports. That value this year would have been met by sending certain goods to America from whence this country obtained the stripped leaf. What those goods would have been they could not tell; but they did know that they would not now be sent, so that this country had a branch of import trade destroyed and also some unknown branch of export trade either hampered or limited. This was not a mere isolated circumstance. It was impossible to treat the destruction of any part of our international trade under existing circumstances without reference to the wider policy which was being advocated in connection with our fiscal relations. The House had not paid sufficient attention to the fact that the destruction of our international trade had now become an avowed object of policy on the part of a great Party in this kingdom. They had that idea cropping up in one suggestion after another, and they had it all summed up in the phrase of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham when he commended to England the ideal of what he called "a self-sufficient Empire," than which a more fatuous phrase was never laid before any people in substitution for economic doctrine. This country was not to import the tobacco leaf stripped; the people here were to strip it themselves. This was something more than what the Leader of the Opposition called a "whiff of protection"; at least, if this was a whiff of protection one wondered what on earth the tempest would be like. This country, he presumed, would then have no international trade left. It would instead of that have a most desperate form of Little-England commercialism—a trade confined entirely to its own shores. What was the branch of the home trade they had got? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them that for the trade thus destroyed this country had got another trade, which he said he was assured by many manufacturers would be unremunerative to this country. He wondered what the traders of this country would think when they were told that scientific taxation involved the destruction of a remunerative branch of trade because it had the taint of the foreigner, and the substitution of an unremunerative trade because it was a home industry.

There were those in this country who believed that they were going to get in place of the foreign trade that this scientific taxation would destroy a great colonial trade. He had listened with much interest to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for India, because it was instructive from many points of view. He was alarmed at the right hon. Gentleman's cheerfulness, and he went on to explain his cheerfulness. The right hon. Gentleman said that Consols had only fallen from 110 to 88, that we had only added about £150,000,000 to the National Debt; and that while we had doubled our annual expenditure we had not doubled our National Debt. He confessed that he did not like the right hon. Gentleman's cheerfulness, but he then went on to attack the hon. Member for Hawick Burghs because he said the Colonies were not subscribing in due proportion to Imperial defence—a fact which no one who had ever attempted to deal candidly with our Imperial relations had refrained from mentioning. The Secretary of State for India said those references were intensely irritating to the Colonies. They were told the other day by another distinguished authority on the Government side that the object of fiscal union with our Colonies was not to terminate in some mere economic advantage, but that it was to go on to a more complete and harmonious Imperial union, which should embrace national defence as well as Imperial preference. So, apparently, while they were told by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham that the bond after which he was striving was a bond of Imperial defence, the moment a Member of the Opposition pointed out how defective that bond was at present, it became intensely irritating to the Colonies. It would not seem, then, that colonial trade was going to be a very adequate substitute for the international trade that this Ministry had set itself to destroy.

With regard to the character of the substitute, the Chancellor of the Exchequer wrote to the Tobacco Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, saying he had received representations from manufacturers that stripping would still be unremunerative in this country. The manufacturers in Liverpool met this with a prompt and emphatic denial. They said they had been in communication with numerous manufacturers, and their experience was that the opinion that the new regulation would practically prohibit the use of imported strips after existing stocks were worked up, was universally held by manufacturers. "The Section," the reply went on, "has been unable to find a manufacturer of any importance holding views to the contrary, and would be glad to be put into communication with those who have made the representations you refer to." This letter had been entirely ignored by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he thought the House of Commons had the right to insist that some answer should be given. The letter contained a very unpleasant insinuation that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not received representations for which he vouched. He sincerely believed that the right hon. Gentleman had received them, but they were entitled to have their names made public, or else to have a statement that the manufacturers dared not make their names public. It was not to be endured that men should advise these public burdens out of which they were seeking some private benefit in secret. They must now settle their standard of fiscal morals, and make up their mind what was meant by corruption. They must make up their minds that every manufacturer who had a private interest in a public burden should declare that interest when he advised the burden, or else hold his peace. They had a right to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take up this challenge from the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. The manufacturers referred to did not include their old friend Mr. Gallaher, because the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce said that no manufacturer of importance would make such a statement to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and so he was out of the question. They were now saddled with a burden of 3d. per lb. upon stripped leaf, and they wanted to know who had brought that tax about. No Chancellor of the Exchequer ever decided upon such a tax without some advice, and those who gave the right hon. Gentleman that advice ought to have given it only under the consciousness that they were performing a public duty, and not to serve any private ends. Up to the present the Chancellor of the Exchequer had ignored that challenge, although he was quick enough to demand some explanation in reference to Mr. Gallaher, when he (the speaker) made some remarks about that gentleman, and he had given him that explanation. Not only this, but he had repeated outside for Mr. Gallaher's benefit what he said in the House. This was the first case they had had of this kind for something like sixty years, and they were determined to have every precedent clearly established. If private manufacturers were to be allowed to go slinking around the corridors of the Treasury, recommending taxes out of which they were seeking to make private profit, then they ought to know it. Let them clearly understand that this was the new method, and one of the inevitable accompaniments of scientific taxation. This was the first step in fiscal and political corruption. It was the first and essential method of corruption, and, instead of seeking to shield them, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be the first to take care that the names of all such persons were put boldly and clearly forward. The House was entitled to have a plain statement in answer to the letter from the Tobacco Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, in order that they might judge what the motives of those people were who succeeded in misleading the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and placing this great burden upon the trade and people of England.

*SIR FREDERICK WILLS (Bristol, N.) recognised with gratitude that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had acceded, to a certain extent, to the propositions he had placed before the House on previous occasions. When the right hon. Gentleman proposed to levy the extra tax upon stripped tobacco, equal to about 50 per cent. of the value of the article, he entered his caveat, for it was a very extraordinary thing to place a tax representing a very large sum on the tobacco merchants, who only numbered some twenty firms. These manufacturers would be subject to a tax of between £300,000 and £400,000—nay, he might put it as high as £600,000. A penny a lb. meant £5 per hogshead, and 3d. a lb. worked out at about £600,000. In order that the merchants should be able to clear their stocks they required to get £600,000 more for the tobacco they held than was expected before. As a matter of fact the trade in stripped tobacco had absolutely ceased since these proposals were made. Naturally, no man would be so foolish as to think of buying stripped tobacco at the old price. It would pay him very much better to get leaf tobacco and strip it himself, which he could do for halfpenny a pound, or something less. There were many men in this country who only paid a farthing per pound for stripping. It would be absurd to suggest that people would rather pay threepence a pound extra for stripped tobacco than go to the trouble of getting it done themselves at a cost of a farthing or a halfpenny per pound. He sympathised with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his wish to get money. They all wanted to get money, but they wanted to get it honestly; and without imputing any unworthy motives to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he would say that he did not understand this question. The right hon. Gentleman had met his appeal by reducing the duty in the shape of offering a rebate, not only to the merchants but to the manufacturers, of one-half of the proposed charge. He had promised them a rebate of three halfpence per pound, but he contended that he ought to have gone the whole way. If he thought he had no right to tax to the extent of threepence, he had no right to tax to the extent of three halfpence.

He was sorry that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not seen the wisdom of acting on the advice of his predecessor, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, who assured him that it was a very dangerous thing to tamper with the tobacco trade, which paid £12,000,000 a year to the revenue of this country. He had hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would have taken those words to heart. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol had not only been Chancellor of the Exchequer for seven years but he had been President of the Board of Trade for four years before that, and he consequently spoke with a considerable amount of experience to which the present Chancellor of the Exchequer could hardly aspire. The right hon. Gentleman was placed in a most difficult position. He was asked at short notice to undertake the position, and acting on advice he had proposed to inflict a tax on the tobacco trade of something like £600,000 and to give a rebate of £300,000. The merchants were, of course, devoutly thankful for that concession. He did not know how they were getting along now on the subject, but when he saw them last they told him that the trade had got into an absolute state of stagnation. He would appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on their behalf—not of the manufacturers, because they could always take care of themselves. They had the opportunity of altering their prices, but his appeal was also made on behalf of the retailers, upon whom a great hardship would fall. There were certain articles that the retailers could not possibly raise in price, but which must be supplied to the public at fixed prices no matter what they had to pay to the manufacturers for them. He supposed the retailers paid income-tax the same as other people, and he could assure the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he would not get as much income-tax out of the retailers as he had done in the past because their profits would be so considerably diminished. He desired to repeat that if it was a wrong thing to victimise a trade to the extent of £600,000 it was equally wrong to do so to £300,000. They would naturally rather have the smaller figure, but the truth of the old maxim could not be denied that what was morally wrong could not be politically right.

He was sorry to speak against any proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but as a man with some conscience left he could not vote for this tax. He had been appealed to by hon. Members to give his opinion again on this subject on the ground of the position he occupied in the trade. There was no secret about his position; everyone knew he was one of the directors of the Imperial Tobacco Company. Once more he would appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to reconsider his decision. They all made mistakes in this world, and the man who never made a mistake was the man who never made anything else. It would be very simple for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to admit that he had made a mistake; that the revenue would not gain by the proposal, and therefore he was prepared to announce a further alteration. At any rate he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to increase the rebate to the extent of a penny per pound; but the simplest thing would be to leave the tobacco duties exactly as they were in accordance with the advice of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN was understood to disclaim having received such advice from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol.

*SIR FREDERICK WILLS said that in his speech after the Budget the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol congratulated the right hon. Gentlemen on the ability with which he had discharged a very difficult duty, but at the same time expressed his extreme regret that he intended to interfere with the taxation of tobacco. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol had further pointed out to the right hon. Gentleman that the tobacco trade was a very sensitive trade, and it was a very great mistake to interfere with a trade that yielded £12,000,000 a year to the revenue. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer had not the experience of his predecessors, and therefore he was not to be blamed for his inexperience.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: Will my hon. friend allow me to read what my right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol did say. He said—

> "I will not attempt to discuss the proposed changes in the tobacco duties. I sympathise with my right hon. friend in one of his proposals, that with regard to imposing greater taxation on the imported leaf without the stalk than is now imposed upon it, as compared with the tax on the imported leaf with the stalk. But I would like to give my right hon. friend a little warning with regard to the tobacco duties."

Having expressed sympathy with my proposal, he gave me the warning to which my right hon. friend alluded.

*SIR FREDERICK WILLS said that was probably a more correct statement of what the right hon. Gentleman did say. But if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol did consider that it was an ingenious thing for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to hit upon a different method of taxation, as between leaf and stripped tobacco, he went on to say that the tobacco trade was a very sensitive one, and it would be a very serious thing to interfere with a trade that yielded £12,000,000 a year to the revenue. It would have been very well had the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to put on an extra fraction of a penny, but threepence was a big order. He would, in conclusion, appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to follow on with the good work he had already begun, and take off the other half of the duty, or, failing that, to increase the rebate by one penny per lb.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee) said he was sure hon. Members on both sides of the House would concur with him when he said that they were indebted to the hon. Baronet opposite for the practical knowledge, honesty, and good sense of the speeches he had made on the tobacco question. He hoped the repeated appeals of the hon. Baronet would have due weight with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This debate had had many interesting episodes, but he was inclined to think that the most interesting of all had been the warlike incursion of the Secretary of State for India. He presumed the right hon. Gentleman was speaking as the late Minister for War; but even so, he was at loss to understand his purpose. Was it in order to make an attack on his successor? Undoubtedly his speech was an attack or criticism, direct or indirect, on his successor, though it was also in part, no doubt, an attack on that side, whom the right hon. Gentleman might regard as possible successors of himself and his Party. The topic introduced in a moderate, accurate, and considerate speech by his hon. and learned friend the

Member for Hawick Burghs—namely, the small proportionate contribution of the Colonies towards the cost of the Imperial Navy—had been discussed over and over again. Nemesis soon overtook him for the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Yarmouth took the same view as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs. He was amazed at the language of the Secretary of State for India. Had the right hon. Gentleman forgotton the part he himself had played in urging that very question officially on the Colonies? Had he forgotten the Colonial Conference, the Memorandum of Lord Selborne, and his own representations? Were not the Colonial Premiers reminded of the value of their commerce, and told that, while the Navy cost Great Britain 15s. 1d. per head of the population—it was £1 per head now—the contribution of the Colonies was only 4d. per head? There was a Paper laid before the Conference by the right hon. Gentleman himself, in which he made fantastic and amazing proposals that the Colonies should enter into a scheme of Imperial Army defence. Did that irritate the Colonies? Would the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues publish the reply of the Colonial Premiers, which had not hitherto been published. The Report of the Conference was mutilated, and gave them merely the wisdom of the present Secretary for India and of Lord Selborne. There was another document for which those two Ministers were responsible, which they on that side had till now refrained from mentioning from sheer shame. A Paper was laid before the Colonial Premiers pointing out to them how infinitesimally little the Colonies had contributed, not merely to the Navy, but towards the cost of the South African War, compared with the contributions of the United Kingdom. The statement in which the figures were worked out was made in a rude and offensive way. Yet now the right hon. Gentleman, forsooth, took upon himself to rebuke his hon. and learned friend.

When his hon. and learned friend introduced the question of the Colonial contribution he was dealing with the subject of expenditure. On that point he would say that it had been made abundantly clear that our expenditure would have been very much larger if we had been living under a *régime* of what was called scientific taxation, which some hon. Gentlemen opposite advocated. In regard to naval construction, it had been made clear that, as compared with the three next naval Powers, which were all protectionist Powers, we had an advantage of 30 per cent. If we were a protectionist people the Navy Estimates amounting to £37,000,000 would have been £50,000,000 without producing larger results. Every £7 spent by us at present in ship construction produced a result for which £9 had to be expended in protectionist countries—that was to say, we had a free-trade advantage of 30 per cent. Would the right hon. Gentleman explain the mystery which hung over the question of why this Bill had to be got through by 1st August? He could not understand the ground on which that allegation was made, and his belief was that it was a hallucination. The three great blots upon the Bill he considered were, first, that as regarded our capital position it marked a distinct step backwards; secondly, that it imposed an undue amount, not of indirect taxation, but of indirect taxation affecting articles consumed by the poor; thirdly, that it evaded and avoided non-taxed sources of revenue. One of these was the licence duties. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might very well have got £7,000,000 out of those duties. The right hon. Gentleman had never proved to the House that it could not be done. In another Bill now before the House, a new departure had been made in this matter which ultimately would enable a Chancellor of the Exchequer of the future to do what the Chancellor of the Exchequer now had not done, namely, to claim for the Exchequer the monoply value of all these licences. In the present state of our finance it was the duty of Parliament to recall the unfortunate doles which were given under the Agricultural Rating Act.

The Secretary of State for India had expressed surprise that the Opposition had voted not merely against taxes of which they disapproved, but against taxes of which they approved. He pleaded guilty to the accusation. In the present Parliament he had not registered a single vote in favour of any proposal of the Government, and most certainly he had never voted for their having any money at all; and he did so simply on the ground that, in his judgment, they had no right to be where they were. They had no right to a single penny in Supply, or to a single tax to make good grants in Supply. He regarded them not as His Majesty's Ministers, still less as Ministers of the country, but as the Government and colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Manchester. He had no confidence in their administrative capacity; he believed they had outstayed what little warrant they ever had, and every vote he gave would be designed to deprive them of the means of doing more mischief to the country.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: None of my friends on these Benches will have felt disposed to quarrel with the hon. Gentleman when he said he regarded them as the friends and colleagues of the Prime Minister, under whom they are proud to serve. The hon. Gentleman professes not to regard us as Ministers of the Crown. I do not know that that will greatly affect our position or preclude our carrying on the useful work which we have to do. Anyone who has been present during the discussions must have felt that the interest of the day certainly was not in the debate, though some excellent speeches have been made, but in the division which will shortly come off. An hon. Gentleman opposite has taken the somewhat unusual, and certainly the strong, course of moving the rejection of the Third Reading of the Bill which makes the whole financial provision for the year. In his opening sentences the hon. and learned Gentleman sought to justify that course by stating that in their discussions on this occasion there had been introduced an element of force. I make nothing in the way of a personal confession, but if there has been one Minister holding my position in recent times who has been reluctant to closure discussion, it has been necessarily myself in the circumstances in which I stood, and with the knowledge how suddenly I had come to that great position. I speak within the recollection of the House when I say that the course which I took was imposed upon me by the attitude of hon. Gentlemen during the progress of the discussion The discussion on this Budget has been remarkable, not so much for anything that has been said in the course of it, as for the way in which interest in it has sprung up or diminished in consequence of changes in the prospects of other measures, and the allocation of time for these other measures. For the purpose of securing their wishes in regard to other Bills, the Budget has been made a tool and instrument by hon. Gentlemen opposite. I do not wish to dwell upon the events of the other night. The hon. Member for Poplar declined to discuss Clause 4 at half-past one in the morning because it raised an important question of principle, but consented to take a division upon it without any discussion at three o'clock on the next day.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said he adhered to the view which he then held. He did not think that after a long sitting of twenty-six hours they were in a position to discuss the clause. He thought the blame, if blame there was, rested on the Government who made them sit up all night. [MINISTERIAL cries of "Oh."].

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: We had not sat up all night on that occasion. My contention is that the hon. Gentleman only wished to discuss the clause in order to prevent business from going on. The discussion having been deferred until the next day, the hon. Gentleman's desire for discussion vanished in the twinkling of an eye, and he took one of those early divisions for which hon. Gentlemen have sought so busily. The hon. Gentleman's argument shows the amount of reality there has been in the discussions on the Budget. That is the measure of the importance which hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite really attach to the subject over which they have wasted so much time. [OPPOSITION cries of "Oh."] I am not going at this last stage to travel again over all the details which occupied us so long in the earlier stages of the Bill. Indeed, the force of criticism on my proposals was, in my opinion, destroyed by the universality of those criticisms directed not against these proposals only, but against every tax included in the Budget.

The financial reputation of my predecessors has fared no better at the hands of these critics than my own. The proposals of my right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol were declared to be ruinous and destructive to the trade and prosperity of the country, and even the relief my right hon. friend the Member for Croydon was able to offer last year has been the subject of equally bitter criticism, and has been equally denounced as grossly unjust. The fact of the matter is, that while hon. Gentlemen opposite are united in the determination that so long as they can live and fight no change shall be made in our fiscal system, they are equally united in declaring in detail that every existing tax is bad.

Nothing has been more interesting during the course of these discussions than the development of their theory of free food. For many years the Party opposite were responsible for the finances of the country, yet their consciences, and the consciences of their leaders, were never stirred because taxes remained on articles of food. It was only when my right hon. friend proposed a shilling duty on corn that the real rigidity of the free food doctrine became apparent. And now we have learned in these debates that there is nothing sacred about corn, that it stands in no different category from other articles that are taxed. It is so difficult to deal with a united Party when they speak with half-a-dozen different voices. I have listened through the debates, and I have heard one hon. Member after another and one right hon. Gentleman after another declare that tea is as much a necessity for the people as bread, that sugar is as much a necessity for the children of the poor as bread, that it is equally bad to tax sugar and tea as to tax corn. Yes, but we do not stop even there. There are hon. Gentlemen who, on one subject, always speak their mind. They unite only in their views of the demerits of the present Government. The Government would not be here [OPPOSITION ironical cheers] but for the profound difference that has separated us from the Party opposite and in consequence of which we have secured the trust and confidence of the country [OPPOSITION ironical cheers] for a period unequalled in recent years. There were hon. Gentlemen opposite who, not confining their opposition to the tea and sugar duties, moved to reduce the income-tax on the merits of the tax itself. They moved to reduce even the whisky tax. The hon. and learned Gentleman who spoke last said the whisky duty and the beer duty were as great an injury and wrong to the poor of this country as any other part of our taxation. The fact of the matter is they have committed themselves by their votes and speeches to a declaration that every indirect tax is bad, and it may be supposed that when their turn comes they will introduce a simple Budget by which the whole of the revenue will be collected by death duties and income-tax. I wish them joy of their taxation, but I do not think it will redound to the credit or stabilty of our fiscal system.

I am not going to enter on the fiscal controversy. I take the existing financial system as it is, and I say that it depends on recourse to direct and indirect taxation alike—to those twin-sisters, as Mr. Gladstone called them, in a passage just recalled to the memory of the House—to whom I say every Chancellor of the Exchequer should pay his addresses alike. It is not only necessary to have recourse to indirect taxation but also just. After all, who profits by the expenditure which this country incurs? Are the interests at stake confined to one class or one section of the community? I will not dwell upon the great part of the civil administration which is more especially directed to securing better homes for the people, better conditions of work by inspection of workshops and factories, and so forth; I will not dwell upon the vast sums spent on education, the largest portion of which is mainly enjoyed by the poorer classes. If we turn even to the expenditure on the Army and Navy, is the poor man's home less precious than the rich man's? Would he suffer less if our shores were invaded? Who would be the first to feel any weakening of our power on the seas or any interruption of the food supply? Is it unfair or unjust to working men in a free country who have a share in the advantages of our Government to make their contribution to the common ex-expenditure of the State which is the home and the guardian of them all? If the appeal is made to both direct and indirect taxation I do not think a fairer distribution could have been framed in present circumstances than that which I have ventured to submit to the House. My position is described by the hon. Member for Poplar as scarcely fair to myself or the country. The hon. Gentleman described me as a protectionist. I will not bandy words with the hon. Member, who said he was a free-trader. The hon. Member has never had free trade. He would never make trade free on the lines on which he is proceeding. He is not doing anything to render it freer than it is. I have never called myself a protectionist. I supported the corn tax proposed by my right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol. I was content to renew the tobacco tax imposed by Mr. Gladstone. Both taxes have been described as protectionist. Is my right hon. friend the Member for West Bristol a protectionist? Was Mr. Gladstone a protectionist in 1868? When the definition of protection is so wide as to include two such distinguished predecessors in the office I hold, I do not think it worth while to dispute whether protectionist is an accurate term to apply to myself or not. I was told that I do not pretend to believe that our present financial system is in all respects the best we can obtain. We have not got free trade. The question is in what degree can we get free trade. Can we make trade freer and better than it now is? That is a question for the future, and one which the country will have to decide. We will have to decide whether the degree of interference which every Government has exercised upon our trade should be exercised in the way it is exercised now, or whether it could be better exercised in other ways. For the present my business is to propose a way of meeting the financial requirements of the present year not inconsistent with the system which has been so long in force. That is the system which the Government undertook to observe, and to that undertaking I have faithfully kept.

I produced a Budget on the old lines, and I think one not open to more objection than any other Budget on the same lines. I am aware that some of the duties of my Budget excited spasmodic and for the moment, warm interest in the House; but I am not going to travel again over the whole case which I submitted in support of the changes I proposed. It was alleged by some hon. Gentlemen that the amount of money I shall obtain was not worth the disturbance which any alteration in the duties must cause. It is absolutely necessary, in my opinion, if we are to have such a Budget as will uphold our credit, that I should have a larger margin beyond the estimated income of the year than I can get from the income-tax and the tea duty. I do not believe I could have made a general increase in the whole of the tobacco duty without so lessening consumption as to destroy to a large extent the new revenue I looked for. I found a gap existing in the present scale, and I thought that by filling that gap I could obtain the money that is necessary for the revenue of the year, without hardship or injury. An hon. Gentleman has spoken of the new rate I proposed as being 50 per cent. of the value of the raw material. The hon. Gentleman omitted to mention that the present duties are from 600 to 700 per cent. of the price. The duties are now differential. They were only not differential before my proposal came in, as between whole leaf and stripped. What was it that made it right and proper to differentiate in all other cases and not between whole leaf and stripped? In the increase and the new rate of duty I have had regard to the existing scale in manufactured tobacco. I have had regard to what I believe to be a fair average of the duty cost of tobaccos such as come into this country and I have then adjusted the duties on that basis. Hon. Gentlemen opposite make it a great cause for complaint that in so doing I may have transferred or induced the transfer, to a greater or less extent, of a process of trade to this country which has hitherto been carried on abroad. That would condemn a great many other duties which do not trouble the consciences of hon. Gentlemen opposite. I venture to ask one question. The old rates of duties penalised a manufacturer who attempted to carry on that process here. They were admittedly unfair to him. Is the doctrine of free trade to be put so high that we are not to rectify our duties in a case of that kind? That we are to be so careful that we should not help our home manufacturers and our home workers? I shall by my proposal, I believe, raise the revenue required for the present year. I shall remove an anomaly which has long existed in our Customs duties, and, incidentally, I shall have been able to provide a means by which the House will be able in the matter of drawbacks to remedy an admitted wrong and injustice, and in the matter of moisture to carry out what was almost a promise of my predecessor.

I turn now to the wider question raised in this discussion. The hon. Gentleman who opened the debate, in a speech of great force, complained that my financial methods were unsound for another reason. The hon. Gentleman said in the matter of the unclaimed dividends account I had been using capital to meet the current expenditure of the year. I remember that when the late Government—the Government to which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth belonged—were in some financial difficulties, they met the current charges on account of the Naval Defence Loan by throwing them on the Sinking Fund, instead of raising new taxation. In 1862 Mr. Gladstone, in his Budget speech, recounted the steps which he had taken in the previous three years to meet current expenditure out of extraordinary revenue. From balances he had withdrawn £4,000,000. By expediting the payment of the malt duties, that was, by securing in one year the revenue of another—he had got an additional £2,000,000. Then he had a repayment of £500,000, which he also used to meet current expenditure. Then Mr. Gladstone concluded by saying that the Government had exhausted their casual resources—that they remained no longer. I would not stand alone, therefore, if I had to plead guilty in the full sense to the charge which the hon. and learned Gentleman has brought against me. But I do not admit that that correctly describes the operation which the House is now sanctioning. The other day an hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House referred to the Consols in the unclaimed dividend account, and said that the interest upon them was paid regularly into the Exchequer, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer laid violent hands upon it. If that were true, it would be part of the current revenue and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not need to lay hands on it. But the Consols are an asset standing to the credit of a body whose total assets exceed its nominal liabilities and vastly exceed the claims which could in practice be brought against it. I propose to realise a million out of these assets and apply it, not to meeting the expenditure of the current year, but to straightening our balances with the bank. That is a very different transaction, and is perfectly sound in itself, and wise in the circumstances of the present time.

A more serious complaint is that made as to the recent growth of expenditure. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is condemned because he has done nothing to reduce that expenditure this year. If I remember rightly what I have read in the "Life of Mr. Gladstone" by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose, Mr. Gladstone during four or five years of office was engaged in ceaseless efforts to reduce expenditure, but was not able to reduce it at all in the first or second year. In four or five years he made an appreciable impression, though nothing like that which hon. Members appear to think can be effected by a wave of the Chancellor's hand. I have had barely as many months as Mr. Gladstone had years to carry out such a task. Let hon. Gentlemen give me four or five years; but even then I could not give a promise as to what might be accomplished. I do not think great advantage is derived from making general observations on expenditure. When made by my predecessors they have not led in their hands to any large reduction. But I do agree that the financial condition of the country demands—as it is receiving—the most serious attention, not only of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but of the whole Government. I do not, however, agree that we are on the verge of a catastrophe, or have any reason to be ashamed of our national credit compared with that of other nations. Of course, there has been a very considerable fall in Consols; but everyone knows that the very high price of Consols has been abnormal and artificial. I do not myself think it is a healthy state of things

My hon. friend the Member for Exeter complained that the character of Consols has altered, and that they have become much more fluctuating than they used to be. But there are other things besides the action of Governments which have contributed to that result. One of the reasons why they have fluctuated so is because our credit was so good that gentlemen engaged in more speculative operations have covered those operations by dealings in Consols, which they know are always easily realised. My hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn pointed out that, in spite of all these jeremiads, our national credit was higher to-day than that of any other Power.

I announced earlier in the day that the new resources of the Savings Banks are no longer sufficient to finance the new Military and Naval Works loans; that is, I think, a natural result of the high prices of securities and the low value of money a short time ago, and the fall in price of securities which has since taken place. When the small depositors could earn better interest in the Government Savings Banks than anywhere else, they naturally brought their money to those Banks. Now that they have opportunities of investing to better advantage elsewhere they naturally do so. In my opinion there is no cause for alarm in regard to our financial position, but there is every cause for circumspection, for careful examination of all new demands, and for prudence in the undertakings on which we embark. I have tried to impress on the House on earlier occasions that our financial reserves are no less important a part of our defensive system than our military and naval reserves, which are more visible but not more real. To maintain our financial reserves in a sound and healthy state, to have our taxes at such a point that in case of a great emergency we can easily raise a largely-increased revenue, is and must be the endeavour of every Minister of Finance in this or any country.

The hon. Member for Poplar spoke as if economy and the cutting down of expenditure were exactly synonymous terms. I venture to say that that is a most dangerous statement, and I am sure the hon. Member did not mean what his words seemed to convey. It is not economy to cut down necessary expenditure, to deplete the military or naval reserves, or to leave ourselves in a position of unpreparedness for attack; that would result in far heavier expenditure when the crisis arises, and might result in disaster which no expenditure could reduce. If there is one lesson more than another which we may learn from recent years it is that one cannot rely on being able to make good in haste preparations which one has neglected to make at leisure. The expenditure on the two services is very high. The naval service shows the greatest increase; it has been directed to the maintenance of a standard hitherto approved of by both sides of the House, and from which I hope, in spite of the declarations made in the debate, neither side of the House will depart. The hon. Member for Poplar said that the purchase of the Chilian battleships ought to have resulted in a decrease in the Naval Estimates. Naturally the first result, however, was to throw an additional burden on them. But if he means that these ships must be counted in any calculation of our strength, so that the new programme of this year and next year must be affected by the fact of the purchase, of course that is so; that has already been done as regards the present year, and it will be done by my noble friend in regard to next year.

As to the future of naval and military expenditure I have refrained from making any pledges. We have to reconcile the needs of economy with the needs of defence. We have to measure the burden to the backs which have to bear it. We cannot afford to risk the safety of the Empire or the security of our seaborne trade. A good deal has been said as to the contributions of the Colonies to our military and naval expenditure. I have never concealed my hope that in the years to come these great nations of our own flesh and blood will take a larger share in all that concerns the welfare of the Empire as a whole, and, whilst gaining additional influence in its councils, will bear a larger share in its expenses. Members of the present Government responsible for the various Departments concerned have in their conferences with the colonial representatives explained to them the situation, and invited their patriotic consideration of a question which concerns us all. But it is another thing to make our debates in the House of Commons a vehicle for criticism and reproach of the Colonies. The latter way is far less likely to secure their goodwill and their assistance than a direct appeal when we meet them to discuss our common affairs. Any contribution which they may make now or hereafter must be their free gift to the service of the Empire. We value it only as it is freely offered. We value what they give now not merely for the amount of relief which it may afford us, but for the sentiment which it shows on their part for the common interests and common ties which unite us. If in future these ties can be strengthened in any way it will not be the least of the many advantages we shall reap that the Empire may be a more united whole, feeling more keenly its common interest and its common duties to the flag that shelters us all.

Mr. McKENNA (Monmouthshire, N.) said that the right hon. Gentleman had given a very interesting account of himself. It appeared he did not call himself a protectionist. He was under the impression that the right hon. Gentleman was a "whole-hogger"; but since Oswestry "whole-hoggers" were not quite as whole as they were. It was very difficult to follow all these fine shades; but they knew now that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was content to take his stand under the banner of Mr. Gladstone. He had noticed that the present Government were willing to take their principles and policy from public opinion; they were prepared to submit everything to public opinion, except their own conduct. They knew what the judgment would be. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had observed that there had been a warm but spasmodic interest in the tobacco tax. The interest was warm and persistent; and that it could only be expressed spasmodically was not their fault. The Government put the Budget down one day and removed it the next, although the Opposition would have been only too glad to continue the discussion from day to day in order to get an intelligible answer from the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the reasons for his duty. Even at this last moment, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was unaware of the effect of his duty. The right hon. Gentleman still talked of differentiating manufactured tobacco from raw tobacco; and asked why stripped tobacco should not be noticed. It was true, as had been stated over and over again, that the duties on manufactured tobacco were protectionist duties. Mr. Gladstone found them there, and did not remove them entirely. But it was quite another matter to introduce new protectionist duties, as the present Chancellor of the Exchequer did. He confessed that he shared the distrust of the business community in the financial capacity of the Government. That distrust was shown by the present price of Consols. There was no better test of the belief of the financial community in the stability of the present Government than the price of Consols. In his introductory Budget speech, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the country was now apparently entering on a cycle of commercial depression. They all remembered that in 1895 prosperity was promised, not from the influence of the stars, but from the influence of the Tory Government. To-day, it was a cycle of depression for which in many respects this Government or any other Government could not be held responsible. But, nevertheless, it was very considerably due to the extravagant and wasteful expenditure of the right hon. Gentleman and his friends. If Consols to-day stood at 88, it was because year after year the Government, instead of laying by treasure in the good years, made merry with their surpluses, and when the bad times came they were unable to make both ends meet. Last year the Sinking Fund was re-established, and yet the total indebtedness of the country was £4,000,000 more than at the beginning of the year. The right hon. Gentleman took credit to himself for having left the Sinking Fund standing; and yet, what was the result? According to the Chancellor of the Exchequer they would have paid off £1,000,000 out of £794,000,000 of debt. The failure of the Government to make any substantial provision for the payment of the Debt was the reason why Consols were down to 88. If any substantial effort had been made last year to re-purchase Consols, and if that effort had been continued, the business community would have greater confidence in the financial ability of the right hon. Gentleman. He greatly feared, however, for the right hon. Gentleman's sake, that his first experiment in controlling the financial resources of the country would mark him as a failure as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 206; Noes, 129. (Division List No. 288.)

AYES.

Agnew, Sir Andrew Noel
Allhusen, Augustus Henry Eden
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hn. Sir H.
Bagot, Capt. Josceline FitzRoy
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bain, Colonel James Robert
Balcarres, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J.(Manch'r
Balfour, Rt. Hn Gerald W.(Leeds
Balfour, Kenneth R. (Christch.
Banbury, Sir Frederick George
Bartley, Sir George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. Hicks
Bhownaggree, Sir M. M.
Bignold, Sir Arthur
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Bingham, Lord
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bond, Edward
Boulnois, Edmund
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brotherton, Edward Allen
Brown, Sir Alex. H. (Shropsh.)
Butcher, John George
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edw. H.
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire
Cecil, Evelyn (Aston Manor)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. A(Worc.
Charrington, Spencer
Clare, Octavius Leigh
Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. A. E.
Colomb, Rt. Hn. Sir John C. R.
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Sir Frederick Lucas
Corbett, T. L. (Down, North)
Craig, Chas. Curtis (Antrim, S.)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Crossley, Rt. Hon. Sir Savile
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davenport, William Bromley-
Davies, Sir Horatio D.(Chatham
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dickson, Charles Scott
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Doughty, Sir George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Duke, Henry Edward
Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin
Faber, Edmund B. (Hants, W.)
Fielden, Edward Brocklehurst
Finch, Rt. Hon. George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
FitzGerald, Sir Robert Penrose-
Fitzroy, Hn. Edward Algernon
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Forster, Henry William
Gardner, Ernest
Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H.
Gordon, Hn. J. E.(Nairn & Elgin
Gordon, Maj. Evans-(T'r H'mlets
Gore, Hon. S. F. Ormsby-
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greene, Sir E. W.(B'ry S Edm'nds
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury
Greene, W. Raymond- (Cambs.
Gretton, John
Groves, James Grimble
Hain, Edward
Halsey, Rt. Hon. Thomas F.
Hamilton, Marq. of (L'nd'nderry
Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harris, F. Leverton (Tynemouth
Harris, Dr. Fredk. R.(Dulwich)
Haslam, Sir Alfred S.
Heath, Arthur Howard (Hanley
Heath, James (Staffords. N.W.
Heaton, John Henniker
Henderson, Sir A. (Stafford, W.
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hoare, Sir Samuel
Hogg, Lindsay
Hope, J.F. (Sheffield, Brightside
Houston, Robert Paterson
Howard, J. (Midd., Tottenham
Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hunt, Rowland
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jeffreys, Rt. Hon. Arthur Fred.
Jessel, Captain Herbert Merton
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Keswick, William
Knowles, Sir Lees
Lambton, Hon. Frederick Wm.
Law, Andrew Bonar (Glasgow)
Lawrence, Sir Joseph (Monm'th
Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
Lee, Arthur H. (Hants., Fareham
Lees, Sir Elliott (Birkenhead)
Legge, Col. Hon. Heneage
Leveson-Gower, Frederick N.S.
Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
Long, Rt. Hn. Walter (Bristol, S.
Lonsdale, John Brownlee
Lowe, Francis William
Loyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas, Reginald J.(Portsmouth
Lyttelton, Rt. Hon. Alfred
Macdona, John Cumming
Maconochie, A. W.
M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
M'Iver, Sir Lewis (Edinburgh W
M'Killop, James (Stirlingshire)
Majendie, James A. H.
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W.F.
Maxwell, Rt. Hn. Sir H. E(Wigt'n
Melville, Beresford Valentine
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Molesworth, Sir Lewis
Montagu, G. (Huntingdon)
Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Morgan, David J. (Walthamstow
Morpeth, Viscount
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. Aylmer
Mount, William Arthur
Mowbray, Sir Robert Gray C.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. Graham (Bute
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Palmer, Sir Walter (Salisbury)
Parker, Sir Gilbert
Parkes, Ebenezer
Peel, Hn. Wm. Robert Wellesley
Percy, Earl
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Pretyman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Pym, C. Guy
Randles, John S.
Rasch, Sir Frederick Carne
Ratcliff, R. F.
Reid, James (Greenock)
Remnant, James Farquharson
Ridley, Hn. M.W. (Stalybridge)
Roberts, Samuel (Sheffield)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Rolleston, Sir John F. L.
Ropner, Colonel Sir Robert
Round, Rt. Hon. James
Rutherford, John (Lancashire)
Rutherford, W. W. (Liverpool)
Sackville, Col. S. G. Stopford-
Sadler, Col. Samuel Alexander
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. Edw. J.
Seton-Karr, Sir Henry
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Skewes-Cox, Thomas
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spear, John Ward
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord (Lancs.)
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.

Stone, Sir Benjamin
Stroyan, John
Talbot, Lord E. (Chichester)
Talbot,Rt.Hn.J.G(Oxf'd Univ.
Thornton, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Sir Wm. Edw. M.
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Tuff, Charles
Tuke, Sir John Batty
Valentia, Viscount
Warde, Colonel C. E.
Webb, Colonel William George
Welby, Sir Chas. G. E. (Notts.)
Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
Whiteley,H(Ashton und. Lyne)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson,A.Stanley (York, E. R.)
Wilson, John (Glasgow)
Wilson-Todd, SirW. H.(Yorks.)
Worsley-Taylor, Henry Wilson
Wortley, Rt. Hon. C.B. Stuart-
Wrightson, Sir Thomas
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George
Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE AYES.—Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Ailwyn Fellowes.

NOES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allen, Charles P.
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith,Rt.Hn.Herbert Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Bell, Richard
Benn, John Williams
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brigg, John
Broadhurst, Henry
Brown, George M. (Edinburgh)
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burke, E. Haviland-
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Churchill, Winston Spencer
Craig, Robert Hunter (Lanark)
Cremer, William Randal
Crombie, John William
Davies, Alfred (Carmarthen)
Delany, William
Devlin, Joseph (Kilkenny, N.)
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Duncan, J. Hastings
Elibank, Master of
Ellice,Capt.E.C(S.Andrw'sBghs
Emmott, Alfred
Evans,Sir FrancisH.(Maidstone
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James Patrick
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Freeman-Thomas, Captain F.
Fuller, J. M. F.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. (Berwick
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton
Haldane, Rt. Hon. Richard B.
Harcourt, Lewis V.(Rossendale
Hardie,J.Keir(Merthyr Tydvil
Hayter, Rt.Hon. Sir Arthur D.
Helme, Norval Watson
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Henderson, Arthur (Durham)
Higham, John Sharpe
Holland, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
Johnson, James (Gateshead)
Joicey, Sir James
Jones,William (Carnarvonshire
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cornwall)
Layland-Barratt,Francis
Leese,Sir Joseph F.(Accrington
Lough, Thomas
Lundon, W.
Lyell, Charles Henry
M'Kenna, Reginald
M'Killop, W. (Sligo, North)
M'Laren, Sir Charles Benjamin
Markham, Arthur Basil
Mooney, John J.
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murphy, John
Nolan, Col. P. John (Galway,N
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, N.)
O'Donnell, John (Mayo, S.)
O'Dowd, John
O'Shaughnessy, P.J.
Partington, Oswald
Paulton, James Mellor
Perks, Robert William
Pirie, Duncan V.
Power, Patrick Joseph
Rickett, J. Compton
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roe, Sir Thomas
Rose, Charles Day
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, Herbert L. (Cleveland)
Shackleton, David James
Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sheehan, Daniel Daniel
Shipman, Dr. John G.
Slack, John Bamford
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Stanhope, Hon. Philip James
Strachey, Sir Edward
Sullivan, Donal
Taylor,Theodore C. (Radcliffe)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, David Alfred(Merthyr
Tomkinson, James
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan)
Wason,John Cathcart (Orkney)
White, George (Norfolk)
White, Luke (York, E.R.)
Whiteley, George (York, W.R.)
Whitley, J. H. (Halifax)
Wilson,Henry J.(York, W.R.)
Woodhouse,SirJ.T.(Huddersf'd

TELLERS FOR THE NOES.—Mr. Herbert Gladstone and Mr. William M'Arthur.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read the third time, and passed.

Adjourned at sixteen minutes after Twelve o'clock

[APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

MEMORANDUM OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR WITH REGARD TO THE REORGANISATION OF THE ARMY.

I.

It is absolutely necessary to make a change in the organisation, composition, and distribution of the Army.

The late war, and the Commission on the War which has recently reported, have made it abundantly clear that the Army in its present form is not suited to the requirements of the country, or adapted for war.

The annual Estimates show that the cost of the Army is excessive.

It appears from the Report of the Commission on the War that the condition of the Army is unsatisfactory, because—

(1) There is no evidence to show that the Army we possess is, either in composition or numbers, the Army which is really required to satisfy the peculiar needs of the Empire for the defence of which it is maintained.

(2) The Army, such as it is, is not fully and scientifically organised for war; whereas the sole object of an army in a country like ours is to be able to engage in war at the shortest notice, and to emerge successfully as rapidly as possible, we have been maintaining an army in peace time a large portion of which was totally unfit for war, and of which even the effective portion could only be utilised with the help of improvised and previously unconsidered arrangements.

(3) All branches of the Army are raised on a system which exaggerates the difficulties that must always attend purely voluntary enlistment, and, both in the Regular and Auxiliary Forces, there exist endless sources of friction which lead to wasteful effort, to bad work, and, in some cases, to discontent and misunderstanding.

(4) It is apparent from the figures which appear in the annual Estimates that this Army, imperfectly prepared, wasteful in its methods, and unsatisfactory in its results, is one of the most costly machines ever devised.

If the above statements be true, and if the evils complained of exist, what is the duty of a Minister charged with the administration of the Army and the expenditure of the public money?

His duty is to provide a remedy for the evils that exist. Not a partial, but a complete remedy; not a remedy for one, but for all the evils complained of; not a remedy for want of organisation only, but a remedy for over-expenditure as well.

Can such a remedy be found? The answer is "Yes." It can be found if both parties are prepared to consider the question of the Army outside the arena of party discussion, and if successive administrations are prepared to agree upon a scheme of reform, and to carry it out consistently and progressively. On no other terms can the Army be reformed and its cost diminished.

Any cure, to be of value, must be appropriate to the disease. It must be a good system in place of a bad one.

It has been stated above, that up to the present time there has been "no evidence to show that the Army we possess is, either as regards its composition or its numbers, the Army which is really required to satisfy the peculiar needs of the Empire for the defence of which it is maintained." That is a dangerous state of things which urgently needs amendment.

Has this state of things been amended? The answer is, that it has been amended not wholly, but in part. We do not know our true requirements yet, but we see much more clearly than we did.

The Committee of Defence has been instituted. It constitutes the first serious attempt to consider the problems of the Empire as a whole; it brings together the political and the governing elements, the Navy, the Army, India, and the Colonies. It has done little yet because it has not existed for a long time, and the work with which it has charged is very complex, and involves much professional study; but it has made a beginning. It will take many years to complete the work and to arrive at a true comprehension of the needs of the Empire. No one ought to exaggerate what the Committee of Defence has done, or is at present capable of doing, but to have made a beginning at all is an immense step in advance. We do not yet know what are the true military requirements of the Empire, but we have created an institution which will enable us in time to find out what they are.

It has been said that it has not hitherto been made apparent that "the Army, such as it is, is fully and scientifically organised for war." No one who has studied the Report of the Commission on the War, or who has been a student of Army matters, can have any doubt at all on this point.

Has anything been done to improve our position in this respect? The answer is: Yes, something has been done. The whole of the War Office organisation has been reconstituted in accordance with the recommendations of the Esher Committee. The Intelligence Branch of the War Office has been greatly strengthened. The work of improving the general staff of the Army is far from being complete, but it has been begun, and that is a point gained.

It has been said that in the opinion of the Army Council, "all branches of the Army are raised on a system which exaggerates the difficulties which must always attend voluntary enlistment, and, both in the Regular and Auxiliary Forces, there exist endless sources of friction, which lead to wasteful effort, to bad work, and, in some cases, to discontent and misunderstanding."

The truth of this proposition requires to be demonstrated, and it can be demonstrated with ease.

Here are some facts bearing upon the question—

THE RELATION OF THE RESERVE TO THE MEN SERVING.

The First Class Infantry is still a substitute for, and not a supplement to the men serving. In 1899 the proportion of Reservists with the battalions was as high as 52 per cent., and these Reservists had, in many cases, replaced ineffective soldiers to the extent of from 370 to 460 per battalion. There is no reason to believe that, if it were necessary to mobilise at the present time, the condition of things would be altered for the better. On the contrary, it seems probable that while the proportion of men left behind would be at least as great as it was in 1899, the number of Reservists available to fill up the battalions would certainly be less than it was in that year.

ILLUSTRATIONS of the extent to which Reservists were utilised to take the place of men in the ranks on Mobilisation in 1899.

	Total embarked.	Reservists.
Field Force (all arms)	47,081	20,589
Infantry—5th Infantry Division	8,037	3,784
7th Infantry Division	7,920	4,250
Brigade Division, R.A., with 5th Division ...	651	412
Brigade Division, R.A., with 6th Division ...	646	426

APPENDIX I.

Men available and fit for service, exclusive of Reserve, in the following units :—

	Men available.	Total strength of battery.
81st Battery, R.F.A.	62	170
82nd ,, ,, ...	64	170
86th ,, ,, ...	55	194
87th ,, ,, ...	66	194

	Men available.	Total strength of battalion.
1st Bn. York and Lancaster Regiment ...	390	838
2nd Bn. Middelsex Regiment	521	1,021
2nd Bn. Bedfordshire Regiment	422	902
2nd Bn. Wiltshire Regiment	460	822
1st Bn. Oxfordshire Light Infantry ...	438	789
2nd Bn. Norfolk Regiment	438	969
1st Bn. East Lancashire Regiment... ...	370	947
2nd Bn. South Wales Borderers	455	1,063
2nd Bn. North Staffordshire Regiment ...	450	997

THE ABSENCE OF A STRIKING FORCE.

The organisation of the Infantry does not provide for any Striking Force available for small expeditions, or for immediate action at the commencement of a war in which mobilisation becomes necessary. In 1899 it was impossible to send a single complete Infantry battalion from the Home Establishment to Natal until the whole Army had been mobilised. The Royal Commission has reported that the presence of an extra brigade in Natal, at the beginning of the war, might have changed the fate of the whole campaign. We did not, and could not, send such a brigade in 1899. What was true in 1899 is true now, we cannot send a single complete battalion from the Home Establishment, without calling up the Reserves.

TABLE illustrating the extent to which the places of Men serving will have to be taken by Reservists in the event of Mobilisation at the present time. The statement shows the estimated number in the undermentioned battalions who would be left behind in the event of mobilisation for active service abroad.

Corps.	Establishment.	Strength of N.C.O.'s and men on 1.12.03.	Under 20 years of age on 1.12.03.	Under 1 year's service on 1.12.03.	Absent and in civil prisons on 1.12.03.	Allowing a percentage of 5·16 for sick and medically unfit.*	Total remaining behind.	Number of Reservists required on Mobilisation.
1st Bn. Royal Scots	855	667	178	54	6	22	260	593
2nd Bn. Cheshire Regiment ...	855	678	229	28	3	22	282	604
2nd Bn. Royal Sussex Regt. ...	855	940	240	51	6	33	330	390
1st Bn. Royal Highlanders ...	861	751	248	57	13	22	340	589
2nd Bn. Durham L.I.	855	684	246	99	3	17	365	681
1st Bn. A. & S. Highlanders ..	861	824	271	83	3	24	381	557

* This percentage is obtained from the 1899 mobilisation figures.

THE FREQUENT CALL UPON RESERVISTS.

This evil is a corollary of that just referred to. It is obvious that if no expedition, large or small, can be despatched without calling up Reservists, the condition of men who have left the Colours and have entered civil life, must always remain precarious and unsatisfactory. It is most undesirable, both in the interests of employers and of the Army, that the position of Reservists should remain as uncertain as it now is. The employers can protect themselves by not employing Reservists. There is some reason to fear that they may do so. The soldier cannot protect himself, and his position seems likely to become more intolerable from year to year.

THE THREE YEARS TERM OF ENLISTMENT.

The whole of the Army is now enlisted, primarily, for three years' service. In view of the fact that, if the drafts are to be provided, from 75 to 80 per cent. of the men in all branches must necessarily extend, and that in some branches, notably the Garrison Artillery, the extensions must reach 100 per cent., it is not easy to see how this system can be successfully maintained. It does not appear that, at the time of its adoption, sufficiently exact calculations were made with a view of demonstrating that the system would work satisfactorily, and closer calculations which have since been made, joined with the evidence of the actual extensions hitherto, indicate that the working of the system may easily become disastrous.

The average extensions among the Infantry ought to be at least 75 per cent. At present it is about 12 per cent., in several battalions it is as low as 3 per cent. or 4 per cent., and, in at least one battalion, not a single man has extended during the last month.

WANT OF EMPLOYMENT FOR MEN AFTER DISCHARGE.

One of the great difficulties of enlisting men for a long period of service is that of finding employment for them on their discharge. It is not desirable, in the public interest, to allow many men to serve twenty-one years for a pension, but undoubtedly, the absence of any certain prospect at the end of a soldier's career with the Colours does prevent many men from enlisting. The present system has a tendency to confine recruiting to men who are either reckless or improvident. It is most desirable, both in the interests of the Army and of the public, that every man enlisting for a long term of service should be practically certain that employment will be found for him at the end of his term, provided he has conducted himself properly while serving.

LINKED BATTALIONS.

Under the existing system the battalions abroad are supplied with drafts from their corresponding linked battalions at home. The working of this scheme depends upon there being exactly the same number of battalions abroad as there are at home. But the doctrine has now become accepted that the Regular Army is primarily maintained for action over sea, hence it has become impossible to expect that there will be the prescribed equality in the future. At present the number of battalions abroad is in excess of that at home, and the result has been to create the greatest confusion in the organisation of the Infantry. This interference with the fundamental basis of the existing system has been frequent in the past and must necessarily become permanent in the future. The confusion and inconvenience which are felt now must increase.

THE ABSENCE OF ANY ORGANISATION FOR IMMATURE SOLDIERS LEFT BEHIND ON MOBILISATION.

When the Army was mobilised in 1899–1900, very large numbers of immature soldiers were left behind. The number amounted to many thousands. It soon appeared that there was no organisation to meet their case. The boys were without

Officers, were not attributed to any existing units, and until they were actually despatched as drafts to the battalions in the field, had practically no military value.

By a practice which cannot but be regarded as altogether illegitimate, no less than 18,000 of these boys who had been left behind as unfit to go to the front with their own battalions, were actually attached to Militia battalions and were eventually sent out to South Africa with those units, which were made up for the most part of men even more unfit than the Line recruits themselves. It is obviously most desirable that such a condition of things should not recur.

REGIMENTAL DEPOTS.

The existing regimental depots are the fifth wheel of the coach. They have a certain value as mobilisation centres and storehouses but they have no military value whatever. On the contrary, their existence is most detrimental to military efficiency. They are, as a rule, commanded by Officers who expect no further command and therefore lack ambition. The junior Officers attached to them are not, and cannot be, selected because they are peculiarly qualified as instructors of young soldiers.

The routine in the depots is most depressing, and in some cases quite inadequate. The mixing up of Line and Militia recruits is bad for both forces. The scale on which the depots are established prevents their being made attractive. They are without bands, they are without proper gymnasia, the recreation rooms are dispiriting and ill-adapted to their purpose ; in a word, nothing can be more disheartening than the time spent by a recruit in one of these quite unnecessary depots. They lack every quality which a good depot should possess, and they perform no useful function.

THE GUARDS.

It is a recognised part of our system that the Brigade of Guards shall have special privileges and advantages. The principle has long been accepted, and there seems no reason why it should be abandoned. At the present time, however, the Guards have practically ceased to possess any special privilege, and in consequence the Brigade has ceased to attract recruits. The three years' service is now common both to the Guards and to the Line. Foreign service is often an attraction, rather than a disadvantage, in the eyes of the soldier. The Guards get no foreign service in peace time. The duties of the Guards are far heavier than those of the Line battalions at home, hence the recruiting for the Guards has fallen off to a very serious degree. It has been found necessary to reduce the establishment of battalions to 650, and there is no certainty that the decline in the recruiting will be arrested at an early date.

THE DISREPUTABLE CONDITION OF THE BARRACKS.

The present system is supposed to be a territorial system, but for the most part this is mere make-believe. The one district in which a territorial Regiment is scarcely ever to be found is its own district. The consequence is that much of the local goodwill which would be extended to a territorial Regiment, if it were a reality, finds no object on which to expend itself.

Under the present system, when an Infantry battalion leaves its barrack in the United Kingdom every man in the battalion knows that, in all human probability, he will never enter that barrack again ; he also knows that whatever may be the state of the barrack he will be charged barrack damages. He perhaps not unnaturally endeavours " to get value for his money," and even if he does not intentionally damage the quarters he is leaving, he takes no pains whatever to make them beautiful or leave them neat. It is nobody's business or interest to contribute towards the comfort of the soldier while he is in a particular barrack ; the Regiment is not in its territorial district, and even if it were, its short sojourn there would make it unreasonable for well-wishers in the district to spend their money upon improvements, which would be destined to benefit some Regiment other than that for which they were intended. It is obviously most desirable that this state of things should not continue.

APPENDIX I.

THE SCARCITY OF JUNIOR OFFICERS.

The War Commission has called attention with very great force and justice to the value of the "professional officer" in time of war. The resources of the Empire are capable of supplying an almost unlimited number of competent and willing men, but even the best men thus furnished are of comparatively little value unless they are under the orders of thoroughly trained officers.

Something has already been done by the War Office in the direction of creating a Reserve of officers, but this Reserve is admittedly inadequate; and though additional proposals are under consideration, no satisfactory progress has yet been made towards obtaining an adequate supply.

THE CONDITION OF THE MILITIA.

The Militia, which has been a force of great importance and value, is rapidly dwindling away. During the last two years the falling off in the strength of the Militia has been as follows:—

Numbers wanting to complete establishment:—

1st January, 1902	21,148
,, 1903	20,596
,, 1904	32,601

There is no sign that the fall will be arrested. Moreover, the Militia is undoubtedly deficient in quality as well as in quantity, and every year the rate of decay is likely to be accelerated, for a battalion which once loses prestige goes rapidly down hill.

The decay in the Militia is the natural and inevitable consequence of the way in which that force has been treated. It has been regarded solely as a convenience for the Line. Line sergeants have employed their time in skimming the cream of the Militia recruits out of the depots; Militiamen have been encouraged by bounties to leave their battalions for the Line; the Militia battalions have been made a convenient stepping-stone for officers entering the Line, and these officers have been taught to regard the Militia, not as a force to which they belong, but as one in which they are compelled for a short period to serve.

The Militia is not organised in such a way as to make it of real value for home defence, and, under its present constitution, Militia battalions cannot be compelled to go abroad in time of war. As a matter of fact, battalions generally volunteer for war service, but the process by which they are induced to do so is unsatisfactory, and their services in the field are not as valuable as they ought to be.

It is essential, therefore, that the question of the Militia should be taken in hand at once, and a method devised by which the officers and men who now go into the Militia may be utilised for the service of the country, in connection with the territorial and localised Army, in such a way as to develop their capacity to the utmost, to encourage them in their work, and to ensure their efficiency.

THE AUXILIARY FORCES.

The whole question of the Auxiliary Forces merits careful attention, in view of the recent Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers.

The statements made in the Report are most serious. We are told with respect to the Militia:—

> That "*as regards the Infantry, there is a concensus of opinion both among Militia officers and those Regular officers who have had special opportunities of observation, that the average Militia battalion would not be fit to take the field, except after several months' continuous embodiment.*"
>
> That "*the training of the Militia officer is inadequate to enable him properly to lead troops, and especially incompletely trained troops.*"

That "*the force is imperfectly equipped for war.*"

That "*the Militia in its existing condition is unfit to take the field for the defence of this country.*"

Nor is the account of the Volunteers more satisfactory. We are told—

That "*there is no divisional organisation, nor are any arrangements made for the command and staffs of the large masses of Volunteers of the various arms told off to the defence of London, beyond the grouping of the Infantry in brigades.*"

That "*the units of Volunteers are of various establishments and strengths. Such differences render difficult the proper grouping into the larger formations required for service in the field.*"

That "*the Volunteer Field Artillery lacks the requisite training and mobility.*"

That "*the transport equipment and Artillery materiel of the Volunteer Force are far from satisfactory.*"

That "*taking the force as a whole, neither the musketry nor the tactical training of the rank and file would enable it to face, with prospect of success, the troops of a Continental army.*"

That "*an appreciable number of Volunteers classed as efficient are physically unfit for service in a mobile army.*"

That the inequality in the attainments of the officers "*prevents the Volunteer Force from acquiring the cohesion needed for war.*"

That "*in view of the unequal military education of the officers, the limited training of the men, and the defects of equipment and organisation,*" the Volunteer Force "*is not qualified to take the field against a Regular Army.*"

II.

It is absolutely necessary that the state of things here described should cease to exist. The evils which have been enumerated above are clear and specific, so also is the evil of excessive cost.

The Army Estimates for the current year amounted to £28,900,000. This figure was only arrived at in consequence of its being possible to make a diminution in the normal charges for this particular year. This diminution was effected by giving the first supply of the new field gun to India, a measure which was perfectly right in itself, but which will not prevent a heavy additional cost for re-armament coming upon the Estimates in future years.

Then, again, the interest due on the Annuities raised in respect of the Military Works Loan are charged upon Estimates, and the amount under this head increases automatically every year. Next year it will be £182,000 more than it was this year.

Again, the fact that large amounts of stores which were surplus at the close of the South African War were available during the current year, relieved the Estimates; but, in future, it will be necessary to replace stores which had not to be replaced this year.

Again, the Reserve is at present very much depleted. As it grows, more money will have to be devoted to pay the Reservists... In fact, whoever is Minister of War, and whatever system exists, there must be a large automatic increase in Army Estimates, and any actual reduction of Estimates can only begin when this addition is wiped off.

But the country wishes to see this addition wiped off, and a great economy made also. The country is right, but it must be clearly understood that "he who wishes the end wishes the means." It is of no use to say there must be great reductions on Army Expenditure, if everybody concerned resolutely refuses to accept any reduction in those items which involve expenditure.

What is it that makes our great Army expenditure necessary? There can be but one answer. It is the number of men we employ.

In the Navy it is the Shipbuilding Vote that is the principal item of cost. In the Army it is the number of men that governs all other Votes. If we want to spend less money we must have fewer men.

Can we spend less money with fewer men? Undoubtedly we can. It is not commonly realised that this country at present maintains no less than 213,010 men to whom must be added the Army in India, 77,402 men, the Indian Army, 156,870 men, and various Colonial and Foreign Office contingents making a total of 18,233 men. If to these we add the Reserves, 73,597 men, we get the total 539,112.

It must not be forgotten that, in addition to this great number, we also maintain 126,673 men on the peace establishment of the Navy, and the Naval Reserves, amounting to 46,051 men.

Is this enormous number of troops (539,112) necessary?

If the British Fleet be efficient, clearly it is not necessary. The Admiralty are of opinion, that while they cannot guarantee this country against "raids," they can guarantee it against serious invasion. If the Admiralty are right, then we need not maintain an Army for home defence, capable of resisting serious invasion. If the Admiralty are wrong, then no Army we can maintain will be sufficient to protect us from hostile attack. If we have command of the sea, we can prevent any invading army landing. If we have not command of the sea, it will not be necessary for an enemy to land—it can starve us into submission.

It is evident, therefore, that the Army we want is an Army which will enable us to maintain our Empire across the sea in peace and in war, and which will enable us to resist raids at home attempted in the absence of the fleet.

It is to create such an Army that our efforts ought to be directed. Obviously, the Army which we now have is not the one we require, for it includes over 400,000 men who are not bound to go abroad, and the majority of whom are not required for defence at home.

III.

With these facts before us, let us see whether a remedy can be provided for the evils that exist. The following steps are proposed:—

(1.) To divide the Regular Army into two parts, viz., a General Service Army and a Home Service Army.

The General Service Army will serve both abroad and at home in time of peace and in time of war.

The Home Service Army will serve at home in peace, and abroad, if necessary, in time of important war.

The men who serve abroad must enlist for a comparatively long service. The men who serve at home are required to form a Reserve—therefore their service must be short.

GENERAL SERVICE ESTABLISHMENT.

Under the present linked battalion system, the Army abroad can only be properly supplied if the number of battalions abroad and at home is the same. But this is an unsound principle.

It has already been shown that we do not require the same number of General Service battalions at home as we do abroad. On the other hand, a certain number of General Service battalions must be maintained at home, in order that the whole of a man's service may not be foreign service.

Nothing was more clearly demonstrated in the last war than the necessity for a Striking Force, that is to say, a small force of all arms ready to proceed to the front at the shortest notice without mobilisation.

It is proposed under the new scheme to establish such a force, which will be complete in all arms, and which will be quartered at Aldershot.

APPENDIX I.

We have now to consider whether the existing battalions of the Regular Army are sufficient in number to provide for ordinary peace service abroad, and to supply the proportion of General Service battalions at home which is necessary to secure a proper circulation and to furnish a "Striking Force." As a matter of fact, the units of the Regular Infantry will suffice for all these requirements and leave a considerable margin over. It is therefore proposed to keep the requisite number of battalions of Regular Infantry for the General Service abroad and at home, the term of service being six months at a depot, and eight years and six months with the colours, followed by three years in the First Class Reserve. This is the term which is actually served by a very large number of men at present in the Army. Recruiting for these battalions will be restricted to men of nineteen years of age and upwards.

In order to get rid of the necessity for having a battalion at home for every battalion abroad, it is proposed to establish large depots. The system of small depots has been a signal failure; the system of large depots has been a great success. The Guards, the Royal Artillery, the Royal Marine Artillery, the Royal Marine Light Infantry, the bluejackets and the stokers of the Navy, are all furnished from large depots. It is, therefore, proposed to establish large depots for the General Service battalions.

It must not be supposed, however, that this involves the abandonment of the very valuable features of the "linked battalion system," which originally commended it to the Army and to the public. The linking of the battalions for the purposes of exchange of officers and men is good and should be retained. The rigid linking of battalions in pairs, for the purposes of furnishing drafts, will be abandoned.

It will be necessary to provide sufficient battalions to keep up a proper circulation between the battalions abroad and at home. At present there are no less than eighty-seven battalions abroad, but it is to be hoped that in time some of these may be withdrawn. In proportion as they are withdrawn it will be possible to reduce the number of General Service battalions at home. But it will be asked on what principle it is proposed to select the battalions for service abroad, and to fix the number. The answer is, that the number must be determined by the circumstances of the time.

But, as has already been pointed out, whatever arrangement is arrived at, there will be a certain number of Line battalions which will not be required for General Service, at home or abroad, in time of peace. What is the proper course to pursue with regard to these battalions? It would be a very unwise thing to blot out ancient battalions of the Line which have a great and honourable history. Whatever changes may be made these battalions must be preserved. Clearly no one would wish to see the 100th Royal Canadians or the 93rd Highlanders abolished, and there is no intention whatever of abolishing them. Are there, however, any battalions of the Line which have not this long and distinguished history? The answer is "Yes." There are fourteen battalions which were raised during the last few years, and which form the 3rd and 4th battalions of certain famous regiments. There are also five Garrison battalions which were raised during the late war. It is proposed that these battalions should in process of time be absorbed. This will leave us with a certain number of battalions of the Line which are not required, in peace time, for service abroad. What course ought to be taken with regard to these battalions?

HOME SERVICE ESTABLISHMENT.

These battalions will be utilised for the Home Service Establishment. Excluding the Guards there will be about forty battalions, more or less, of these, and it is proposed that the term of service in these battalions shall be two years with the colours, including three months at a depot, followed by six years in the First Class Army Reserve. The men will be recruited from eighteen years of age upwards.

The peace strength of these battalions will be 500, of whom 400 will be men serving two years at the depot and with the colours, and the remaining 100, principally the staff, will be either General Service men supernumerary to the General Service battalions, or General Service Reservists who have concluded their service with the colours. There will be twenty officers permanently attached to each battalion. These will be fully commissioned officers of the Regular Army, interchangeable with the General Service officers, and available for service in any part of the world.

The low peace strength of these battalions means a very great expansion on mobilisation. The men for this will be furnished by the very large Reserve which will accumulate on the two years' service. But officers are even more important, and the lack of a Reserve of officers was one of the gravest defects revealed by the South African War. In addition to the twenty officers permanently with each battalion, there will be attached to each battalion ten Reserve officers. These will have had to serve for a fixed period with the colours, and have passed certain prescribed examinations. They will come up periodically for training, and their position will closely resemble that of the present Militia officers.

The rank and file of the Home Service Infantry Reservists, together with the Reserve officers and non-commissioned officers, will be called up for training in the second and fourth year following their discharge from the colours. This is absolutely essential, in view of the shortness of their service with the colours. The position of these Reservists is, however, not thereby made less attractive than that of the present First Class Army Reserve, for they will be free from the liability of being called out at any moment for war purposes, except in the case of a really great national war.

The Home Service Army is, as far as possible, to be really territorialised. Battalions will serve in their own district, will always have the same barracks assigned to them, and their furthest move in peace will be to the nearest training ground, or to Aldershot or Salisbury Plain, in the case of certain battalions taken in rotation for a period of training.

The Home Service Army thus provided by the surplus battalions for the present Regular Army will, on mobilisation, furnish a considerable force for the purpose of reinforcing the General Service Army in a great war over sea; but the force will be none too large for our possible requirements. Moreover, the number of units in the Home Service Army thus established is insufficient to furnish a territorialised unit for each of the existing districts.

The best way of meeting this deficiency would probably be to absorb a certain number of selected Militia battalions into the Home Service territorial army, bringing them up, both as regards officers and men, to the standard of the other short service battalions. It would thus be possible to assign to each of the territorial districts one short service reservist-creating battalion, either Regular or Militia in its origin, which would be the real military centre of the district. The objects aimed at by Lord Cardwell in his Territorial Scheme, but hitherto only very imperfectly secured, owing to the difficulties connected with the proper distribution and reliefs of the Army, would thus be realised. At the same time a reinforcing Army of some 100,000 men (including the Guards) would be provided for the emergencies of a great war.

But however desirable on general grounds, there are serious practical objections to such a proposal for the absorption of Militia battalions into the Territorial Army, an absorption, which, for financial reasons, would necessitate the reduction or abolition of the remaining Militia battalions, and any such change can only be made with the full concurrence of Parliament and the support of public opinion.

The Militia.

The case of the Militia is, in fact, a peculiar one. Undoubtedly on general military grounds there is very little to be said for the duplication of the Home Service territorial army by another territorial army, of still shorter service, competing with it for recruits. The facts already given show that the Militia cannot be said to be an efficient fighting force. It has long ceased to play the important part it once played in our polity. The old class of officers and the old class of men who composed the "Constitutional Force" have, for the most part, disappeared. It consists, to no small extent, of two classes; those who are not yet fit for the Line, and are preparing themselves for the

Line at Government expense, and those who never will be fit for the Line or for any military purpose whatever.

When economy is so earnestly and universally demanded, when it is conceded that economy can only be attained by reducing the men maintained, beginning with the least efficient, why should not the Militia be entirely absorbed into the Territorial Army ? Because the popular sentiment against so complete a change is at present too strong. That sentiment is fully justified by the national importance and constitutional standing of the force, and a change of the magnitude suggested can only come about after much fuller public discussion than has yet been given to it.

No sweeping change, therefore, in the general position of the Militia force or in the strength of its units is at present contemplated.

But the Militia cannot be left in its present unsatisfactory condition. Prompt measures must be taken to improve it, so as to make it a more serviceable fighting force The physical standard will be brought up to that of the Line—already far lower than could be wished—and the period of training lengthened in accordance with the proposals of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission. At the same time the Secretary of State proposes to take into consultation representative officers of the force in order to discuss any further changes that might with advantage be introduced.

THE REGULAR FORCES.

To return to the actual proposals that will be brought forward with regard to the Regular Forces, there will be large depots for the Home Service Army as for the General Service Army. They will be distributed in accordance with the Decentralisation Scheme which is being worked out on the general lines of the proposals of Lord Esher's Committee.

The main difference between the proposed system and the one at present existing is that it appears to differentiate the Army, according to the varying functions it has to perform in peace and in war, to provide the number of troops required for each purpose, and no more, and to adapt the terms of service more closely to the needs and interests of the men who, under a voluntary system, must be induced, and cannot be forced, to enlist in it. The existing system, on the other hand, attempts to combine the two entirely dissimilar functions of the policing of the Empire in peace and the prosecution of small wars, and the conduct of a serious campaign requiring mobilisation on a large scale, under one and the same inelastic period of service. It does not offer enough opportunity to the man who wishes to make soldiering his profession, and it asks too much of the man who may want to serve for a short period and then return to civil life. For the rigidity of the linked-battalion system, so contrary to all the dictates of strategy, the proposed changes will substitute the far more flexible system of a General Service Army, where even the fixed proportion between the battalions abroad and those at home, however desirable for purposes of circulation, is not so vital as to paralyse the whole working of the system, should it at any time be temporarily suspended or altered.

On the other hand, where fixity is really required, as in territorialisation, the proposed system secures through the Home Service Establishment the reality of that which, under the existing system, has been, and was bound to be, a sham. The new system provides both a Striking Force available at any moment, and also a large total force on mobilisation. By adding from one to two thousand Officers to the present establishment* and creating a Reserve of officers, it will enable a far greater proportion of the men available on mobilisation to be really utilised in the shape of a field force, while at the same time providing *cadres* for the training of those who are left behind and for recruits enlisted after the outbreak of war.

The organisation of the Brigade of Guards will remain practically unaltered both as regards strength and as regards the period of colour and Reserve service ; but to maintain the position and popularity, which the Guards enjoyed till quite recently, certain increases are necessary. The general extension of the three-years system to the whole Army has undoubtedly prejudiced the recruiting for the Guards. The remedy proposed consists of an increase in their rates of pay. An addition of 2d. will be made to the daily pay of the Guards prior to extension, making the total 1s. 3d. instead of 1s. 1d. as at present. If at any time after two years they agree to extend for the whole term of eight years, they will immediately receive the full service pay. Their pay will thus, corresponding to their conditions of service, come midway between those of the General Service and Home Service armies. The depot arrangements of the brigade will remain as at present.

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* The incorporation of thirty-five Militia battalions to the Home Service Army would provide 1,050 trained officers.

ROYAL HORSE AND FIELD ARTILLERY.

It is proposed to deal with the Artillery on the same principles as with the Infantry. Of the existing 179 batteries, 100 batteries, including all the Horse Artillery, will be assigned to General Service and will be maintained at an average strength of 100 men per battery. The remaining seventy-nine batteries will be placed on the Home establishment and will produce the bulk of the Reservists for the Artillery. These batteries will only have four guns horsed and will be on a peace establishment of five officers and ninety-seven men, of whom thirty-eight will be General Service soldiers.

These seventy-nine batteries will be sufficient for the Home Service Establishment, and there will, therefore, be no need to transform any of the existing Militia Artillery batteries or companies in order to make up the required establishment.

A reorganisation of the Garrison Artillery is also required. But the problem is one involving peculiar difficulties, and pending a fuller working out of the question by the Army Council, no proposals for change will be brought forward for the present.

ROYAL ENGINEERS.

No proposals will be submitted for the present with regard to the Royal Engineers. The recruiting for the corps has offered no difficulties, and though eventually it will be necessary to apply to the Royal Engineers the same system which it is proposed to apply to the Infantry, the matter is not one calling for immediate action.

THE CAVALRY.

The Cavalry arm stands on a special footing, and therefore demands special treatment. Its peace establishment is small, and recruiting offers no difficulties. The organisation, however, is faulty, and changes are under consideration with the view of improving it, and doing away with the existing system of linked regiments.

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF SOLDIERS ON DISCHARGE.

As the battalions of the Home Service Army will consist mainly of men with under two years' service, it is obvious that a large number of Warrant and non-commissioned officers will be required for them who cannot be created, in the ordinary course, by promotion within the battalions. It is proposed to make the necessary appointments from those men who after nine years' colour service in the General Service Army desire to obtain further employment, instead of going into the Reserve, or from Ex-Reservists who are no longer liable to service.

To ensure that they shall possess the qualities required in those who are charged with instructing young soldiers, it will probably be necessary to establish a non-commissioned officers' school in which they will receive instruction before taking up their appointments.

There will be a very large number of appointments thus available in the Home Service Army. Adding to those the staff of the depots, both General and Home Service, and the staffs of the Auxiliary Forces, and taking into consideration the fact that the annual overflow of men from the General Service battalions into the Reserve will be small, it will be seen that the arrangement contemplated will go far towards supplying reasonable certainty of employment for the soldier who has served his time.

APPENDIX I.

The Volunteers.

It is the accepted policy of the Government that the Regular Army, General and Home Service alike, is maintained principally for service over sea. The defence of these Islands against hostile raids must therefore be left very largely to the Volunteers. The efficiency of the force becomes therefore a far more important consideration than it has hitherto been, and is more important than its mere numerical strength. That strength, which on 1st January, 1904, was 241,000—though 100,000 short of the Establishment of 347,075—is actually in excess of the requirements, though nobody can contend that the efficiency of the force is in excess of what is required for war. A reduction of the numbers and an increase in the efficiency are obviously indicated.

It is proposed to reduce the Establishment of the Volunteers to 200,000 and the present strength to 180,000, in other words, to reduce the force by one-fourth. The corps composing these 180,000 will be divided into two classes, corresponding to the two classes of officers and men that exist at present in every Volunteer battalion, viz., those who are willing and able to give a good deal of time to their drill and training, and those who are willing, but unable, to do so.

The force on the higher scale of organisation will have its full complement of officers, supplied with necessary transport, and organised into the higher field formations in association with Yeomanry, Artillery and Engineers. A higher standard of efficiency than the present one will be exacted ; but there will also be a higher grant.

From the remaining 120,000 a lower standard of efficiency will be required. The money expended on these will be reduced from an average of £7 per head to £5.

It may be desirable in the future to increase the actual strength to 200,000, but in no case should the proportion of men in the second category exceed those in the first by more than two to one.

On the outbreak of war there will be no difficulty in doubling the strength of the properly organised and well-officered *cadres* of the Volunteers in the first category by accepting the services of men whose obligations confine them to the second category in time of peace, but who would gladly give up the whole of their time in the event of war. The remaining Volunteers, in their turn, could rapidly be brought up to a higher level of efficiency.

There is a considerable demand for Rifle Clubs, which it seems only reasonable to encourage. It is therefore proposed to give to ex-Volunteers sufficient free ammunition to allow of their going through their class firing, on joining a recognised rifle club and to supply ammunition at cost price to members of such clubs. It is proposed to set aside a sum of £50,000 per annum for this purpose.

IV.

Summarising the above statement, it will be observed that if the proposals now made be carried into effect, the following evils will be specifically dealt with, and it is hoped remedied :—

1. The organisation of the forces of the Empire for war will be improved and our system co-ordinated, as the result of the establishment of the Committee of Imperial Defence, presided over by the Prime Minister, attended by the representatives of the various great Departments concerned, and furnished with a premanent and adequate staff.

2. The organisation of the War Office will be put upon a more satisfactory basis, a greater amount of decentralisation than has hitherto been possible will be introduced into the administration of the Army.

3. The Intelligence Branch and the organisation of the Staff of the Army will be greatly improved. The number of officers employed will be increased, and the work of the Department will be better distributed than heretofore.

4. The linked-battalion system will be retained for the purposes of exchange, but abolished for the purposes of drafting.

5. It will be no longer necessary to maintain an exact correspondence between the number of units abroad and at home, a correspondence absolutely unsuited to modern conditions.

6. It will no longer be necessary to leave behind large numbers of men on mobilisation but the General Service battalions will be composed of fighting men, and will have an adequate Reserve.

7. Organisation will be provided for all Reservists who are not called out with their regiments at the outbreak of war.

8. The uncertainty which has hitherto done so much harm to the Reservists will no longer exist. The Home Service Reservist will know that he will only be called out in the extremity, and when the country is engaged in a great struggle.

9. The General Service Infantryman will receive high pay, and will receive it directly he is qualified, instead of having to wait two years.

10. The Home Service Infantryman will serve at home under agreeable conditions, and at the end of that time will have the option of going abroad if he wishes to do so, or of going into the Reserve, if he prefers that course.

11. In addition to the large amount of employment which is already found for the General Service soldier on discharge, a supply of very congenial employment will be furnished for all those who accept appointments as non-commissioned officers in the Home Service battalions.

12. The falling off in the recruiting of the Guards will be arrested, because the Guards will again receive a small advantage, to which they are entitled owing to their additional length of service.

13. A Striking Force, for which the necessity was so clearly demonstrated at the commencement of the late war, will be provided.

14. A great improvement in barrack accommodation will be possible because battalions will continue to occupy the same barracks.

15. An improvement will be made in the organisation of the Cavalry which will allow of the supply of recruits from Depots, and will obviate the necessity which at present exists of linking Cavalry regiments in pairs.

16. There will be an improvement of the Militia, and, if public opinion will allow, the amalgamation of the Militia with the Line, for the purpose of forming a true Territorial Army.

17. A great improvement in the Volunteers, involving :—

(*a*) The discharge of ineffective and useless men.
(*b*.) The granting of additional funds for those Volunteers who can give time for additional service.
(*c*.) The easing of the terms of service to those Volunteers who are unable to comply with the extreme requirements of the War Office.
(*d*.) Generally, the creation of a true Volunteer Army capable of expansion to almost any degree in case of war.

18. Assistance to Rifle Clubs. In other words, help to those who desire to serve the country, but who have not leisure or opportunity to enter the Army or the Volunteers.

19. A contribution towards the expense of furnishing a Volunteer Transport, a most important element in time of war.

20. All the historical battalions of the Line will be maintained intact.

21. Every existing battery of Royal Artillery will be maintained.

22. The Infantry Force for the first time will be truly localised, and the regiments will, for the most part, live in their own counties.

23. The 3-years' system will be abolished.

24. The men will enlist for two years, or for a longer term.

25. The War Office will no longer be dependent for its General Service soldiers upon the caprice of boys, who may or may not decide to extend.

26. The Reserve will no longer be a substitute for, but will become a supplement to the men serving.

27. A large number of thoroughly-trained junior officers will be added to the Army.

28. An opportunity will be given to country gentlemen who cannot give up their whole time to Army service to enter the Line regiments, to train with them in peace time, and to serve with them continuously in time of war.

29. The cost of the Army will be greatly reduced.

H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

War Office,
14*th July*, 1904.

APPENDIX II.

PUBLIC BILLS

DEALT WITH IN VOLUME CXXXVIII.

Those marked thus * are Government Bills. The figures in parentheses in the last column refer to the page in this volume. "[H.L.]" following title indicates that the Bill originated in the Lords.

(A.) House of Lords.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Army Council [H.L.]	*Earl of Donoughmore*	Read 1^a 26th July (1179)
Continuation Schools [H.L.]	*Lord Bishop of Hereford*	Read 1^a 26th July (1179)
*County Courts [H.L.]	*Earl of Halsbury*	Read 2^a 18th July (245) Committee 22nd July (890) Report 26th July (1179)
County of Suffolk		Read 1^a 28th July (1433)
*Dean Forest	*Marquess of Salisbury*	Read 2^a 14th July (6) Committee 15th July (150) Report 28th July (1437)
Hall Marking of Foreign Plate	*Earl of Lytton*	Read 3^a and passed 14th July (5) Royal Assent 22nd July (885)
*Official Secrets [H.L.]	*Earl of Halsbury*	Read 1^a 22nd July (936)
*Poor Law Authorities (Transfer of Property) [H.L.]	*Lord Kenyon*	Read 1^a 21st July (678) Read 2^a 26th July (1179)
*Public Health	*Marquess of Lansdowne*	Read 2^a 14th July (5) Committee 15th July (147) Report 19th July (387) Read 3^a and passed 21st July (678)
Railways (Private Sidings)	*Lord Wolverton*	Committee 18th July (231) Report 21st July (679) Read 3^a and passed 22nd July (936)
Registration of Clubs (Ireland)	*Earl of Denbigh*	Committee 15th July (147) Report 21st July (678) Read 3^a and passed 22nd July (936)

(A.) HOUSE OF LORDS—*continued.*

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Savings Banks Act Amendment	*Marquess of Salisbury*	Read 2ª 18th July (246) Committee 21st July (679) Report 22nd July (936) Read 3ª and passed 25th July (1021)
Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment (St. Kilda)	*Lord Balfour of Burleigh*	Read 1ª 22nd July (936) Read 2ª 28th July (1437)

(B.) HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
County of Suffolk	*Sir C. Quilter*	Committee 21st July (884) Report 22nd July (999) Read 3º and passed 26th July (1316)
Drunkenness (Ireland)	*Mr. Hugh Law*	Read 2º 18th July (384)
*Education (Local Authorities Default)	*Sir W. Anson*	Read 2º 15th July (165)
*Electric Lighting (London)	*Mr. Gerald Balfour*	Committee, Report, Read 3º and passed 25th July (1176)
*Finance	*Mr. Austen Chamberlain*	Committee 18th July (296) (359) Committee 19th July (430) (506) Report 22nd July (951) Report 25th July (1066) (1127) Read 3º and passed 28th July (1485) (1534)
Hall Marking of Foreign Plate	*Mr. Samuel Roberts*	Royal Assent 22nd July (937)
*Licensing	*Mr. Akers Douglas*	Report 26th July (1229) (1283) Report 27th July (1348) (1399)
*Light Railways [H.L.]	*Mr. Gerald Balfour*	Read 1º 28th July (1485)
Prevention of Cruelty to Children Amendment [H.L.]	*Mr H. D. Greene*	Read 2º 25th July (1176)
*Post Office	*Lord Stanley*	Read 2º 22nd July (999)
*Public Health [H.L.]	*Mr. Walter Long*	Read 1º 28th July (1485)
Railways Steamships (Parliamentary Facilities)	*Mr. Crooks*	Read 1º 27th July (1348)
*Reserve Forces [H.L.]	*Mr. Arnold Forster*	Read 1º 28th July (1485)

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
*Telegraph Construction	*Lord Stanley*	Bill withdrawn 22nd July (999)
University of Liverpool	*Sir John Brunner*	Read 2° 14th July (143)
Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment (St. Kilda)	*Sir Herbert Maxwell*	Read 2° 14th July (143) All remaining stages 21st July (884)
*Wireless Telegraphy	*Lord Stanley*	Read 1° 18th July (295)

APPENDIX III.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, SESSION 1904.

LIST OF RULES, ORDERS, &c., which have been presented during the Session, and are required by Statute to lie for an appointed number of Days upon the Table of the House.

[In continuance of List given in preceding Volume.]

Title of Paper.	Date from which the Period runs.	Period to lie upon the Table.
Sea Fisheries Regulation Act, 1888,—Copy of Order made by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, under the provisions of the Act for the variation of the Order creating the North Eastern Sea Fisheries District [51 and 52 Vic., c. 54, s. 1 (4)]	12 July	30 days
Board of Education,—Copy of Regulations of the Board of Education, dated 11th July 1904, providing for grants on account of the Education of Defective and Epileptic Children, and prescribing Conditions to be fulfilled by Certified Schools and Classes for such Children [33 and 34 Vic., c. 75, s. 97]	14 July	One month
Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1887 (Oxford),—Copy of Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, on 4th March 1904, amending Statutes II., III., IV., V., VI., and VII. of the Statutes of the College [25 and 26 Vic., c. 26, s. 7]	22 July	12 weeks

INDEX

TO THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

[AUTHORISED EDITION].

TENTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1904.

JULY 14—*JULY* 28

EXPLANATION OF ARRANGEMENT AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Bills: Read First, Second, or Third Time = 1R., 2R., 3R. [*c.*] = Commons. [*l.*] = Lords. *Amendt.* = Amendment. *Os.* = Observations. *Qs.* = Questions. *As.* = Answers. *Com.* = Committee. *Con.* = Consideration. Where in the Index * is added with Reading of a Bill, or a Vote in Committee of Supply, it indicates that no Debate took place on that Stage of the Bill, or on that Vote. Subjects discussed in Committee of Supply are entered under their headings, and also under Members' Names, without reference to the actual Vote before the Committee.

Aberdeen Joint Passenger Station Order Confirmation Bill.
l. 3R.* *July 14*, 3.
c. 1R.* *July 14*, 20.
Con. * *July 18*, 249.
3R.* *July 21*, 744.

Abraham, Mr. W. [Glamorgan, Rhondda]
Coal, Export duty on.
Effect of, on the Trade, and Wages of Miners, etc.—Abolition of Duty, proposed, *July 20*, 614, 615.
Opportunity for discussion of, *July 20*, 537.
Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 20*, 537, 614.
Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill, *Con.*, *July 18*, 354.

Accounts, Public
Committee Report, Presented, *July 28*, 1485.

Achin
Dutch War with — Representations by British Government as to killing of women and children, Proposed.
Q. Mr. H. Heaton; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 28*, 1464, 1465.

Acland-Hood, Captain Sir A. — *Parliamentary Secretary of the Treasury* [Somersetshire, Wellington]
Army Reform, Proposals, Date of resuming Debate on, *July 14*, 144.
Russo-Japanese War—Seizure and Detention of the "Malacca," Information as to, etc., *July 22*, 951.

Aden
Warneford, Captain, Murder of—Efforts made to arrest Murderer, etc.
Q. Sir E. Sassoon; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 28*, 1451.

Admiralty
First Lord—Earl of Selborne.
Financial Secretary—Mr. E. G. Pretyman.

Africa, East
Alien Settlement — East African Syndicate.
Native Labour, Rate of Wages for.
Q. Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 18*, 260, 261.
Terms of Lease, Grazing Rights of the Masai, etc.
Q. Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 18*, 260, 261.

[*cont.*

Africa, East—*cont.*
British Protectorates.
Bagge, Sub Commissioner, Reason for Transfer of.
Q. Master of Elibank ; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 18*, 268.
State of—Memorandum Presented, *July 19*, 387, 406.
Concessions in—Return Presented, *July 19*, 387, 406.
Delagoa Bay—Protection of Transvaal Interest in Pier and Land at Lorenço Marquez.
Q. Master of Elibank ; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1042.
Steamship Communication with—German East African Company, Arrangement with, proposed.
Q. Mr. C. Wason ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1046.
Uganda, *see that title.*

Africa, South
Banks.
Claim of, for compensation for Specie commandeered by the late South African Republic—Correspondence with Standard Bank, &c.
Q. Sir E. Flower; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 28*, 1455.
Boers, Repatriation of.
Expenditure on—Audit of Accounts, &c.
Q. Mr. B. Roberts ; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 18*, 252.
Fund for—Claim of Mr. W. B. Watson for commandeered goods, reason for disallowance, etc.
Q. Mr. E. Robertson ; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 19*, 408.
Stores sold by Colonel Morgan—Action of War Office, Text of Agreement with Messrs. Wilson & Worthington, &c
Qs. Mr. S. McNeill; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 25*, 1039; *July 28*, 1458-1459.
Q. Mr. S. McNeill; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1043.
Constabulary—Conditions of Service, unpopularity of the Force, etc.
Os. Sir C. Dilke, *July 14*, 93; Lord Monkswell, *July 21*, 732.
Cotton Cultivation, Encouragement of.
Q. Sir S. King ; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1043-1044.
Development of—Loans and free grants voted by British Parliament since 1850.
Q. Mr. J. Ellis ; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 18*, 262, 263.
Freights to
Classification of British and American Goods, differences in.
Os. Earl Grey, *July 19*, 395.

Africa, South—*cont.*
Freights to—*cont.*
Morgan, Mr. B., and Mr. Birchenough; Evidence of,
O. Earl Grey, *July 19*, 399.
Quantities and description of manufactured goods exported from United Kingdom, and America to South Africa, and freights charged, etc.—Return proposed.
Os. Earl Grey, *July 19*, 395–402; Lord Wolverton, 402, 403; Earl of Rosebery, Marquess of Lansdowne, 403.
Value, Total, of exports from New York, increase in.
O. Earl Grey, *July 19*, 397, 398.
Garrison in.
Cost of maintenance, expenditure on barracks and hutments, &c.
Qs. Mr. Whitley ; *As.* Mr. B. Davenport, *July 26*, 1203–1204, References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 28*, 1487, 1494.
Necessity for maintaining.
O. Maj. Seely, *July 21*, 867.
Reduction of, proposals as to
Os. Sir C. Dilke, *July 14*, 93 ; Mr. Bryce, Mr. Arnold-Forster, 113.
Soldiers, Sentences on, at Pretoria—Mitigation proposed.
Qs. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 19*, 414.
Gold mines, Life of—Basis of calculation for profit tax.
Qs. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Markham; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 19*, 414.
Intercolonial Council—Receipts and Expenditure for 1903–4.
Q. Mr. Buchanan; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 761, 762.
Rhodesia, Importation of Chinese Labour to—Resolution of Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia, alleged.
Q. Mr. H. Samuel; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 761.
Stores sold by Col. Morgan—Action of War Office, Text of Agreement with Messrs. Wilson and Worthington, etc.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill ; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 25*, 1039 ; *July 28*, 1458, 1459.
Q. Mr. S. MacNeill ; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1043.
Transvaal, Orange River Colony, Cape Colony, etc., *see those titles.*

Africa, West
Cotton Cultivation, Encouragement of.
Q. Sir S. King ; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1043–1044.
Gold Coast Colony — Tarkwa-Sekondi-Kumasia Railway, Goods rates on.
Q. Mr. McArthur ; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 27*, 1324, 1325.
Nigeria, *see that title.*

Agriculture

Chicory, Cultivation and drying of, in Great Britain and Belgium—Report presented, *July 15*, 146, 155.

Condition of, burdens imposed on, etc.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 28*, 1498, 1523, 1536.

Foreign Countries, State Aid in—Reports proposed.

Qs. Mr. A. K. Loyd; *As.* Earl Percy, *July 28*, 1466.

Products, Exportation of, from Foreign Countries — Return showing total value of, Ordered, *July 19*, 407.

Agriculture, Board of

President—Earl of Onslow.

Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department, Ireland

President—Mr. G. Wyndham.

Longford—Appointment of Agricultural instructor.

Q. Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1054.

Statistics and Report for 1903 presented, *July 28*, 1432, 1443.

Superintendent of Statistical Section, position of—Filling vacancy.

Q. Mr. Hayden; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1175, 1176.

Veterinary Branch.

Memorial of Officers—Text of Reply, etc.

Q. Mr. Delany; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 423.

Pension Claims.

Portal Veterinary Inspectors, Case of.

Q. Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1213, 1214.

Treasury Decision.

Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1341.

Transfer to Merrion Street proposed.

Q. Mr. Delany; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1218.

Ainsworth, Mr. J. S. [Argyll]

Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 20*, 558.

Unclaimed Dividend Account, realisation of, *July 20*, 558.

Airdrie Corporation Gas Order Confirmation Bill

l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Alcohol

Exemption from duty of Alcohol used for Manufacturing purposes and Motive power, proposed.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 673, 675; *July 25*, 1105–1121.

Alcohol—*cont.*

Exemption from duty—*cont.*

Committee of Inquiry, appointment of, proposed.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1107, 1110, 1115, 1117, 1118.

Special regulations for purposes of, proposed.

Q. Col. Denny; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 21*, 755.

Price, Current, in Great Britain, France, Germany and Belgium.

Q. Col. Denny; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 26*, 1197.

Alexandra (Newport and South Wales) Docks and Railway Bill

c. *Con.* July 22*, 940.

3R.* *July 26*, 1187.

Algeria

Trade Report presented, *July 21*, 677.

Aliens

Immigration Returns, Unreliability of, alleged.

Q. Maj. Evans Gordon; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 18*, 271, 272.

Number Arriving for settlement in the United Kingdom during the last six months, etc.

Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 22*, 943.

Prisons, British, number in.

Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 14*, 416.

"Allanton," s.s.

Seizure of, by Russian Cruiser—Obtaining Official Statement as to Grounds of Condemnation, etc.

Q. Mr. Runciman; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 14*, 48–49.

Allen, Mr. C. P. [Gloucestershire, Stroud]

Finance Bill, *Com. July 19*, 474.

Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 474.

America

see United States of America.

Ancient Monuments, Ireland

Number inspected in 1903–4, Expenditure on repairs, etc.

Qs. Sir T. Esmonde; *As.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 18*, 253; *July 25*, 1027.

Anderson, Constable, Case of

see under Constabulary, Royal Irish.

Anglo-French Convention

see France—Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain.

Animals
Cruelty to, in Roscommon—Number of sentences of imprisonment during past five years, etc.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 283.

Animals
Dogs, *see that title.*

Animals
Experiments on.
Anaesthetics, Administration of—Authority present at operations to supervise.
Q. Dr. Shipman; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 15*, 158.

Cancer, Dogs Inoculated with, Examination of Specimens, etc.
O. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 22*, 944.

Consecutive Experiments on the same Animal, number of, in 1903.
Q. Dr. Shipman; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 15*, 158, 159.

Drowning and Resuscitation of Dogs, Result of Professor Schäfer's Experiments in.
Q. Col. Lockwood; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 21*, 748, 749.

Licences for Dogs kept for Vivisection purposes.
Q. Dr. Shipman; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 21*, 749.

Number performed in 1903.
Q. Dr. Shipman; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 15*, 158–9.

Number of Dogs Vivisected at University College in 1903.
Q. Dr. Shipman; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 22*, 944.

Horses, *see that title.*

Slaughtering of, Humane Methods of—Date of Committee Report.
Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; *A.* Mr. A. Lee, *July 22*, 947.

Swine Fever in Scotland—Alteration of Local Regulations as to Free Movement Area, proposed.
Q. Master of Elibank; *A.* Mr. A. Fellowes, *July 19*, 409.

Anson, Sir W. R.—*Parliamentary Secretary, Board of Education* [Oxford University]

Education [Local Authority Default] Bill, 2R., *July 15*, 189, 194, 201, 208–212.

Geological Survey—Drift Maps, Number of Completed, Number of Publications contemplated, etc., *July 15*, 157–8.

Girls' Public Day School Company, Regulations as to continuance of Grant to, *July 26*, 1210.

Anson, Sir W. R.—*cont.*
Schools.
Haywards Heath, Increase of Accommodation at — Erection of Additional School Proposed, *July 21*, 753–754.
Kendal Grammar School—Inspection of Art Instruction, Reason for Dismissal of Headmaster, etc., *July 15*, 156–7, *July 26*, 1194.
Voluntary.
Isle of Wight—Agreement with County Council as to Transfer of Schools, *July 21*, 773.
Transfer of—Number transferred since Act of 1902, *July 21*, 773–774.
Technical Instruction — Return as to Officials employed by English County Boroughs, proposed, *July 26*, 1210–1211.

Anthropometry
Bertillon System, Regulations as to Introduction of, into Irish Prisons.
Qs. Mr. MacVeagh; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 275, 276.

Arbroath Corporation Water Order Confirmation Bill
l. 3R.* *July 22*, 889.

"Ardova"
Detention and Search of, by Russian Cruisers — Alleged breach of International Law.
Os. Marquess of Lansdowne, *July 28*, 1435; Mr. Runciman, 1481; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 1482.

Argentina
British Consul, Removal of Canadian flag ordered by, alleged—British Government action as to, etc.
Q. Mr. C. Devlin; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 26*, 1207–1208.
Cattle, Importation of, into Great Britain —Removal of Restrictions on, proposed, to prevent United States Butchers' strikes inducing meat famine.
Q. Mr. Houston; *A.* Mr. A. Fellowes, *July 15*, 160.

Armagh, Keady and Castleblayney Railway
Delay in Construction, alleged.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 42.

Army
Secretary of State—Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster.
Under-Secretary—Earl of Donoughmore.
Financial Secretary—Mr. W. Bromley-Davenport.
Africa, South, *see that title*—Garrison.
"Aquatics," Expenditure on, reduction of, proposed.
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 80; Sir J. Colomb, 99.

[cont.

Army—*cont.*

Army Corps System.

Attacks on.
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 73, 74; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 87; Sir C. Dilke, 95.

Rescinding Resolution as to, proposed.
Qs. Mr. C. Hobhouse, Capt. Norton; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 19*, 427.

Artillery.

Changes in organisation of.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 72.

Garrison—Proposals as to, under the new scheme.
Os. Sir J. Colomb, *July 14*, 99; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 115.

Longford, Force stationed at—Promotion of Private of whom complaint had been made.
Q. Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 25*, 1039–1040.

Re-armament of — Estimates for 1905-6 and 1906–7, Estimated increase in.
Qs. Mr. Goddard; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 21*, 759, 760; *July 22*, 944, 945.

Reserve, Creation of.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 73.

Auxiliary Forces.

(*See also titles* Militia, Volunteers, *and* Yeomanry.)

Royal Commission on—Correspondence with Government Departments.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 57.

Barracks.

Changes in Construction of.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 72; Lord Heneage, *July 21*, 701; Earl of Donoughmore, 720.

Shamble Barracks, Galway, Name of Regiment occupying, etc.
Q. Mr. C. Devlin; *A.* Mr. B. Davenport, *July 18*, 285, 286.

Clonaslee, Cut Road, Closure of—Compensation to Residents, etc.
Q. Mr. Delany; *A.* Mr. B. Davenport, *July 14*, 47.

Commands, Division of the Country into, proposed.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 74.

Compulsory Military Service, *see that title.*

Contracts.

Boots, Orders given for, Compliance with Fair Wages Resolution, etc.
Q. Mr. Shackleton; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 19*, 411.

Orders, Allocation of.
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 22*, 949.

Army—*cont.*

Cost of the Home Service Soldier on mobilisation.
O. Earl of Donoughmore, *July 21*, 725.

Defence of the Empire, *see that title.*

Depots.

Establishment of, for Home Service Army, proposed.
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 73; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 85; Lord Harris, *July 21*, 710; Earl of Donoughmore, 714.

Regimental, Abolition of.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 63.

Distribution of Men at Home and Abroad, Proposals as to.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 113.

Dundonald, Lord, *see that title.*

Establishment, Deductions in, Details of.
Os. Mr. Guest, *July 14*, 109; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 115.

Exchanges—Linked Battalion System, Preservation of, for purposes of.
Os. Lord Heneage, *July 21*, 700, 701; Earl of Donoughmore, 714, 715.

Expenditure on.

Amount of, Necessity for Reduction, etc.
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 55, 59, 66, 67, 79, 80, 115; Sir C. Dilke, 96; Mr. C. Hobhouse, 105; Lord Burghclere, *July 21*, 682.

Increase in, References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 28*, 1487, 1496, 1508, 1513, 1514, 1518–1520, 1525, 1529, 1533, 1562.

Military Works Act, Amount Expended under, in 1903–4, Estimate for Current Financial Year, etc.
Qs. Mr. E. Robertson; *As.* Mr. B. Davenport, *July 21*, 766, 767.

Foreign Service.

Length of, for each unit.
Os. Lord Harris, *July 21*, 709; Earl of Donoughmore, 716.

Recruits for, Falling off in, Rate of Pay, etc.
Os. Lord Denman, *July 21*, 694, 695.

General Service Battalions—Quartering in their own territory, proposed.
Os. Lord Harris, *July 21*, 709; Earl of Donoughmore, 717.

Guard rooms — Sleeping accommodation, Improvment in.
Q. Mr. Colston; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 21*, 759.

[*cont*

Army—*cont.*

Guards.

Recruiting for, falling off in, 64.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 64.

Re-engagements, number during first six months in 1903 and 1904 respectively.
Q. Sir J. Fergusson, *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 21*, 766.

Guns.

Reserve of—Summary of recommendations of Inter-Departmental Committee of 1900, presented, *July 28*, 1432, 1442.

War trophies, Distribution of—Refusal of London County Council to take charge of Guns allotted to London
Q. Mr. Whitmore; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 26*, 1200–1201.

Home Battalions—Number and Strength of, under new scheme.
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, 70, 71; Mr. Guest, *July 14*, 111.

Horses suffering from Epizootic Lymphangitis, Step staken to stamp out disease, Number of stations at which outbreaks have occurred, &c.
Q. Mr. H. Fisher; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 28*, 1452.

Inadequacy of, in composition and numbers etc.
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 55, 57, 58; Mr. C. Hobhouse, 105.

India, *see under* India.

Infantry, Uniform of, Smartening, proposed.
O. Vis. Hardinge, *July 21*, 697.

Kilbride Canteen Licence, Action of Magistrate in signing.
Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 275.

Line Regiments, reduction in, proposed.
O. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 70.

Linked Battalions System, abolition of, proposed.
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 63, 73; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 84, 85, 88; Sir C. Dilke, 92, 93; Col. Pilkington, 107; Lord Heneage, *July 21*, 699–701, 704; Earl of Donoughmore, 713, 714; Marquess of Lansdowne, 736, 737.

Medical Corps, Royal Army.

Probationers between 1880 and 1885, permission to, to count time spent at Netley as part of Army service, proposed.
Q. Dr. Thompson; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 21*, 759.

Promotions—Responsibility of Advisory Board.
Q. Dr. Thompson: *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 27*, 1330, 1331.

Army—*cont.*

Militia, Volunteers, Yeomanry, *see those titles.*

Mounted Troops, Increase in number of, necessity for.
Os. Sir C. Dilke, *July 14*, 95; Col. Pilkington, 107.

Mowatt Committee Report, Date of presenting.
Q. Mr. Buchanan; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 27*, 1323.

Officers.

Colonial Forces, Command of—Prevention of Public Statements on Colonial Defence by Imperial Officers.
Q. Mr. Markham; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 786.

Communication with, by Members of the House—Function of Minister as Intermediary, &c.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill, Mr. Delany; *As.* Mr. Speaker, *July 25*, 1040.

Second Lieutenants, Pay of, &c.—Increasing Pay and Reducing Expenses, proposed.
Q. Mr. Markham; *A.* Mr. B. Davenport, *July 14*, 31–32;

Q. Mr. Markham; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 19*, 413.

Supply of, Inadequacy of.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 64.

Oversea Battalions, Cost of Upkeep and Maintenance of.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 69.

Pensions, Special, Return as to, presented, *July 21*, 677, 746.

Prisons in Ireland, Provision of Robes, etc., for Chaplains of—Allowing Privilege to Roman Catholics.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy: *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 30–31.

Recruiting.

Betterment of—Report of late Inspector-General of Recruiting.
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 25*, 1038–1039.

Desertions by Recruits during year ended July 14, 1904.
Qs. Mr. C. Hobhouse, Mr. Pirie; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 28*, 1459, 1460.

London District Headquarters, Removal of—Negotiations for new Site.
Q. Sir W. Foster; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 18*, 262.

Number of Recruits Required and Inducements offered, etc.
Os. Earl of Donoughmore, *July 21*, 717–719, 729; Lord Monkswell, 728–732.

[*cont.*

Army—*cont.*
- Recruiting—*cont.*
  - Reform Proposals as to.
    - *Q.* Mr. Lambert; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 27*, 1332.
  - Returns for 1903-4, comparison with 1898-99, &c.
    - *Qs.* Mr. C. Hobhouse, Sir J. Fergusson; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 21*, 764-766.
  - Vision Tests, Report of Committee on—Recommendations, &c.
    - *Q.* Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 25*, 1038.
- Reform Proposals.
  - "Blue Water" School Theory the bed-rock of the scheme.
    - *Os* Lord Burghclere, *July 21*, 684, 685; Lord Heneage, 699.
  - Date of Resuming Debate on.
    - *Q.* Mr. W. Churchill; *A.* Sir. A. Acland-Hood, *July 14*, 143, 144.
  - Esher Committee Report, Terms of.
    - *O.* Lord Denman, *July 21*, 691.
  - Facilities for further Discussion of.
    - *Os.* Viscount Hardinge, Marquess of Lansdowne, *July 19*, 388; Earl Spencer, 389.
  - Financial Effect, Statement of, proposed.
    - *Q.* Mr. Buchanan; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 19*, 413
    - *Qs.* Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 21*, 763.
    - *Q.* Mr. Buchanan; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 27*, 1323.
  - Indian Army, Drafts for—Conditions as to age, &c.
    - *Q.* Mr. McCrae; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 22*, 945.
  - Memorandum as to.
    - Tabling.
      - *Os.* Mr. M. Ferguson, *July 14*, 100, 101; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 113.
    - Terms of, opportunity for discussion, etc.
      - *Os.* Lord Burghclere, *July 21*, 680, 681, 684, 687; Earl Roberts, 695, 696; Marquess of Lansdowne, 734, 735; Earl Spencer, 738.
  - Recruiting, Particulars as to.
    - *Q.* Mr. Lambert; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 27*, 1332.
  - Statement.
    - Consideration of, date of resuming.
      - *Qs.* Mr. W. Churchill; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 289, 290. *Q.* Captain Norton; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 27*, 1346.

Army—*cont.*
- Reform Proposals—*cont.*
  - Statement—*cont.*
    - Discussion of, opportunities for.
      - *Qs.* Mr. Buchanan; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 292.
  - Summary of Speech of Secretary of State for War, presented, *July 15*, 146, 155.
- Reliefs, Arrangements as to.
  - *O.* Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, *July 14*, 86.
- Reserve.
  - Effect on, of proposed changes in term of enlistments.
    - *O.* Sir C. Dilke, *July 14*, 92.
  - Mobilisation of.
    - Occasions, number of, since 1880, on which Reserves have been called out, percentage joining, total number of troops employed, etc.
      - *Q.* Mr. C. Hobhouse; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 21*, 760, 761.
    - System of.
      - *O.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 60, 61.
  - Number of Reservists available on 1st October, 1899.
    - *Q.* Mr. C. Hobhouse; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 22*, 949.
  - Strength of.
    - *O.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 114.
    - *Q.* Mr. C. Hobhouse; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 28*, 1460.
- Rifle Clubs, War Office grant to.
  - *Os.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 79; Earl of Donoughmore, *July 21*, 726.
- Rifle Ranges, *see that title.*
- Rifles, new pattern.
  - Barrel, new pattern of, experiments with.
    - *Os.* Lord Tweedmouth, *July 14*, 8, 9; Earl of Donoughmore, 16.
  - Bisley, facilities for trying at.
    - *Os.* Lord Tweedmouth, *July 14*, 8, 13; Earl of Donoughmore, 15.
  - Experiments with, information as to.
    - *Os.* Lord Tweedmouth, *July 14*, 8, 9; Earl of Donoughmore, 15, 16.
  - Explosive, new, experiments with.
    - *Os.* Lord Tweedmouth, *July 14*, 9, 12; Earl of Donoughmore, 16.
  - Mounted Troops—Facilities for carrying Rifle, progress made with.
    - *Os.* Lord Tweedmouth, *July 14*, 10, 11, 18; Earl of Donoughmore, 15, Earl of Erroll, 16; Earl of Wemyss, 18.

[*cont.*

Army—*cont.*

Rifles, New Pattern—*cont.*

Muzzle velocity of, as compared with those of France and Germany.
Os. Lord Tweedmouth, *July 14*, 11, 12, 18; Earl of Donoughmore, 15.

Orders for, placed at Enfield, Birmingham, etc, Extent of and amount of delivery.
Os. Lord Tweedmouth, *July 14*, 9; Eral of Donoughmore, 16.

Papers relating to, Tabling, proposed.
Os. Lord Tweedmouth, *July 14*, 9, 13, 17; Earl of Donoughmore, 14, 18.

Range of.
Os. Lord Tweedmouth, *July 14*, 12; Earl of Donoughmore, 15; Earl of Erroll, 16, 17.

Wind Gauge, Uselessness of.
O. Earl of Erroll, *July 16*, 17.

Sandhurst Royal Military College—Shooting record of Cadets, inferiority of, attributable to defective eyesight, alleged.
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 25*, 1037–1038.

Scottish Horse, Cause of Delay in Distribution of War Medals to.
Q. Mr. McCrae; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 31.

Soldiers.

Employment of in civil life, after leaving the Army, Chances of.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 62; Viscount Hardinge, *July 21*, 698; Earl of Donoughmore, 719.

Infantry—Number, Years of Service, etc., on 1st October, 1899.
Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 28*, 1456.

Stores, Reserve of, Summary of recommendations of inter-Departmental Committee of 1900, Presented, *July 28*, 1432, 1442.

Strength of.
O. Mr Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 68.

Striking Force, Establishment of, proposed.
Os. Mr Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 60, 73, 81; Sir J. Colomb, 98; Lord Harris, *July 21*, 708; Earl of Donoughmore, 716.

Terms of Service under the new proposals.
Os. Mr Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 81, 91; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 86; Sir C. Dilke, 91, 94; Lord Harris, *July 21*, 708; Earl of Donoughmore, 712, 713, 719; Lord Monkswell, 730–732.

Territorial Battalions.

Composition of.
Os. Lord Burghclere, *July 21*, 685; Lord Heneage, 702, 703; Earl of Donoughmore, 720.

Army—*cont.*

Territorial Battalions—*cont.*

Quartering in their Own Territory, proposed.
O. Mr Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 71.

Three Years' Service System.

Extensions of Service — Statement showing Number of, Presented, *July 21*, 677, 746.

Failure of, Number of Men Extending, etc.
Os. Mr Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 61, 62; Mr M. Ferguson, 101, Earl Spencer, *July 21*, 739, 740.

Vote, Date of Taking.
Qs. Mr. W. Churchill; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 290, 292.
Qs. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 787.

War Office, *see that title.*

Army Council Bill

l. 1R.* *July 26*, 1179.

Army Estimates

Expenditure for Current Year.
Qs. Mr. Lambert, Mr. Lough; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 27*, 1331, 1332.

Increase, Estimated, under Re-armament Scheme in 1905–6 and 1906–7.
Qs. Mr. Goddard; *As.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 21*, 759, 760, *July 22*, 944–945.

War Office, Salaries and Miscellaneous Charges—£331,000, *Com.*, *July 14*, 51.

Arnold-Forster, Mr. H. O.—*Secretary of State for War* [Belfast, W.]

Africa South, Garrison in.

Reduction of, Proposals as to, *July 14*, 113.

Stores sold by Col. Morgan, Action by the War Office as to, *July 25*, 1039; *July 28*, 1459.

"Aquatics," Expenditure on, Reduction of, proposed, *July 14*, 80.

Army Corps System, Attacks on, *July 14*, 73, 74.

Artillery.

Changes in organisation of, creation of a Reserve, etc., *July 14*, 72, 73.

Garrison—Changes in constitution of, etc., *July 14*, 115.

Longford, force stationed at—Promotion of Private of whom complaint had been made, *July 25*, 1040.

Re-armament of—Estimeted Increase in estimates for 1905–6, and 1906–7; *July 1*, 760; *July 22*, 945.

Reserve, creation of, *July 14*, 73.

[*cont.*

Arnold-Forster, Mr. H. O.—*cont.*
- Auxiliary Forces, Royal Commission on—Correspondence with Government Departments, *July 14*, 57.
- Barracks, Changes in Construction of, *July 14*, 72.
- Commands, Division of the Country into, proposed, *July 14*, 74.
- Committee of Defence, Value of Work of, *July 14*, 69.
- Composition and Strength of the Army, Inadequacy of, *July 14*, 55, 57, 58.
- Compulsory Service—Financial Aspect of the Proposal, *July 14*, 68.
- Contracts.
  - Boots, Orders given for, Compliance with Fair Wages Resolution, etc., *July 19*, 411.
  - Orders, Allocation of, *July 22*, 949.
- Cost of the Army, *July 14*, 55, 59, 66 67, 79, 80, 115.
- Depôts.
  - Establishment of, proposed, *July 14*, 73.
  - Regimental, Abolition of, *July 14*, 63.
- Distribution of Men at Home and Abroad, *July 14*, 113.
- Dundonald, Lord—Dismissal from Canadian Militia, and Agitation against Canadian Government, *July 19*, 490, 491, 493, 495.
  - Date of Recall, Power to enforce Order, etc., *July 22*, 947.
- Estimates.
  - Current year, for, *July 27*, 1331.
  - Increase in, under Re-armament Scheme in 1905-6 and 1906-7, *July 21*, 760; *July 22*, 945.
- Guard rooms—Sleeping Accommodation, Improvement in, *July 21*, 759.
- Guards.
  - Recruiting for, Falling off in, *July 14*, 64.
  - Re-engagements, Number of, in first six months of 1903 and 1904, *July 21*, 766.
- Home Battalions, Re-organisation of, *July 14*, 70, 71, 72.
- Horses, suffering from Epizootic lymphangitis—Steps taken to stamp out infection—Number of Stations at which outbreaks have occurred, *July 28*, 1452.
- India.
  - Drafts for—Conditions under Reform Proposals, *July 22*, 945.
  - Expenditure — Estimate for current year, *July 27*, 1331, 1332.
  - Fever, Dum-dum and Malarial—Progress of Investigation as to Mode of Infection, etc., *July 26*, 1201.
  - Re-engagements, Number of, *July 28*, 1460.

Arnold-Forster, Mr. H. O.—*cont.*
- Line Regiments, Reduction in, proposed, *July 14*, 70.
- Linked Battalions System, Abolition of, *July 14*, 63.
- Medical Corps, Royal Army.
  - Probationers between 1880 and 1885 to count time spent at Netley as part of Army Service, proposed, *July 21*, 759.
  - Promotions – Responsibility of Advisory Board for, *July 27*, 1331.
- Militia.
  - Conversion of, into Territorial Battalions, proposed, *July 14*, 75, 76, 116.
  - Irish Regiments, Reason for Stoppage of Recruiting for, *July 22*, 946.
  - Number of Men Passing into the Line through, *July 14*, 74.
  - Organisation of, Unsatisfactory Nature of, *July 14*, 65.
  - Recruiting.
    - Irish Regiments, Reasons for Stoppage of Recruiting, *July 22*, 946.
    - Returns for 1903-4, *July 21*, 765.
  - Strength of, *July 14*, 65.
  - Training Period, Extension of, and Prevention of Men from Joining Army proposed, *July 22*, 946.
- Mowatt Committee Report, Date of Presenting, *July 27*, 1323.
- Officers.
  - Junior, Pay of, Increase in, proposed, *July 19*, 413.
  - Supply of, Inadequacy of, *July 14*, 64.
- Oversea Battalions, Cost of Upkeep and Maintenance of, *July 14*, 69.
- Prisons, Military, in Ireland, Provision of Robes and Vestments for Chaplains of — Allowing Privilege to Roman Catholics, *July 14*, 30-31.
- Recruiting.
  - Betterment of—Report of late Inspector-General of Recruiting, *July 25*, 1038-1039.
  - Desertions of Recruits during year ended 14 July, 1904, *July 28*, 1459, 1460.
  - London District Headquarters, Removal of— Negotiations for new site, *July 18*, 262.
  - Reform Proposals as to *July 27*, 1332.
  - Returns for 1903-4, Comparison with 1898-99, etc., *July 21*, 765-766.
  - Vision tests, Report of Committee on —Recommendations, etc., *July 25*, 1038.

[*cont.*

Arnold-Forster, Mr. H. O.—*cont.*

Reform proposals.

Financial effect of, Statement as to proposed, *July 19*, 413 ; *July 21*, 763 ; *July 27*, 1323.

Indian Army, Drafts for, Conditions as to age, etc., *July 22*, 945.

Memorandum as to, Tabling, *July 14*, 113.

Recruiting, Particulars as to, *July 27*, 1332.

Reserves.

Mobilisation of.

Occasions, number of, since 1880 on which Reserves have been called out, percentage joining, total number of troops employed, etc., *July 21*, 760, 761.

System of, *July 14*, 60, 61.

Number of Reservists available on 1st October, 1899, *July 22*, 949.

Strength of, July 14, 113 ; *July 28*, 1460.

Rifle Clubs, Grant to, *July 14*, 79.

Rifle Ranges, Protected, Construction of—Result of experiments as to safety, etc., *July 28*, 1455.

Sandhurst, Royal Military College—Shooting record of cadets — Inferiority attributable to defective eyesight, alleged, *July 25*, 1038.

Scottish Horse, Cause of Delay in distributing War Medals to, *July 14*, 31.

Soldiers.

Employment of, in civil life, after leaving the Army, *July 14*, 62.

Infantry, Number, years of service, etc., on 1st October, 1899, *July 28*, 1456.

South African War.

Lambart, Capt. Harry, arrest and cashiering of—Inquiry as to reason proposed, *July 26*, 1202.

Militia Reserves—Number Called up, Number engaged at Colenso, Pieter's Hill and Spion Kop, etc., *July 26*, 1200.

Witton, Lieut., Revision of sentence on, proposed, *July 19*, 413.

Strength of the Army, *July 14*, 68.

Striking Force, establishment of, proposed, *July 14*, 60, 73, 81.

Terms of Service under the new proposals, *July 14*, 81, 91.

Territorial Battalions, quartering in their own territory, proposed, *July 14*, 71.

Three years' service system, Failure of, number of men extending, etc ; *July 14*, 61, 62,

Arnold Forster, Mr. H. O.—*cont.*

Volunteers.

Camps—Orderly room, provision of tent for use as, proposed, *July 28*, 1453.

Establishment, Reduction in proposed, *July 14*, 77, 116.

Grant to, proposed increase in, *July 14*, 78.

Home District, Strength of corps in, on 1st July, 1901, & 1st July, 1904, number of officers, &c., *July 15*, 162-5.

Norfolk Commission recommendations, Adoption of, *July 28*, 1458.

Reduction of—Particulars as to proposals, *July 21*, 766.

Review in Hyde Park, proposed, *July 26*, 1201.

Transport, Grant for, *July 14*, 79.

War Office.

Decentralisation in, *July 14*, 59, 81.

Intelligence Department, increase in, *July 14*, 59, 81.

War Trophies—Guns allotted to London, London County Council refusal to take charge, etc., *July 26*, 1201.

Arsenical Poisoning.

Commission, Royal, on—Recommendation of.

Q. Mr. MacVeagh ; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 25*, 1065.

Artillery

See under Army.

Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. H., [Fifeshire, E.]

Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1236 ; *July 27*, 1390.

Sittings of the House—All night Sitting.

Procedure as to Business of succeeding day, *July 20*, 662, 665.

Resumption of the Chair by Mr. Speaker before conclusion of Sitting, *July 20*, 662, 663.

Assam

Excise Administration, Allegations against—Date of Presenting Report, etc.

Q. Mr. H. Roberts ; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 27*, 1335.

Tea Plantations, Facilities for Education of Labourer's children.

Q. Sir M. Bhownaggree ; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 28*, 1464.

Assizes

Cork Summer Assizes — Challenging of jurors.

Q. Mr. Flynn ; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *July 25*, 1057, 1058.

Winter, Orders in Council relating to, Presented, *July 22*, 889, 942.

Atherley-Jones, Mr. L. [Durham, N.W.]
  Coal, Export Duty on, Effect of, on the Trade and Wages of Miners, etc., *July 22*, 988–990.
  Finance Bill, *con.*, *July 22*, 988.

Atkinson Rt. Hon. J.—*Attorney-General for Ireland.* [Londonderry, N.]
  Cork Summer Assizes — Challenging of Jurors, *July 25*, 1057–1058.
  Lisnagade Disturbance, Prosecution for, etc., *July 28*, 1477.
  Rathmines Registration List, Illegal Interference with—Identification and Prosecution of Offenders, *July 21*, 774; *July 27*, 1338.
  Tenelich — Re-instatement of Evicted Tenant, *July 27*, 1338, 1339.

Attorney-General
  Sir Robert B. Finlay.

Attorney-General for Ireland
  Mr. J. Atkinson.

Aughnamullen, East
  Band at—Action of Constable Creaghan, as to.
    Q. Mr. McKean; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 30.

Australia
  Development of—Loans and Free Grants Voted by British Parliament since 1850.
    Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 18*, 262, 263.

Austria-Hungary
  Trade Report, Presented, *July 25*, 1011.

Avoch
  Harbour Works, Decision as to Grant for.
    Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 21*, 753.

Bahamas
  Prisons—Rule as to Personal Correction of Prisoners, Presented, *July 21*, 747; *July 22*, 889.

Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill
  l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 939.

Balcarres, Lord [Lancashire, Chorley]
  Berwick-on-Tweed, Preservation of Historic Walls—Progress of Arrangements, *July 25*, 1029.
  Cement, Foreign, use of, in Government Works—Use of British made Cement only, proposed, *July 19*, 417.
  Parliament—House of Commons—Stokers and Enginemen, Wages of, *July* 28, 1446.

Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.—*First Lord of the Treasury* [Manchester, E.]
  Aliens, Number of, Arriving for settlement in the United Kingdom during the last six months, etc., *July 22*, 943.
  Army.
    Army Corps Scheme, Rescinding Resolution as to, proposed, *July 19*, 427.
    Officers—Colonial Forces, Command of—Prevention of Public Statements as to Colonial Defence, *July 21*, 786.
    Reform Proposals—Discussion, Opportunity for, *July 18*, 289, 290, 292; *July 27*, 1346.
  Arsenical Poisoning, Recommendations of Royal Commission on, *July 25*, 1065.
  Budget, Discussions on, unusual length of, *July 20*, 627.
  Business of the House, Course of, *July 14*, 51; *July 18*, 294, 295; *July 21*, 787, 788; *July 25*, 1065–1066; *July 26*, 1227–1228; *July 27*, 1346, 1347.
  Civil Service Estimates.
    Education Vote, Date of taking, *July 26*, 1225.
    Ireland—Opportunity for discussing, *July 26*, 1227; *July 27*, 1347.
  Coal Tax, Opportunity for discussion of, *July 20*, 534, 535, 538–540, 580.
  Colonial Office Vote, Date of taking, *July 18*, 287, 292.
  Companies, Public, Ministers as paid Directors of, alleged, *July 21*, 784.
  Congested Districts (Scotland) Bill, Date of proceeding with, *July 22*, 946.
  Consolidated Fund—Ways and Means, Amount of, remaining unissued, *July*, *14*, 49.
  Contraband of War—Non-contraband goods on vessels carrying Contraband of War—Memorandum as to International Law, proposed, *July 28*, 1456.
  Criminal Aliens Bill, Facilities for passage of, proposed—Rejection of suggested arrangement by Committee, etc., *July 18*, 288.
  Defence of the Empire, Forces necessary for, *July 28*, 1479.
  "Dmitri Donskoi" Russian Warship, Coaling, at British Port, False declaration by Captain, etc., *July 28*, 1457.
  Dogs Bill, Date of taking, *July 19*, 427.
  Education [Local Authority Default] Bill, 2R., *July 15*, 168, 174, 181-183, 188.
  Education (Scotland) Bill, Date of resuming discussion on, *July 26*, 1225.
  Estimates, Supplementary, Date of Introduction of, *July 21*, 785–786.

[*cont.*

Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.—*cont.*

- Finance Bill.
  - *Com.*, *July 20*, 533, 534, 538-541, 579, 580, 585, 627, 628.
  - Date of taking, *July 25*, 1066.
  - Motions to report progress, *July 20*, 533, 579, 627.
- Fiscal Policy—Free Trade *v.* Protection.
  - Food, Taxation of, Government Policy as to—Vote of Censure, Motion for—Opportunity for discussion, *July 18*, 292-295; *July 19*, 428.
  - Government Policy at the next General Election, *July 15*, 165.
  - Preferential Tariffs, etc.—Document alleged to have been brought before the Cabinet in 1903, Tabling, proposed, *July 21*, 785.
- France—Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain.
  - Convention, Date of Ratification of, etc., *July 18*, 286.
  - Newfoundland Government, Concurrence of, *July 18*, 287.
- Gambling, Commercial Prevention of—Inquiry, proposed, *July 28*, 1478.
- Home Office Vote, Date of taking, *July 18*, 263.
- Imperial Service Medal, Regulations as to Recommending, *July 28*, 1479.
- Indian Budget, Date of Taking, *July 28*, 1483, 1484.
- Irish Estimates, Date of Taking, *July 28*, 1482.
- Kruger, Late Mr., Burial Place of—Removal to Transvaal, Permission of British Government, etc., *July 18*, 289.
- Law Courts, Congestion of Business in, alleged, *July 21*, 784.
- Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1314; *July 27*, 1350, 1351, 1353, 1354, 1359, 1389, 1412, 1414, 1416.
- "Malacca," Detention and Search of, by Russian Cruiser in the Red Sea—Inquiry, etc., *July 21*, 786, 787, 884; *July 22*, 999.
- Navy.
  - Estimates, Date of Taking, *July 26*, 1225.
  - Flogging in — Discussion on Navy Estimates, proposed, *July 26*, 1215.
  - Officers—Colonial Forces, Command of—Prevention of Public Statements as to Colonial Defence, *July 21*, 786.
- Parliamentary Session, duration of—Sitting during Winter instead of Summer Months Proposed, *July 26*, 1226-1227.
- Physical Deterioration Committee Report, Opportunity for discussing, *July 26*, 1225.

Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J.—*cont.*

- Port of London Bill—Abandonment, Question of—Date of Removal from Order Paper, etc., *July 18*, 288, 289.
- Post Office Vote, Date of Taking, *July 18*, 290, 291.
- Redistribution of Seats—Introduction of Bill, proposed, *July 25*, 1065.
- Russo-Japanese War.
  - Black Sea Volunteer Fleet, Passage of Dardanelles by, Under Commercial Flag, International Law as to, etc., *July 25*, 1061, 1064; *July 26*; 1222-1224.
  - British Vessels, Detention and Search of, by Russian Cruisers—Right of Belligerents to Search Merchant Vessels of Neutral Powers, etc., *July 21*, 786, 787, 884; *July 25*, 1063; *July 27*, 1347; *July 28*, 1479-1482.
    - "Allanton," ss., Seizure of—Obtaining Official Statement as to Grounds of Condemnation, etc., *July 14*, 48-49,
    - "Formosa" and "Ardova"—Question of Compensation, *July 28*, 1482.
    - "Knight Commander," Information as to sinking of, *July 26*, 1224; *July 27*, 1347; *July 28*, 1481.
    - Suez Canal Convention — Provisions as to Prizes of War, *July 25*, 1062.
- Shop Hour's Bill, Date of taking Report Stage of, *July 18*, 289.
- Sittings of the House.
  - Adjournment not later than Eleven o'clock, p.m., proposed, *July 26*, 1226.
  - All Night Sitting.
    - Procedure as to Business of Succeeding Day, *July 20*, 658-665.
    - Resumption of the Chair by Mr. Speaker before Conclusion of Sitting, *July 20*, 663.
- Spirits, Patent Still—Investigation, etc.—Recommendations of Royal Commission on Arsenical Poisoning, *July 25*, 1065.
- Valuation Bill, Government Intentions as to, *July 14*, 49.

Balfour Rt. Hon. G. W.—*President of the Board of Trade* [Leeds, Central.]

- Aliens — Immigration Returns, Unreliability of, Alleged, *July 18*, 272.
- Dock and Harbour Dues, Committee on—Appointment of Representative of Crews, proposed, *July 28*, 1469,
- Emigrant Ships, Life-saving precautions on, Supply of Life-belts, etc., *July 25*, 1026.

[*cont.*

Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W.—*cont.*
- Imperial Institute, Indian Contributions to — Allocation of Income Derived from Endowed Sum, etc., *July 18*, 266.
- Irish Lace, Counterfeit, Manufacture of, in Switzerland, alleged, *July 27*, 1337.
- Lighthouses Fund, General—Date of Presenting Accounts, *July 27*, 1319
- Merchant Shipping.
  - Emigrant Ships, Life-saving Precautions on, Supply of Life-belts, etc. *July 25*, 1026.
  - Seamen.
    - British — Number Unemployed, etc., *July 18*, 257.
    - Foreign on British Vessels.
      - Number Arriving to Ship in British Ports, etc., *July 18*, 257.
      - Restriction on, by Amendment to Merchant Shipping Bill, proposed, *July 15*, 156.
    - "Ras Bera"—Trial of Crew for Insubordination, Finding of Court, etc., *July 26*, 1209.
  - United States Charges on British Vessels Entering American Ports, Reduction in, *July 26*, 1194.
- Piers and Harbours.
  - Avoch Harbour Works, Decision as to grant for, *July 21*, 753.
  - Dues, Harbour and Dock, Committee on—Appointment of Representative of Crews, proposed, *July 28*, 1470.
- Portugal—New Tariff—Representations as to reduction of Duty on Mercerised Goods, *July 25*, 1047.
- Railways.
  - Accidents, Prevention of—Progress as to making Rules, *July 18*, 258.
  - Brakes for Goods Waggons, Experiments as to, *July 18*, 258.
- "Ras Bera"—Trial of crew for insubordination, Finding of Court, etc., *July 26*, 1209.

Balfour of Burleigh, Lord
- Fiscal Proposals—Policy of H.M. Government, etc., *July 22*, 916–923, 927, 928.
- Loch Leven Water Power Bill, 2R. *July 19*, 387.
- London County Council (General Powers) Bill, 2R. *July 19*, 387.
- Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill, *Com.*, *July 15*, 150.
- Second Reading of Bills—Suspension of Sessional Order, *July 28*, 1431.
- Torquay Tramways Bill, 3R. *July 25*, 1005.
- Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment [St. Kilda) Bill, 2R. *July 28*, 1437.

Ballinasloe
- Lunatic Asylum Medical Superintendent—Appointment of Dr. Kirwan in place of Dr. Mills—Correspondence as to, Tabling proposed.
  - *Qs.* Mr. C. Craig, Mr. MacVeagh, Mr. Sloan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 421, 422.

Ballymacrossin
- Fox, Major, Estate of—Reinstatement of Miss Masterson, Evicted Tenant, etc.
  - *Qs.* Mr. Delany; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 42, 43; *July 18*, 279, 280.

Ballynahinch
- Trout Fisheries, Illegal netting in, alleged
  - *Q.* Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1340, 1341.

Banbridge
- Nationalist Band, Parade of, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1199–1200.

Banbury, Sir F. G. [Camberwell, Peckham]
- Finance Bill, 3R. *July 28*, 1540, 1541.

Bandaru Appala Charyulu
- Petition for redress of grievances, Action taken on.
  - *Q.* Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 261.

Banjor Ireland
- Post Office Business, Returns as to, proposed.
  - *Q.* Mr. J. Devlin; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 27*, 1344.

Bankruptcy
- Ireland — Unclaimed Dividend Fund, Amount of, Utilisation, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 21*, 756.

Banks
- Ireland—Loan Fund Banks—Losses of Debenture Holders.
  - *Q.* Dr. Thompson; *A. July 21*, 757.

Bann River, Upper
- Fishing, Illegal, in
  - *Q.* Col. Saunderson; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July* 26th, 1199.

Barnet District Gas and Water Bill
- *l.* Report from Select Committee, *July 14*, 4.
  - 3R.* *July 25*, 1001.

Barran, Mr. R. H. [Leeds, N.]
- Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1250.

Barrow-in-Furness Corporation Bill
- *l.* Commons Amendments, *Con.** *July 14*, 1.
  - Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Barry Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill
- *c.* Rep.*, *July 27*, 1417.

Bartley, Sir G. C. T. [Islington, N.]
Finance Bill, *Con., July 19*, 441, 437, 456.
Con., July 25th, 1081, 1089.
Clauses 4 and 5, Date of coming into force, *July 19*, 431, 437.
Girls' Public Day School Company, Regulations as to continuing Grant to, *July 26*, 1209.
Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 456-458.
Loans—Period of Repayment, Shortening, proposed, *July 25*, 1089.

Bayley, Mr. T. [Derbyshire, Chesterfield]
Dogs Bill, Date of taking, *July 19*, 427.
Nigeria—Royal Niger Company, Purchase of, by Imperial Government, Financial Result of Transaction, &c., *July 19*, 415.
Pemba—Appeal Case of Freed Slave Mshangama, Evidence in, *July 14*, 26.

Beaumont, Mr. W. C. B. [Northumberland, Hexham]
Coal, Export Duty on—Effect of, on the Trade, and Wages of Miners, etc., *July 22*, 987.
Finance Bill, *Com. July 22*, 987.

Beck, Adolf
Mistaken Identity Case—Action to be taken, etc.
Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 25*, 1030.

Beer
Additional Excise Duties on—Budget Proposal.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 439.

Belfast
Dundonald Cemetery—Roman Catholics, Regulations as to Burial of—Roman Catholic Bishop's request to Belfast Corporation.
Qs. Mr. Sloan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1050-1051.
Queen's College.
Professors, Additional Appointments held by, alleged.
Qs. Mr. MacVeagh; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1053.
Session, Duration of, Period for Delivery of Lectures, Assistance to Professors, etc.
Q. Mr. MacVeagh; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 778-779.
Telegraph Service—Adult Messengers, Sunday Pay of.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1061.

Belfast and North-East Ireland Electricity and Power Gas Bill
l. 3R. *July 15*, 145.
c. 1R.* *July 15*, 154.
2R.* *July 26*, 1187.

Belfast Corporation (Tramways) Bill
c. 3R. *July 19*, 500.
Debate on Second Reading (Commons) *July 19*, 500.
Agreement with Promoters of Bill, Making Terms of known to the House, 500, 503, 505.
Appointments, Throwing open to Competition, Irrespective of Religion, 502, 506.
Private Company, Lease to, proposed, 502.
Wages of employees, Instruction to Committee as to, proposed, 505.

Belguim
Chicory, cultivation and drying of—Report Presented, *July 15*, 146, 155.

Bell, Mr. R. [Derby]
Post Office—Wages—Bradford Committee Report and recommendations, decision as to, *July 28*, 1449.

Belturbet
Artizans' Dwellings Scheme, Progress of Negotiations as to.
Q. Mr. V. Kennedy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 281.

Bertillon System
Irish Prisons, Regulations for Introduction into.
Qs. Mr. MacVeagh; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 275, 276.

Berwick-on-Tweed
Walls, Historic, Preservation of—Progress of Arrangements.
Q. Mr. Bryce; *A.* Lord Balcarres, *July 25*, 1029.

Bexhill Water and Gas Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Bhownaggree, Sir M. M. [Bethnal Green, N.E.]
Assam Tea Plantations—Facilities for Education of Children of Labourers, *July 28*, 1464.
Imperial Institute.
Contributions to, from India—Allocation of Income Derived from Endowed Sums, etc., *July 18*, 266, 267.
Laboratory, Training Indian University Graduates in, proposed, *July 18*, 267, 268.
Indian Budget, Date of Taking, *July 28*, 1483.
Transvaal, British Indian Traders in, Treatment of, *July 21*, 822-827.

Bicycles

Motor-Cycles, Alteration of numbers to Escape Identification after an Accident, Alleged—Incised or Enamelled Number proposed.

Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 272, 273.

Bignold, Sir A. [Wick Burghs]

Telegraph Service, Scotland—Adult Night Messengers, Award of Good Conduct Stripes to, proposed, *July 27*, 1337.

Birkdale Improvement Bill

l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Births

Report of Registrar General Presented, *July 28*, 1432, 1443.

Black, Mr. A. W. [Banffshire]

Fiscal Policy of the Government at the next General Election, *July 15*, 1652.

Blackrock

Motor speed regulations.

Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1471.

Board of Agriculture

see Agriculture, Board of.

Board of Education

see Education, Board of.

Board of Trade

see Trade, Board of.

Board of Works, Ireland

see Works, Board of, Ireland.

Boland, Mr. J. [Kerry, S.]

Cahircivane to Coppal—Construction of road, proposed, *July 26*, 1211.

Congested Districts Board, Supply of Spraying Machines by, to Farmers at Reduced Prices, alleged, *July 14*, 39.

Dublin — Marlborough Street Training College—Building Grants and Particulars as to Students, Returns, *July 26*, 1216.

Irish Language—Postmasters, Necessity for Knowledge of Irish by, alleged, *July 26*, 1220-1221.

Kerry, Offer of Land in, to Congested Districts Board, price asked, etc., *July 18*, 273.

Lace, Counterfeit Irish, Manufacture of, in Switzerland, Alleged, *July 27*, 1337.

Mahony Estate—Reinstatement of Mr. F. Doherty, evicted tenant, *July 14*, 39.

Malta.

Constitution, Changes in—Despotic Administration by the British, etc., *July 21*, 859, 863, 864, 866.

Financial Statement, Run on Savings Bank, etc., *July 21*, 865.

Boland, Mr. J.—*cont.*

Malta—*cont.*

Land, etc., Held by War Office, Acreage and Estimated Rental, *July 18*, 262.

Language Question, *July 21*, 859 863.

Public Works—Imperial Contribution, Estimated Capital, Value of Realty, etc., *July 25*, 1034.

Tulloha School—Introduction in Irish Language, *July 26*, 1215, 1216.

Warden Estate, Sale of, *July 26*, 1213.

Bond, Mr. E. [Nottingham, E.]

Licensing Bill, *con. July 27*, 1353, 1408, 1413.

Boscawen, Capt. A. S. T. G. [Kent, Tunbridge]

Militia, Re-organisation of, Proposals as to, *July 14*, 88, 89.

Bournemouth Corporation (Tramways) Bill

c. Con. July 18*, 249.

3R.* *July 21*, 743.

l. Commons' Amendments *con.,* July 25*, 1001.

Bousfield, Mr. W. R. [Hackney, N.]

Licensing Bill, *Con., July 26*, 1238, 1240, 1245, 1262, 1263; *July 27*, 1357, 1392, 1407.

Bowles, Mr. T. G. [Lynn Regis]

Alcohol used for Motive Power, Exemption of from Duty, proposed, *July 20*, 675.

Cunard Agreement—Expenses, Provision of money for, *July 28*, 1484.

Finance Bill.

Com., July 18, 340, *July 19*, 431, 435, 436, 438, 470, 472, *July 20*, 675.

Con. July 25, 1071, 1082.

3R, *July 28*, 1509, 1524.

Clauses 4 and 5—Date of coming into force, *July 19*, 431, 435.

Temporary or Permanent Nature of the Duties, *July 19*, 436, 438.

Financial position of the Country, *July 25*, 1075; *July 28*, 1509-1511.

France—Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain.

Convention; Date of Ratification of, etc., *July 18*, 286.

Newfoundland Government Concurrence of, *July 18*, 287.

Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 470-472.

National Debt, Sinking Fund, position of, *July 25*, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075.

Navy.

Contingencies, sudden, Regulations as to nightly preparation for, *July 14*, 23.

[*cont.*

Bowles, Mr. T. G.—*cont.*

Navy—*cont.*

Merchant Ships, Warnings to, as to avoidance of danger of collision, *July 27*, 1328, 1329.

Officers, Retired, Liberty of, to write on Naval matters to the Press, etc., *July 27*, 1329, 1330.

Post Office Wages—Bradford Committee, Report, Delay in printing, for use of Members—Access of Press to advance copy, etc., *July 18*, 291.

Questions not answered by a Minister—Circulation of, with the Votes, *July 14*, 51.

Russo-Japanese War.

Black Sea Volunteer Fleet, passage of Dardanelles by, under Commercial flag, etc., *July 25*, 1063-1064; *July 26*, 1221-1224.

British Merchant Vessels, detention and search of, by Russian Cruiser in the Red Sea—Inquiry, etc., proposed, *July 21*, 786, 787.

"Knight Commander," Sinking of, *July 27*, 1347.

Suez Canal Convention, provisions of, as to prizes of war, *July 25*, 1061, 1062.

"Dmitri Donskoi" Russian warship, coaling, at British Port, False declaration by Captain, etc., *July 28*, 1457.

Sittings of the House—All night sitting—Procedure as to business of succeeding day, *July 20*, 661, 662.

Suez Canal Company, Number of British Pilots employed by, *July 28*, 1446.

Tobacco Duties, additional, on, Stripped Tobacco, *July 18*, 340.

Boyle

Cottages, Erection of—Reason for Refusal of loan to Town Commissioners.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 408.

Brazil

Imports into—Report Presented, *July 15*, 146.

Railway Systems of, Report Presented, *July 25*, 1011.

Bridlington Corporation Bill

c. Rep.* *July 25*, 1025.

Brigg, Mr. J. [Yorkshire, W.R., Keighley]

Bristol Tramways (Extensions) Bill *c.* Rep.* *July 28*, 1441.

British Guiana
see Guiana, British

Licensing Bill, *con.*, *July 26*, 1252; *July 27*, 1364

Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill, *con.*, *July 18*, 351

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John F.—*Secretary of State for India* [Surrey, Guildford]

Aden—Murder of Capt. Warneford—Efforts made to Arrest Murderer, etc., *July 28*, 1451.

Army Promotions, Retardation of, alleged, *July 26*, 1127-1198.

Assam.

Excise Administration, Allegations against—Report, etc., Date of Presenting, *July 27*, 1335.

Tea Plantations—Facilities for Education of Labourers, *July 28*, 1464.

Bandaru Apzsala Charyulu, Petition Presented by—Action taken, etc., *July 18*, 261.

Finance Bill, 3R. *July 28*, 1516-1518, 1522.

Financial Position of Great Britain—Expenditure on the Army, etc., *July 28*, 1516-1522.

Imperial Institute.

Indian University Graduates, Training of, in Laboratory, proposed, *July 18*, 268.

Research Work, Amount of Indian Contribution to, *July 18*, 267.

Imports of Boots, Shoes and Hosiery, Value of, and Country of Origin, *July 28*, 1450.

Irrigation Works, Progress of, *July 28*, 1450.

Muthia Gownden, Petition Presented by—Action taken, etc., *July 18*, 261.

Pandit Adya Prasada Misra, Petition Presented by—Action taken, etc., *July 18*, 261.

Petitions for Redress of Grievances from India Presented at the House of Commons, Action taken on, etc., *July 18*, 261; *July 19*, 410, 415.

Police, Report on, Date of Tabling, *July 28*, 1450.

Railways—East Indian Railway—Order for locomotives placed in Germany, alleged, *July 26*, 1198-1199.

Ramji Hariba, Death of, from Flogging on Conviction for Theft, alleged, *July 21*, 756.

Sivasulramania Nadan — Petition for Redress of Grievances, Action taken, etc., *July 19*, 410.

Tibet Expedition, Casualties, Information as to, *July 27*, 1333, 1334.

China, Communications with, as Suzerain Power, *July 18*, 266.

Cost, Payment of, *July 28*, 1464.

Information as to, *July 28*, 1464.

Lhasa, Advance on, *July 27*, 1334, 1335.

Russia, Understanding with, *July 18*, 264, 265.

[*cont.*

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John F.—*cont.*
- Toast of "His Majesty's Forces," Reason for not Responding to, at a Banquet, *July 25*, 1041.
- War Office, Abolition of Indian Representative at, *July 25*, 1044.
- Water Storage Projects, Information as to, *July 25*, 1034; *July 26*, 1198.

Broadhurst, Mr. H. [Leicester]
- Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 19*, 4680.
- Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 468, 469.
- Licensing Bill, *con.*, *July 26*, 1231, 1232, 1277, 1278; *July 27*, 1382.
- Parliament
  - Session, Duration of, etc., *July 26*, 1226, 1227.
  - Sittings of the House—Adjournment not later than eleven o'clock p.m., proposed, *July 26*, 1225–1226.

Brotherton, Mr. E. A. [Wakefield]
- Russo-Japanese War—Dardanelles, Passage of, by Black Sea Volunteer Fleet under Commercial Flag, *July 14*, 26.

Brunner, Sir J. T. [Cheshire, Northwich].
- Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill, *con.*, *July 14*, 136.
- Russo-Japanese War—British Ships, Detention and Search of, by Russian Cruisers in the Red Sea—Information as to "Malacca," etc., *July 21*, 884.

Bryce, Right Hon. J. [Aberdeen, S.]
- Africa, South, Garrison in, Proposals as to Reduction of, *July 14*, 113.
- Alcohol used for Motive Power, Exemption of, from Duty, proposed, *July 20*, 675.
- Berwick-on-Tweed, Preservation of Historic Walls—Progress of Arrangements, *July 25*, 1029.
- Education (Local Authority Default) Bill, 2R., *July 15*, 169, 193, 195, 199.
- Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 20*, 675.
- Licensing Bill, *con. July 26*, 1240.
- Macedonian *Gendarmerie*—Instructions to European Officers — Increase of Austrian and Russian Officers, alleged, *July 28*, 1465.
- Mersey Docks and Harbour Bill, *Con. July 14*, 142.

Brymbo Water Bill
- *l.* Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 939.

Buchanan, Mr. T. R. [Perthshire, E.]
- Africa, South.
  - Girouard, Sir Percy, Resignation of, as Administrator of Railways—Tabling Papers, proposed, *July 19*, 413.
  - Gold Mines, Life of—Basis of Calculation for Profit Tax, *July 19*, 414.
  - Receipts and Expenditure of Transvaal, Orange River Colony and Intercolonial Council for 1903-4, *July 21*, 761.

Buchanan, Mr. T. R.—*cont.*
- Army.
  - Mowatt Committee Report, Date Presenting, *July 27*, 1323.
  - Reform Proposals.
    - Discussion, Opportunity for, *July 18*, 292.
    - Financial Effect, Statement of, proposed, *July 19*, 413; *July 27*, 1323.
- Estimates, Supplementary, Date of Introduction of, *July 21*, 785–786.
- Finance Bill.
  - *Com.*, *July 19*, 436, 438, *July 20*, 668, 672.
  - *Con.*, *July 25*, 1076.
  - Clause 5, Date of coming into Force, *July 19*, 436.
  - Date of Taking, *July 25*, 1065–1066.
  - Temporary or Permanent Nature of the Duties, *July 19*, 438.
- Fiscal Policy—Free Trade *v.* Protection.
  - Food, Taxation of, Policy of the Government — Vote of Censure, Opportunity for Discussing Motion for, *July 19*, 428.
  - Preferential Treatment of British Manufactures, Offers from Colonies as to, *July 27*, 1332.
- Government Stock — Exchequer Bonds, Renewal of—Terms, etc., *July 27*, 1322.
- National Debt.
  - Permanent Annual Charge for, Amount of, *July 20*, 668-670.
  - Position of, *July 25*, 1076–1079.
- Spirits, Additional Excise Duties on—Drawbacks, Date of Expiration of *July 19*, 436.

Buckland Friendly Society
- Income Tax Deductions — Exemption, Treasury decision, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. A. K. Loyd; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 18*, 269.

Budget
- Debates on, Unusual Length of, alleged.
  - *Os.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 20*, 627; Sir E. Grey, 628; Mr. Emmott, 629.

Bulgaria
- Trade Report Presented, *July 26*, 1177.

Bunnbeg
- Postal Service, Improvement in, proposed.
  - *Q.* Mr. H. Law; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 19*, 410.
- Army.
  - Compulsory Military Service, Objections to, *July 21*, 683, 684.

Burghclere, Lord
- Militia.
  - Absorption and Abolition of—Reform proposals, *July 21*, 686-689.
  - Conversion of, into Territorial Battalions, proposed, *July 21*, 686.
  - Expenditure, Increase in, Necessity for Economy, etc., *July 21*, 682.
  - Reform Proposals—Memorandum of Secretary of State, *July 21*, 680, 681, 684, 687.
  - Territorial Battalions, composition of, *July 21*, 686.

Burke, D. J., Estate of
- Sale of, price asked, etc.
  - *Qs.* Mr. C. Craig, Mr. Kilbride; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1211-1213.

Burke, Mr. E. H. [King's Co., Tullamore]
- Edenderry Labourers' Cottages Scheme—Compensation award, *July 27*, 1341.

Burt, Mr. T. [Morpeth]
- Coal, Export duty on, Effect of, on the trade, and wages of Miners—Abolition of duty, etc., *July 20*, 624, 625.
- Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 20*, 624.

Business of the House
- Congested state of.
  - *Os.* Lord Newton, *July 19*, 390-392.
- Course of—Mr. A. J. Balfour's replies to questions and criticisms, *July 14*, 51; *July 18*, 294, 295; *July 21*, 787, 788; *July 25*, 1065-1066; *July 26*, 1227-1228; *July 27*, 1346, 1347; *July 28*, 1484.
- Finance Bill, course of business as to.
  - *Os.* Mr. Buchanan, Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 25*, 1065, 1066.

Butcher, Mr. J. G. [York]
- Horses, worn-out, shipment of, to the Continent—Treatment on arrival, *July 14*, 25.

Butter
- Irish.
  - Delay in transit of saltless butter, alleged.
    - *Q.* Mr. Joyce; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1217-1218.
  - Salt Firkin butter regulations.
    - *Q.* Mr. Flavin; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 781.

Buxton Mr. S. C. [Tower Hamlets, Poplar]
- Alcohol used for manufacturing purposes, exemption of, from Duty, proposed, *July 25*, 1117.
- Coal, Export Duty on.
  - Annual, instead of permanent tax, proposed, *July 22*, 954.
  - Discussion of, opportunity for, *July 20*, 539, 540.

Buxton, Mr. S. C.—*cont.*
- Finance Bill.
  - *Com.*, *July 18*, 298, 315-319, 322, 338, 362, 369, 379, 383; *July 19*, 437, 465, 509; *July 20*, 533, 539-541, 554, 568, 592, 633, 667, 672, 676.
  - *Con.*, *July 22*, 954; *July 25*, 1083, 1104, 1117, 1135.
  - 3R., *July 28*, 1511, 1517, 1554.
  - Clause 8—Omission of words "And the Acts Amending that Act," proposed, *July 20*, 568.
  - Motion to Report Progress, *July 20*, 533.
  - Temporary or Permanent Nature of the Duties, *July 19*, 437.
- Financial Position of the Country, Increase in Expenditure, etc., *July 28*, 1511-1516.
- Income Tax.
  - Additional 1d. in the Pound, proposed, *July 19*, 509.
  - Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 465, 466.
  - Insurances in Colonial Companies, Exemption of, *July 25*, 1104.
- National Debt.
  - Permanent Annual Charge for, Amount of, *July 20*, 672.
  - Position of, *July 25*, 1083-1085.
- Spirits, Additional Excise Duties on—Drawbacks, Date of Expiration of, *July 19*, 437.
- Sugar Duty of 1901, Basis of Levying, Decrease in Consumption, etc., *July 20*, 592, 593.
- Taxation — Proportion as between the Direct and Indirect Tax-payer, *July 25*, 1135.
- Tea, Warehousing Charges on, Reduction of, proposed, *July 20*, 667.
- Tobacco Duties.
  - Estimated Revenue to be Derived from, *July 28*, 1514, 1515.
  - Stripped Tobacco.
    - Additional 3d. on, *July 18*, 315-319, 338.
    - Rebate on Tobacco, Proved to have been in Bond or Shipped before April 20, 1904, *July 18*, 362, 369.
- Transvaal, Importation of Chinese Labour to.
  - Recruiting, Conditions of, *July 28*, 1462.
  - White Labour, Effect on, *July 22*, 1000.
- Unclaimed Dividend Account, Realisation of, *July 20*, 554, 555.

Buxton Urban District Council Bill
- c. 2R.* *July 18*, 249.
- Rep.* *July 28*, 1441.

Caledonian Canal
Report of Commissioners, Presented, *July 28*, 1443.

Caledonian Railway Order Confirmation Bill
c. *Con.* July 14*, 19.
3R.* *July 18*, 249.
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Cahircivane
Road to Coppal, Construction of, proposed.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1211.

Campbell, Mr. John [Armagh, S.]
Armagh, Keady, and Castleblayney Railway, Delay in Construction of, alleged, *July 14*, 42.
Constabulary, Royal Irish - Initial Salaries of Constables, *July 19*, 417.
National School Teachers, Ireland.
Civil Service, Regulations as to entering, *July 19*, 418.
Salaries, Initial, amount of—Increase proposed, *July 19*, 417.

Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir H. [Stirling Burghs]
Army.
Army Corps System, Objections to, *July 14*, 87.
Compulsory Service—Financial aspect of the proposal, *July 14*, 84.
Depôts, proposed establishment of, *July 14*, 85.
Linked Battalion System, Abolition of, proposed, *July 14*, 84, 85, 88.
Reform Proposals. Financial effect of—Statement proposed, *July 21*, 763.
Reliefs, Arrangements as to, *July 14*, 86.
Terms of Service under the new proposals, *July 14*, 86.
Business of the House, Course of, *July 14*, 51; *July 18*, 294, 295; *July 21*, 787, 788; *July 25*, 1065; *July 28*, 1484.
Cunard Agreement—Expenses, Provision of money for *July 28*, 1484.
Dundonald, Lord, Dismissal of, from Canadian Militia and Agitation by, against Canadian Government, *July 19*, 496.
Education [Local Authority Default] Bill, 2R., *July 15*, 176, 178.
Finance Bill.
Com., *July 20*, 625, 628.
Motion to report progress, *July 20*, 625-628, 658.
Fiscal Policy—Free Trade *v.* Protection—Taxation of Food — Policy of the Government — Motion for — Vote of Censure—Opportunity for discussion, *July 18*, 292, 295; *July 19*, 428.
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1302.

Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir H. *—cont.*
Post Office—Wages—Bradford Committee Report, Delay in printing, for use of members, Access of Press to advance copy, etc., *July 18*, 291.
Russo-Japanese War.
Detention and search of British vessels by Russian cruisers, information, as to, *July 28*, 1479.
"Malacca," detention and search of, etc., Information as to, *July 22*, 950, 951, 999.
Sittings of the House—All night Sitting—Procedure as to business of succeeding day, *July 20*, 658, 660, 661, 665.

Camberley
Royal Military College—Shooting record of Cadets—Inferiority attributable to defective eyesight, alleged.
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 25*, 1037-1038.

Cambridge, Borough of
Polling Districts — Order altering, presented, *July 28*, 1432, 1442.

Canada
Development of—Loans and free grants voted by British Parliament since 1850.
Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 18*, 262, 263.
Dundonald, Lord, *see that title.*
Flag, removal of, from vessel, ordered by British Consul at Rio Grande du Sol, Argentina, alleged—British Government action as to, etc.
Q. Mr. C. Devlin; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 26*, 1207-1208.
Treaty-making powers, extension of, Correspondence as to
Q. Mr. C. Devlin; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 26*, 1207.

Canal Rates and Charges (Regent's Canal) Order Confirmation Bill
c. Rep.* *July 15*, 152.
3R * *July 18*, 249.
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 938.

Canary Islands
Trade Report Presented, *July 25*, 1011.

Cancer
Cause of—Effect of Consumption of Frozen Meat — Report of Cancer Research Committee.
Q. Mr. A. Davies; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 25*, 1032-1033.
Dogs Inoculated with—Examination of Specimens, etc.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *22*, 944.

Canton Booty Fund
Distribution of—Amount Unpaid, etc.
Q. Mr. Sharpe; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 25*, 1029.

Cape Colony
Chinese Labour, Introduction of, into the Transvaal—Attitude towards.
O. Sir R. Reid, *July 21*, 850.
Development of—Loans and Loans and Free Grants Voted by British Parliament since 1850.
Q. Mr, J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 18*, 262, 263.

Cardiff
Corporation Accounts, Audit of.
Q. Mr. R. Lucas; Mr. W. Long, *July 27*, 1321–1322.

Cardiff Railway Bill
*c. Con.** *July 25*, 1022.
3R.* *July 28*, 1440.

Carnane Estate
Sale of, Proposals as to.
Q. Mr. Lundon; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 419.

Carson, Sir E. H.—*Solicitor General* [Dublin University]
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1230–1232, 1242, 1258, 1264, 1267, 1278, 1281, 1284, 1294, 1300; *July 27*, 1364, 1376, 1377, 1390, 1392–1395, 1400, 1405.

Castlerea
Rate Collector, Payment of Arrears of Poundage to, proposed.
Qs. Mr. Tully; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 424; *July 26*, 1217.

Cattle
Argentina, Importation from—Removal of Restrictions, proposed, to Prevent U. S. Butchers' Strike Inducing Meat Famine.
Q. Mr. Houston; *A.* Mr. A. Fellowes, *July 15*, 160.

Cavendish, Mr. V. C. W.—*Financial Secretary of the Treasury* [Derbyshire, W.]
Civil Service Clerks—Abstractors, Senior Assistant — Retirement Regulations, *July 26*, 1195.
Customs and Excise—Statistical Department, Checking of Ship's Files by, *July 28*, 1449.
Income Tax, Graduated, Return as to Colonies and Foreign Countries Establishing, proposed, *July 25*, 1047.
Ireland.
Ancient Monuments — Number In-Inspected in 1903-4—Expenditure on Repairs, etc., *July 18*, 253; *July 25*, 1027.

Cavendish, Mr. V. C. W.—*cont.*
Ireland—*cont.*
Dublin
Hibernian Academy, Royal, Rehousing, proposed, *July 14*, 27–28.
Phœnix Park.
Gate Constable, Reason for Dismissal of, *July 27*, 1346.
Traders' Passes, *July 14*, 45, 46.
Galway Harbour, Lighting by Electricity—Failure of Light, Inspection of Works, Reason for not choosing Gas, &c., *July 19*, 425, 426.
Institutions, Public — Tenders for Supplies — New Arrangements, *July 18*, 252; *July 25*, 1028.
National Library of—Salary of Mr. Evans, Deductions for Pension, &c., *July 25*, 1060, 1061.
Oughter and Gowna Loughs, Drainage of—Petition from Farmers, *July 27*, 1345.
Revenue and Expenditure — Return, Ireland, Date of Presenting, *July 14*, 47.
Roscrea Income Tax Appeals—Names of Special Commissioners, *July 14*, 47.
Rush Harbour, Complaints of Disrepair, Cost of Repairs, &c., *July 25*, 1058–1060.
Prisons — Foreign Prison-made Goods excluded from Great Britain, Value of, *July 14*, 23.

Cayzer, Sir C. W. [Barrow-in-Furness]
Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill, *Con. July 14*, 121.

Cecil, Mr. E. [Aston Manor]
Haywards Heath School Accommodation, Increase of—Erection of Additional School, proposed, *July 21*, 753.

Cement
Foreign, Use of, in Government Works—Use of British made Cement only, proposed.
Q. Sir G. Parker; *A.* Lord Balcarres, *July 19*, 417.

Census
Report, General, with Appendices, Presented, *July 21*, 678, 746.

Ceramic Industry
German Special Technical Schools for—Report Presented, *July 21*, 677.

Ceylon
Crown Agent, Files and Ship Plates supplied by, Price, &c., of.
Q. Master of Elibank; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 22*, 949-950.
Tamil Children, Education of—Committee, Delay in Presenting Report of.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 19*, 412.
Tea Industry, Effect of Additional Tax on.
Os. Mr. J. H. Lewis, *July 25*, 1148; Mr. Lloyd-George, 1149, 1150; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1152; Mr. H. Samuel, 1153; Mr. H. Roberts, 1156; Mr. Harwood, 1157; Mr. Pirie, 1163, 1164.

City of London (Central Criminal Court House) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Civil Service
Appointments without Certificates through inadvertence—Treasury Minute Presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1188.
Clerks—Abstractors, Senior Assistant—Retirement Regulations.
Q. Mr. Thornton; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 26*, 1195.
Pay Increments—Application of Order in Council of 29th Nov. 1898.
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1031.
Superannuation.—Appointment without Certificate, *July 14*, 4.
Civil Service Estimate. Colonial Office, Salaries and Expenses—£27,750 *Com.* *July 21*, 789, 851.
Education Vote, Date of taking.
Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1224, 1225.
Ireland—Opportunity for discussing.
Q. Mr. J. Redmond; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 775.
Qs. Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. Lonsdale; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1227—1298; *July 28*, 1482, 1483.
Supplementary—*July 27*, 1318.

Chairman
Business for following day, Discussion of, not in order, *July 18*, 384.
Finance Bill.
Amendments to, Moving of, not allowed after Question put, *July 19*, 431, 432.
Closure of a New Tax in Committee, Ruling as to, *July 20*, 562, 586.
Income Tax Resolution.
Amendments to, not in Order, *July 20*, 528, 546.
Amendments to, Order of moving, etc., *July 19*, 443-445.
Financial Situation, Review of, in Order, *July 19*, 514, 516, *July 20*, 596.

Chairman—*cont.*
Finance Bill—*cont.*
Matter irrelevant to subject under debate, Introduction of, *July 19*, 435. *July 20*, 542, 554, 558, 582, 584, 594, 597.
Imputation of Motives to Members, Rule prohibiting, *July 20*, 632, 633.
Interruptions to debate not necessarily out of Order, *July 20*, 628.
Sitting of the House continuing longer than 24 hours—Interpretation of Standing Order, *July 20*, 657.
Tobacco Duties — Budget Proposals, changes in, Question of introducing, without a Resolution in Committee, *July 18*, 299.
Unparliamentary expressions, Use of, in debate, *July 21*, 870, 871.

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. [Birmingham, W.]
Transvaal—Chinese labour, Importation of, *July 21*, 801-803, 806-813.
Indian Labour, Reasons for non-introduction of, *July 21*, 804-806.

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. A. J.—*Chancellor of the Exchequer*—[Worcestershire, E.]
Alcohol used for Motive Power and Manufacturing purposes.
Exemption of, from duty, proposed, *July 20*, 674, 675; *July 21*, 755; *July 25*, 1106, 1110, 1117.
Price, Current, *July 26*, 1197.
Army—Expenditure, Increase in, *July 28*, 1562.
Bankruptcy Court, Ireland—Unclaimed Dividend Fund, Amount and utilisation of, etc.; *July 21*, 756.
Coal, Export duty on.
Annual instead of Permanent Tax, proposed, *July 22*, 953, 954.
Effect of, on trade, and Wages of Miners, etc., *July 20*, 615-618; *July 22*, 979-983.
Cunard Agreement—Expenses, Provision of Money for, *July 28*, 1484.
Death Duties, Increase in, proposed, *July 19*, 508.
Finance Bill.
Com., *July 18*, 296-298, 303, 306, 313, 319, 325, 337, 345, 347, 363, 369, 374, 375, 378, 380-384; *July 19*, 430, 436, 437, 448-453, 455, 507; *July 20*, 522, 528-530, 545, 552, 566, 592, 615-617, 621, 652, 667, 670, 647-676.
Con. *July 22*, 953, 954, 979, 982, 983, 992; *July 25*, 1070, 1079, 1081, 1082, 1093, 1103, 1104, 1106, 1108, 1110, 1117, 1134, 1152, 1169, 1173-1176.
3R. *July 28*, 1540, 1549, 1553.

[*cont.*

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. A. J.—*cont.*
- Finance Bill—*cont.*
  - Clause 4, Date of coming into force, *July 19*, 430.
  - Temporary or Permanent nature of the Duties, *July 19*, 436, 437.
- Financial position of the Country, *July 28*, 1560, 1561.
- Government Stock.
  - Exchequer Bonds, Renewal of—Terms, etc.; *July 27*, 1322.
  - Unclaimed Dividend Account, Realisation of, *July 20*, 552; *July 28*, 1559.
- Income Tax.
  - Additional 1d. in the pound, proposed, *July 19*, 507–509.
  - Districts, Division of—Alleged Circular of Chief Inspector, *July 18*, 261.
  - Friendly Societies and Limited Liability Companies, Exemption of, from payment, proposed, *July 18*, 269; *July 25*, 1176.
  - Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 448–452, 455.
    - Foreign and Colonial Systems, Return showing, proposed, *July 25*, 1174.
  - Insurances in Colonial Companies, Exemption of, *July 25*, 1104.
  - Re-valuation where Valuations are Incorrect, proposed, *July 20*, 529, 530.
  - Trades and Professions, rebate of fourpence per pound on Incomes derived from, proposed, *July 20*, 522; *July 25*, 1175.
- Irish Trade with Great Britain, Authority for treating, as Coasting Trade, *July 28*, 1478.
- Land Stock, Ireland, Price of Issue of, *July 21*, 783–784.
- Loans, Guaranteed, Growth of Liabilities under, *July 25*, 1081.
- National Debt.
  - Permanent Annual Charge for, Amount of, *July 20*, 670–672.
  - Sinking Fund, Position of, *July 25*, 1079, 1082.
  - Reduction of, *July 28*, 1437.
- Navy.
  - Colonial Contributions towards, *July 28*, 1562, 1563.
  - Expenditure on, Increase in, *July 28*, 1562.
- Nigeria—Royal Niger Company, Purchase of, by Imperial Government—Financial Result of Transactions, etc., *July 19*, 416.

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. A. J.—*cont.*
- Revenue and Expenditure.
  - Capital Expenditure, System of Charging, on the Annual Votes, *July 25*, 1080.
  - Increase in Expenditure, Necessity for Reduction, etc., *July 28*, 1560.
  - Return, Memorandum Prefixed to, Information as to Particulars in, *July 21*, 771, 772.
- Spirits.
  - Adulteration with German spirits—Control of Revenue Authorities over spirits taken out of bond, etc., *July 27*, 1336.
  - British, plain, Material used in distilling, etc., *July 28*, 1468.
  - Distillers in United Kingdom, Production of, in 1901, 1902, and 1903, *July 28*, 1469.
  - Immature raw potable, Injuriousness of—Retention in bond for not less than three years, proposed, *July 26*, 1193, 1208.
  - Patent Still.
    - Numbers of gallons blended with Scotch Whisky in bond, and and sold as such, number of gallons distilled in Scotland during past financial year, etc., *July 21*, 770.
    - Sulphuric acid, use of, in manufacturing, *July 28*, 1468.
  - Sweets containing liqueur, Regulations as to sale of, *July 27*, 1335.
  - Warehouse charges on, reduction of, *July 25*, 1173.
- Sugar.
  - Duty of 1901.
    - Abolition of, proposed, *July 25*, 1134.
    - Falling off in consumption due to, alleged, *July 20*, 592.
- Taxation, Incidence of, *July 28*, 1556, 1557.
- Tea.
  - Additional 2d. per pound on, *July 25*, 1152, 1169.
  - Warehousing charges on, reduction of, proposed, *July 20*, 667.
- Tobacco Duties.
  - Drawback on, Application of, to stalks, shorts, etc., *July 20*, 675, 676.
  - Estimated revenue to be derived from, *July 28*, 1558.
  - Stripped Tobacco.
    - Additional 3d. per pound on *July 18*, 374, 375, 382; *July 28*, 1550.

[*cont.*

Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. A. J.—*cont.*
- Tobacco Duties—*cont.*
  - Stripped Tobacco—*cont*
    - Difference between leaf and, *July 18*, 319, 320, 323.
    - Rebate on tobacco proved to have been in bond or shipped before April 20, 1904, *July 18*, 297, 298, 346, 347, 362, 369.
    - Sand and Moisture, proportion of, in leaf and strip tobacco, *July 18*, 320.
- Transvaal War Contribution, provision for payment of, *July 28*, 1467.
- Wines—Fraudulent trade description and sale of manufactured wine—protection of the public, etc., *July 26*, 1196–1197.

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster
- *Sir W. H. Walrond.*

Chancellor of the Exchequer
- *Mr. Austen Chamberlain.*

Channing, Mr. F. A. [Northants, E.]
- Coal, Export Duty on—Temporary instead of permanent Duty, proposed, *July 22*, 951.
- Finance Bill, *con.*, *July 22*, 951 ; *July 25*, 1127.
- Sugar Duty of 1901, abolition of, proposed, *July 25*, 1127–1133.

Chaplin, Rt. Hon. H. [Lincolnshire, Sleaford]
- Transvaal, importation of Chinese Labour to, *July 21*, 883.

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill
- *c.* Lords Amendments, *Con.*,* *July 15*, 152.
- *l.* Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Charities
- Ireland—Donations and Bequests—Annual Report of Commissioners presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1189.

Cheltenham
- Parcel Post to North of Ireland—delay in transmission, alleged.
  - *Q.* Dr. Thompson ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1032.

Chesterfield, Earl of
- Dean Forest Bill, Rep., *July 28*, 1438.

Chief Secretary for Ireland
- *Mr. G. Wyndham.*

Chicory
- Cultivation and drying of, in Great Britain and Belgium—Report presented, *July 15*, 146, 155.

Children
- Criminals, *see* Juvenile Offenders.
- Employment of—Street trading—Number employed, progress in making Bye-laws, etc.
  - *Q.* Sir J. Gorst ; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 18*, 259, 260.

China
- Consular and Marriage Fees Order in Council, 1904, presented, *July 22*, 890, 942.
- Hong Kong—Report for 1903 presented, *July 27*, 1318.
- Shipping Registry Order in Council, 1904, presented, *July 22*, 889, 942.
- Tibet Expedition—Communications with China as Suzerain Power.
  - *Qs.* Mr. Flynn ; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 265, 266.
- Trade Reports, presented, *July 21*, 677 ; *July 25*, 1011.
- War of 1852—Canton Booty Fund, Distribution of—Amount unpaid, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Sharpe ; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 25*, 1029.
- War of 1900-1901, Guns from, allotted to London as Trophies of War, London County Council refusal of, alleged.
  - *Q.* Mr. Whitmore ; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 26*, 1200, 1201.

Churchill, Mr. W. L. S. [Oldham]
- Army.
  - Corps—Six Corps Scheme, Rescinding Resolution as to, proposed, *July 19*, 427.
  - Reform Proposals.
    - Date of Resuming Debate on, *July 14*, 143.
    - Statement, Date of Resuming Consideration on, *July 18*, 289, 290.
  - Vote, Date of Taking, *July 18*, 291, 292.
- Coal Tax, Opportunity for Discussion of, *July 20*, 536, 583.
- Colonial Office Vote, Date of taking, *July 18*, 287, 292.
- Dundonald, Lord — Dismissal from Canadian Militia and Agitation against His Majesty's Government in Canada, *July 19*, 485.
- Finance Bill.
  - *Com.*, *July 18*, 370–374, 378, 384 ; *July 20*, 514, 529, 530, 236, 541, 556, 560, 567, 569, 582, 586, 593, 600.
  - Clause 8—Omission of words "and the Acts amending that Act," proposed, *July 20*, 568.
  - Motion to Report Progress, *July 20*, 582.
- Income Tax.
  - Additional Penny in the Pound, proposed, *July 19*, 514, 516.
  - Revaluation where existing Valuations are incorrect, proposed, *July 20*, 529, 530.
- Fiscal Policy—Free Trade *v.* Protection—Taxation of Food—Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, Opportunity for Discussion of Motion for, *July 19*, 428.

[*cont.*

Churchill, Mr. W. L. S.—*cont.*
South African War—Sentence on Lieut. Witton—Mitigation Proposed, *July 14*, 32; *July 19*, 412.
Sugar, Duty of, 1901, Basis of Levying, Decrease in Consumption, etc., *July 20*, 593, 594, 600.
Tobacco Duties, Additional on Stripped Tobacco, *July 18*, 370-374.
Unclaimed Dividend Account, Realisation of, *July 20*, 556, 560.

Cladnageerah
Marine Works—Date of Commencement.
Q. Mr. H. Law; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 410, 411.

Clancy, Mr. J. J. [Dublin Co., N.]
Lunatic Asylums, Ireland — Medical Officers, Regulations as to Appointment of, *July 19*, 420.
Phœnix Park, Dublin—Traders' Passes, *July 14*, 45, 46.
Revenue and Expenditure Return, Memorandum Prefixed to, Information as to Particulars in, *July 21*, 770, 772.
Rush Harbour—Complaints of Disrepair, Cost of Repairs, etc., *July 25*, 1058, 1059, 1060.

Clifford of Chudleigh, Lord
Torquay Tramways Bill, 3R., *July 25*, 1001, 1010.

Clinton Estate
Disturbances at Evictions, Action as to.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1339.

Clonaslee, Queen's County
Cut Road, Closure of, by Military Authorities—Compensation to Residents, etc.
Q Mr. Delany; *A.* Mr. B. Davenport, *July 14*, 47.

Clonbrock, Lord
Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill, *Com.*, *July 15*, 149.

Clubs
Registration of—Number Registering in 1903, Number Struck off the Register, etc.
Q. Mr. Colston; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 21*, 748.

Clyde Valley Electrical Power Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Coal
Export Duty on.
Abolition of, Proposed, References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 603, 604, 609, 613, 615, 625, 648, 650; *July 22*, 951, 967, 968, 992.
Ad valorem Tax, proposed, References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 22*, 964, 965.

Coal—*cont.*
Export Duty on—*cont.*
Annual, Instead of Permanent Tax, proposed, References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 22*, 951-956.
Discussion of, Opportunity for.
Os. Mr. J. Wilson, *July 20*, 534, 579; Mr. E. Wason, 534, 543, 630; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 534, 535, 538-540, 580; Sir E. Grey, 535, 581; Mr. Fenwick, 535, 580; Mr. W. Churchill, 536, 583; Mr. W. Abraham, Mr. McKenna, 537; Mr. Lloyd-George, 538; Mr. S. Buxton, 539, 540; Mr. Fison, Mr. Lough, 539; Mr. C. Warner, 539, 630; Mr. J. Walton, 540, 542, 584; Mr. Emmott, 543; Mr. Shackleton, 630, 631; Mr. Dalziel, 631, 632; Sir C. Furness, 635, 636.
Effect of, on the trade, and wages of Miners, etc., References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 601-625, 639-652; *July 22*, 959-963, 966-994; *July 28*, 1499-1501.
Incidence of the tax, References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 22*, 960, 962, 963, 975, 978, 980, 981, 983, 986, 989-991, 994.
Reduction of, proposed—References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 22*, 968, 970, 987, 988.
Royalty Owner, increased taxation of, proposed—Reference to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 609, 612; *July 22*, 963
Income Tax paid by Coal owners on a five years' average — References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 22*, 962.
Production, Consumption, Imports and Exports, etc.—Statistical Tables relating to, ordered, *July 27*, 1319.
Supply of—Findings of Royal Commission, References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 965, 966.

Coaling
Belligerent Vessels, right of, to coal at Neutral ports.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 28*, 1457.
Navy, *see* that title.

Cochrane, Mr. T. H.—*Under Secretary to the Home Office* [Ayrshire, N.]
Midwifery, Examinations for diplomas—Appointments made by Central Midwifery Board, etc., *July 27*, 1337.

Coghill, Mr. E. H. [Stoke-upon-Trent]
Expenditure, increase in, *July 28*, 1525, 1526.
Finance Bill, 3R., *July 28*, 1525.

[cont.

Coghill, Mr. E. H.—*cont.*
Irish Land Stock, Price of issue of, *July 21*, 783.
London Streets, Locomotives drawing trucks in, Danger to Public from—Regulation of traffic by By-laws, etc. *July 21*, 747.

Collierstown, Ireland
Evicted Tenant—Reinstatement of F. Morris.
Q. Mr. Sheehy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 274, 275.

Colomb, Sir J. C. R. [Great Yarmouth]
Army.
"Aquatics," Reduction in Expenditure on, *July 14*, 99.
Expenditure on, Increase in, *July 28*, 1533.
Garrison Artillery, proposals as to, *July 14*, 99.
Striking Force, necessity for, *July 14*, 98.
Finance Bill, 3R., *July 28*, 1532.
Navy.
Expenditure on, Increase in—Colonial Contributions, etc., *July 28*, 1533, 1534.
Militia—Foreign Service, proposals as to, *July 14*, 99, 100.

Colonial Office
Secretary of State—Right Hon. Alfred Lyttelton.
Parliamentary Secretary—Duke of Marlborough.
Vote, Date of taking.
Qs. Mr. J. Ellis, Mr. W. Churchill; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 287, 292.

Colonies
(*For Particular Colonies see their names.*)
Annual Reports Presented, *July 27*, 1318, *July 28*, 1432.
Crown Agents, *see that title.*
Development of—Loans and Free Grants Voted by British Parliament since 1850.
Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 18*, 262, 263.
Forces, Colonial, Command of, by Imperial Officers—Prevention of Public Statements as to Colonial Defence,
Q. Mr. Markham; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 786.
Immigration—Laws and Regulations Presented, *July 14*, 4, 21.
Medical Reports for 1901 and 1902, Selections from, Presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1190.
Report, Annual, Presented, *July 14*, 4.
Reports, Miscellaneous, Presented, *July 26*, 1190.

Colston, Mr. C. E. H. A. [Gloucester, Thornbury.]
Army Guard Rooms—Improvement in sleeping accommodation, *July 21*, 759.
Clubs, Registration of—Number registering in 1903, number struck off the register, etc., *July 21*, 748.

Committee of Defence
see under Defence of the Empire.

Commons Regulations (Merrow) Provisional Order Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Commons Regulations (Oxshott) Provisional Order Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Companies
Joint Stock, Registration of—Return Relative to, ordered, *July 26*, 1190; Presented, *July 27*, 1318.
Medical and Dental, Registered, Names and Numbers of—Return Presented, *July 25*, 1025.
Ministers acting as paid directors of public companies — measures to prevent future action, proposed.
Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 784.

Compulsory Military Service
Financial aspect of the proposal.
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 68; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 84; Mr. M. Ferguson, 101; Lord Denman, *July 21*, 692, 693.
Impracticability of introducing in England.
O. Lord Burghclere, *July 21*, 683, 684.

Confectionery Trade
Sugar Duty of 1901, effect of, References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1130, 1131.

Congested Districts Board, Ireland
Cahircivane to Coppal—Construction of road proposed.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1211.
Clerical Staff—Appointment, Regulations as to.
Q. Mr. W. Moore; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1192–1193.
Kerry, offer of land for purchase in, price asked, etc.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyddham, *July 18*, 273.
Mahon's Estate, alleged purchase of, price, etc.
Q. Mr. Roche; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1471, 1472.

Congested Districts Board, Ireland—*cont.*
O'Donovan, Mr., property of, in Durrus district, date of inspection of.
Q. Mr. Gilhooly; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 757.
Spraying Machines, supply of to farmers at reduced prices, alleged.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 39.

Congested Districts (Scotland) Bill
Date of proceeding with.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 22*, 946.

Congo Free State
Administration of — Maladministration, Charges of—Investigation, etc.
Qs. Mr. O'Dowd, Mr. J. O'Connor; *As.* Earl Percy, *July 25*, 1044, 1045.

Consolidated Fund
Ways and Means, Amount of, remaining Unissued.
Q. Mr. E. Robertson; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 14*, 49.

Consols
Fluctuations in price of, References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1067, 1091, 1093; *July 28*, 1512, 1517, 1518, 1564.

Constabulary, Royal Irish
Anderson, Constable — Sheridan Case, Connection with, etc.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 276, 277.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 780–781.
Aughnamullen East Band, Action of Constable Crean as to.
Q. Mr. McKean; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 30.
Cork—Head Constables, Religion of.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 277.
Kanturk—Bicycle-riding on Footpath by Constable, alleged.
Q. Mr. Flynn; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1199.
Mountpottinger Barracks, Occupation of quarters in, by Head Constable not stationed in District, alleged—Inquiry proposed.
Qs. Mr. Sloan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 775, 776; *July 25*, 1052.
Roundstone—Display of Flags on Licensed Premises, Illegal Prohibition of, by Constabulary—Letter of Rev. Mr. Gleeson asking for dismissal of Constables, alleged.
Qs. Mr. Sloan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 277–279.
Salaries of Constables, Initial.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 417.

Consular Service
see Diplomatic and Consular Service.

Continuation Schools Bill
l. 1R* *July 26*, 1179.

Contraband of War
Non-contraband Goods in Vessels carrying Contraband of War—Memorandum as to International Law, Proposed.
Q. Sir E. Sassoon; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 28*, 1456.
Search of Neutral Vessels for, etc., *see* Russo Japanese War—British Vessels, Detention and Search of; *also names of vessels detained.*

Contracts
Government Departments, Return relative to, Ordered, *July 28*, 1443.

Conyngham, Marquess of
Representative Peer for Ireland, Right of, to Vote at Elections, *July 15*, 145; *July 22*, 887.

Corbett, Mr. A. C. [Glasgow, Tradeston.]
Licensing Bill, *con.*, *July 27*, 1411.

Corea
Consular and Marriage Fees—Order in Council, 1904, presented, *July 22*, 890, 942.
Shipping Registry Order in Council, 1904, presented, *July 22*, 889, 942.
Trade Report Presented, *July 15*, 146.

Cork
Police—Religion of Head Constable.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 277.
Queen's College—Report of President for Session 1903–1904, presented, *July 21*, 678, 746.
Summer Assizes—Challenging of Jurors.
Qs. Mr. Flynn, Mr. MacVeagh; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1057–1058.

Cork and Orrery, Earl of
Representative Peer for Ireland, right of, to vote at Elections, *July 15*, 145; *July 26*, 1177; *July 28*, 1429.

Corn
Tax on, Information as to
Q. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, *July 22*, 921.

Coroners' Inquests
see Inquests.

Corporal Punishment.
Sentences Imposing—Return as to, Ordered, *July 21*, 747.

Cotton
Cultivation in Africa, encouragement of
Q. Sir S. King; *A.* Mr. Lyttleton, *July 25*, 1043—1044.

Cotton Factories
Ventilation, etc.—Humid Air Tests—Proportion of carbon dioxide, etc.
Q. Mr. Shackleton; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 15*, 159.

County Courts Bill
l. 2R., *July 18*, 245.
Com., *July 22*, 890.
Report from Standing Committee, *July 26*, 1179

County of Suffolk Bill
c. Report from Select Committee, *July 19*, 430.
Com. July 21, 884.
Com. and Rep.* *July 22*, 999
3R.* *July 26*, 1316.
l. 1R,* *July 28* 1433.

Court of Appeal
Account showing receipts and expenditure in respect of, for year ended *March 31*, 1904, presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1189.

Craig, Mr. C. C. [Antrim, S.]
Burke, D. J., Estate of—Sale, Price asked, etc., *July 26*, 1211, 1212.
Cusack Estate, Sale of—Progress of negotiations, *July 14*, 38.
Lunatic Asylums, Ireland—Ballinasloe Medical Superintendent, appointment of, tabling correspondence as to, proposed *July 19*, 421, 422.
Mayo County Council, Appointments under—Qualifications of candidates, necessity for knowledge of Irish Language, etc., *July 19*, 422, 423.
Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill, *con.*, *July 14*, 119.
Royal University, Ireland — Senate, Vacancy in — Appointment of Dr. Leslie proposed, *July 27*, 1323.

"Crew Hall"
Detention of, by Russian cruiser in the Red Sea—Inquiry proposed.
Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 21*, 754.

Criminal Aliens Bill
Facilities for passage of, proposed—Rejection of suggested arrangement by Committee, etc.
Q. Mr. Trevelyan; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 288.

Cripps, Mr. C. A. [Lancashire, Stretford]
Licensing Bill, *con.*, *July 26*, 1237, 1259, 1268, 1301, 1315; *July 27*, 1349, 1351, 1358, 1365, 1368, 1393, 1410.
Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill, *con.*, *July 18*, 352.

Crombie, Mr. T. W. [Kincardineshire]
Education (Scotland) Bill, Date of resuming discussion on, *July 26*, 1225.

Cross, Viscount
Torquay Tramways Bill, 3R., *July 25*, 1009.

Crown Agents for the Colonies
Ceylon—Files and Ship plates supplied by—price. etc.
Q. Master of Elibank; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 22*, 949, 950.
Directorships held by, regulations as to.
O. Mr Lyttelton, *July 21*, 877.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 28*, 1461, 1462.
Return as to Business of, tabling.
Q. Mr. A. Taylor; *A.* Mr. Lyttleton, *July 14*, 33-34, *July 15*, 155.

Crystal Palace District Gas Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Cullinan, Mr. J. [Tipperary, S.]
Cusack Estate, Sale of—Progress of negotiations, *July 14*, 38.
Evictions and Reinstatement of evicted tenants - Question of compensation to present occupiers who have purchased holdings, *July 19*, 407.
Grazing farms in West of Ireland let or sold to non-resident graziers, alleged—Powers of Estate Commissioners, etc., *July 25*, 1050.

Cunard Agreement
Expenses, Provision of money for.
Os. Sir H. Campbell Bannerman, Mr. A. Chamberlain, Mr. G. Bowles, *July 28*, 1484.

Cusack Estate
Sale of—Progress of negotiations.
Qs. Mr. C. Craig, Mr. Cullinan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 38.

Customs and Excise
Assam, *see* that title.
Statistical Department, checking of ships files by.
Q. Mr. E. Gray; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish *July 28*, 1449.

Dalrymple, Sir C. [Ipswich]
India—Petitions for Redress of Grievances presented in House of Commons, Action taken on, etc., *July 19*, 415.

Dalziel, Mr. J. H. [Kirkcaldy Burghs]
Coal, Export Duty on, Facilities for Discussion of, *July 20*, 631, 632.
Finance Bill, *com. July 20*, 631.
Post Office Sites Bill, 2R., *July 26*, 1316.

Dardanelles
Black Sea Volunteer Fleet—Passage of Cruisers under Commercial Flag—International Law as to, etc.
O. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 25*, 1061.
Os. Earl Spencer, *July 28*, 1433; Marquess of Lansdowne, 1434, 1435, 1436.
O. Mr. Brotherton; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 14*, 26.
Qs. General Laurie; *As.* Earl Percy, *July 18*, 268–269; *July 25*, 1045–1046.
Q. General Laurie; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 25*, 1064.
Qs. Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26* 1222.
Q. Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 27*, 1321.

Davenport, Mr. W. B.—*Financial Secretary to the War Office* [Cheshire, Macclesfield]
Africa, South, Garrison in—Cost of Maintenance, Expenditure on Barracks, etc., *July 26*, 1203–1204.
Barracks—Shamble Barracks, Galway, Name of Regiment occupying, etc., *July 18*, 286.
Clonaslee, Queen's County—Closure of Cut Road by Military Authorities—Compensation to Residents, etc., *July 14*, 47.
Dundonald, Lord—Dismissal from Canadian Militia and Agitation against His Majesty's Government in Canada, *July 18*, 294.
Expenditure under Military Works Act in 1903-4, Estimate for Current Financial Year, etc., *July 21*, 767.
Militia, Irish, bringing, to England—Explanation of Statement in Lord Wolseley's Official Minute, *July 14*, 47.
Officers, Pay of, Second Lieutenant—Living on Pay, etc., *July 14*, 32.
South African War—Witton, Lieutenant, Revising Sentence on, *July 14*, 33.

Davies, Mr. A. [Carmarthen Boroughs]
Cancer, Cause of—Effect of Consumption of Frozen Meat—Report of Cancer Research Committee, *July 25*, 1032–1033.

De Montalt, Earl
Estate of—Delay in hearing Fair Rent Appeals.
Q. Mr. K. O'Brien; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 281, 282.

Dean Forest Bill
l. 2R., *July 14*, 6.
Com., *July 15*, 150.
Rep.* *July 15*, 152.
Report from Standing Committee, *July 19*, 388.
Rep., *July 28*, 1438.

Death Duties
Increase in, proposed References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 507, 508, 511.

Deaths
Report of Registrar-General Presented, *July 28*, 1432, 1443.

De Burgh, Henrietta, Estate of
Sale of — Safeguarding Landlord and Tenants against Bargains induced by Duress, etc.
Q. Mr. V. Kennedy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 42.

Delagoa Bay
Transvaal interest in Pier Land and at Lorenço Marques, Protection of
Q. Master of Elibank; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1042.

Defence of the Empire
Committee of Defence.
Staff, Supplementary Estimate for Date of taking.
Qs. Mr. Buchanan; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 785-786.
Work of, Value of, etc.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 69.
Co-ordination between the War Office and Admiralty, Necessity for.
O. Lord Burghclere, *July 21*, 685.
Forces necessary for.
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 28*, 1478, 1479.

Delany, Mr. W. [Queen's County, Ossory]
Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department, Veterinary Branch.
Memorial of Officers, Text of Reply to, *July 19*, 423.
Transfer of, to Merrion St., proposed, *July 26*, 1218.
Army Officers, Communication with, by Members of the House—Function of Minister as Intermediary, etc., *July 25*, 1040.
Ballymacrossin—Estate of Major Fox—Reinstatement of Miss Masterson, evicted tenant, etc., *July 14*, 42, 43; *July 18*, 279, 280.
Cut Road, Clonaslee, Closure of, by Military Authorities—Compensation to Residents, etc., *July 14*, 47.

Denbigh, Earl of
Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill, *Com.*, *July 15*, 147–149.

Denman, Lord
Army
Compulsory Military Service—Financial aspect of the Proposal, *July 21*, 692, 693.

[*cont*

Denman, Lord—*cont.*
- Army—*cont.*
  - Esher Committee Report, Terms of, *July 21*, 691.
  - Foreign Service, Falling off in Recruits for, Rate of Pay, etc., *July 21*, 694, 695.
- Militia, Absorption and Abolition of—Reform Proposals, *July 21*, 693.

Denny, Col. J. M. [Kilmarnock Burghs]
- Alcohol used for Manufacturing Purposes.
  - Duty, Special Regulations for Reduction of, proposed, *July 21*, 755.
  - Price, Current, of, *July 26*, 1197.
- Navy—Old Warships, Sale of—Number sold to Foreigners, Conditions of Purchase, Sale of "Belleisle," etc., *July 15*, 161; *July 21*, 762.

Dental Companies
- Registered, Number and Names—Return Presented, *July 25*, 1025.

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Electric Power Bill
- *l.* Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Derwent Valley Water Board Bill
- *c. Con.* July 25*, 1022.
- 3R.* *July 28*, 1440.

De Trafford Estate Bill
- *c.* Rep.* *July 22*, 940.

Devlin, Mr. C. R. [Galway]
- Argentina, British Consul in, Removal of Canadian Flag Ordered by, etc., *July 26*, 1207–1208.
- Canada—Treaty-making Powers, Extension of, *July 26*, 1207.
- Dredger for West of Ireland, Provision of, proposed, *July 21*, 774–775.
- Galway.
  - Harbour, Lighting of, by Electricity—Failure of Electric Light, Inspection of Works, Reason for not Lighting by Gas, etc., *July 19*, 425, 426.
  - Land Purchase Transactions within area of Parliamentary Borough, *July 21*, 775.
  - Shamble Barracks, Name of Regiment Occupying, etc., *July 18*, 285.
- Local Government Board, Ireland—Tenders, Instruction to Unions, etc., as to Accepting Lowest, *July 19*, 419.

Devlin, Mr. J. [Kilkenny, N.]
- Bangor, Post Office Business—Return proposed, *July 27*, 1344.
- Belfast Corporation (Tramways) Bill 2R., *July 19*, 500, 506.
- Education—Dr. Starkie, Visit of, to Intermediate Schools—Authority to leave Dublin, Length of Absence, etc., *July 18*, 282.

Devlin, Mr. J.—*cont.*
- Johnstown, Sunday Delivery of Letters at, proposed, *July 18*, 285.
- Lambeth Guardians, Dismissal of Trained Roman Catholic Nurse by—Proposed Government Action, *July 14*, 36.
- Post Office.
  - Learners, Female—Pay, Period of Promotion, etc., in Ireland, *July 18*, 284, 285.
  - Letters with Addresses Applying Equally to Several Persons, Rule as to Delivery of, *July 18*, 254.
  - Tullaroan Postal Arrangements—Memorial from Mr. R. Meagher, *July 18*, 254.

Devonshire, Duke of
- Fiscal Policy—Attitude of the Government to Proposals of Mr. Chamberlain, etc., *July 22*, 890–900.

Dewar, Sir T. R. [Tower Hamlets, St. George's]
- Beck, Adolf, Mistaken Identity, Case of—Action to be taken, etc., *July 25*, 1030.
- Emigrant Ships, Life-saving Precautions on, Supply of Life-belts, etc., *July 25*, 1026.
- Postage Rates to the Continent, Reduction in, proposed, *July 22*, 948.
- Russo-Japanese War—Detention and Search of British Vessels in the Red Sea, Inquiry as to, proposed, *July 21*, 754.
- Telegraph Service.
  - Inspection Chambers, Explosions caused by Leakage of Gas into, *July 28*, 1444.
  - Underground System to the North, Progress of work, *July 27*, 1319.
- United States Charges on British Vessels entering American Ports, Reduction in, proposed, *July 26*, 1194.
- Volunteers, Review of, in Hyde Park, proposed, *July 26*, 1201.

Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W. [Gloucester, Forest of Dean]
- Army.
  - Army Corps System, Objections to, *July 14*, 95.
  - Expenditure on, Compared with that on the Navy, *July 14*, 96.
  - Garrisons in South Africa, Proposals as to Reduction of, *July 10*, 93.
  - Linked Battalions System, Abolition of, proposed, *July 14*, 92, 93.
  - Mounted Troops, Increase in Number of, proposed, *July 14*, 95.
  - Terms of Service under the New Proposals, *July 14*, 91, 92, 94.

Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W.—*cont.*
Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 19*, 466.
Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 466-68.
Jam Factories, Weights Lifted by Girls in—Enforcement of Fruit Preserving Order, *July 27*, 1321.
"Knight Commander," Sinking of—Information as to, *July 26*, 1224.
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 27*, 1386, 1390.
Sittings of the House—All Night Sitting—Procedure as to Business of Succeeding day, *July 20*, 661, 664.
South African Constabulary—Conditions of Service, *July 14*, 93.
Transvaal.
British Indians in, Treatment of, *July 21*, 818-820.
Chinese Labour, Introduction of, *July 21*, 813-818.
Financial Methods of Lord Milner, *July 21*, 820-822.

Dillon, Mr. J. [Mayo, E.]
Land Purchase, Ireland—Estates Certified under Land Act (1903) Section 6, Subsection 4, *July 27*, 1322.

Diplomatic and Consular Service
China—Consular and Marriage Fees—Order in Council Presented, *July 22*, 890, 942.
Corea—Consular and Marriage Fees—Order in Council Presented. *July 22*, 890, 942.
Examinations for Consular Service—Omission of Modern History.
Q. Mr. J. Kennedy; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 22*, 948.

Diseases of Animals
Swine Fever, Scotland—Alteration in Local Regulations as to Free Movement Area, proposed.
Q. Master of Elibank; *A.* Mr. A. Fellowes, *July 19*, 409.

Disraeli, Mr. C. R. [Cheshire, Altrincham]
Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 20*, 553.
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1273, 1314; *July 27*, 1358, 1363, 1405.

Divisions
Frivolous, or Vexatious, Challenge of—Members requested to rise in their places.
O. Mr. Speaker, *July*, *19*, 506.
Members requested to rise in their places, *July 19*, 429, 506.

Divorce and Matrimonial Causes
Rule, Additional, and Order, Presented, *July 14*, 22.

"Dmitri Donskoi"
Russian Warships Coaling at British Port, False declaration by Captain, etc.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 28*, 1457.

Dock and Harbour Dues
Committee on—Appointment of Representative of Crews, proposed.
Q. Mr. Runciman; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 28*, 1469, 1470.

Dockyards, Naval
Information to the Press by Employees, Exhibition of posters prohibiting.
Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 28*, 1457, 1458

Dogs
Experiments on.
Cancer in, Cause of, Examination of Specimens, etc.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 22*, 944.
Drowning and Resuscitation of—Result of Experiments by Professor Schafer.
Q. Col. Lockwood; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 21*, 748, 749.
Licences for Dogs kept for Vivisection purposes.
Q. Dr. Shipman; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 21*, 749.
Number Vivisected at University College in 1903.
Q. Dr. Shipman; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 22*, 944.

Dogs Bill
Date of taking.
Q. Mr. Bayley; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 19*, 427.

Doncaster Corporation Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Donegal Railway Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Donelan, Capt. A. J. C. [Cork, E.]
Commercial Gambling, Prevention of—Inquiry Proposed, *July 28*, 1478.
Motor Speed Regulations at Blackrock, *July 28*, 1471.
Rosscarbery Petty Sessions—Roman Catholic Boy Committed to Protestant Industrial School, Alleged, *July 28*, 1472.
St. Louis Exhibition—Irish Section of, Extra Charge for Admission, Number of Advertisements issued, etc., *July 21*, 779.
Sherlock Estate, Cork—Affording Opportunity for Tenants to Purchase Holdings, *July 14* 29.

Donoughmore, Earl of—*Under-Secretary for War.*

Home Service Soldier, Cost of, on Mobilisation, *July 21*, 725.

Militia.

Conversion of, into Territorial Battalions, proposed, *July 21*, 722, 723, 724.

Cost of, Per Man, *July 21*, 725.

Number of Men passing into the Line from, *July 21*, 722.

Re-organisation Proposals, *July 21*, 721–725.

Reform Proposals.

Barrack System, Changes in, *July 21*, 720.

Depots for Home Service Army, Establishment of, *July 21*, 714.

Employment of Men in Civil Life after Leaving the Army, *July 21*, 719.

Exchanges, Linked Battalion System for purposes of, *July 21*, 714, 715.

Foreign Service, Length of, for each Unit, *July 21*, 716.

General Service Battalions, Quartering in their own Counties, *July 21*, 717.

Linked Battalion System, Abolition of, *July 21*, 713, 714.

Recruits, Number of Required and Inducements offered, *July 21*, 717–719, 729.

Rifle Clubs, War Office Grant to, *July 21*, 726.

Striking Force, Establishment of, proposed, *July 21*, 716.

Terms of Service under, *July 21*, 712, 713, 719.

Territorial Battalions, Composition of, *July 21*, 720.

Rifle, New Service, Experiments with, Results of—Tabling Papers, proposed, *July 14*, 13–16, 18.

Doogan, Mr. P. C. [Tyrone, E.]

Dungannon School Attendance Committee, Failure of, to select Chairman, *July 18*, 283; 284.

Dorington, Rt. Hon. Sir J. E. [Gloucester, Tewkesbury]

Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 27*, 1352.

Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. [Kent, St. Augustine's]

Aliens, Number of, in Prisons, *July 19*, 416

Animals, Experiments on.

Anaesthetics, Administration of, Authority present at operations to supervise, *July 15*, 158,

Cancer, Dogs inoculated with, Examination of Specimens, etc., *July 22*, 944.

Douglas, Rt. Hon. A.—*cont.*

Animals, Experiments on—*cont.*

Consecutive experiments on the same animal, Number of, in 1903, *July 15*, 158, 159.

Drowning and resuscitation of dogs—Result of experiments by Professor Schafer, *July 21*, 749.

Licences for dogs kept for Vivisection Experiments, *July 21*, 749.

Number performed in 1903, *July 15*, 159.

Number of dogs vivisected at University College in 1903, *July 22*, 944.

Beck, Adolf, Mistaken identity case of—Action to be taken, etc., *July 25*, 1030.

Children, Employment of—Street trading Number employed in—Progress in making Byelaws, etc., *July 18*, 259, 260.

Clubs, Registration of—Number registered in 1903, Number struck off the register, etc., *July 21*, 748.

Dogs, experiments on, *see subheading* Animals.

Factories and Workshops.

Cotton Factories, Ventilation of—Humid Air Tests—Proportion of Carbon Dioxide, &c., *July 15*, 159.

Fruit Preserving Order, Enforcement of, as to weights lifted by girls in Jam Factories, *July 27*, 1321.

Industrial Schools, Number of, and Accommodation in, *July 14*, 24.

Inquests — Post mortem Examinations, Specialists called in by Coroners to perform—Return as to Numbers in 1903, proposed, *July 18*, 260.

Juvenile Offenders—Custody of Children under Remand—Conveyance to Remand Homes, proposed, *July 18*, 258. 259.

Licensing Bill.

Con., *July 26*, 1235, 1276.

Compensation—Goodwill, Provisions as to, *July 28*, 1469.

Mines, Electricity in—Inspectors, Lack of Knowledge among, etc., *July 14*, 35, 36.

Motor Cars, Revenue from Licences issued to, *July 14*, 25.

Police.

Metropolitan—Sunday Duty, Alteration in, proposed, *July 25*, 1030.

Sparkhill—Birching of Boy by Superintendent, Inquiry as to, proposed, *July 21*, 749.

Police Courts, Metropolitan—Juvenile Offenders dealt with, Numbers of, *July 14*. 24.

Douglas, Rt. Hon. A.—*cont.*
Prisoners Flogged under Vagrancy Act in 1903—Number, Nature of Offences, etc., *July 21*, 748.
Prisons, Aliens in—Number, etc., *July 19*, 416.
Sparkhill Police Superintendent, Birching of a Boy by—Inquiry, proposed, *July 21*, 749.
Telegraph Inspection Chambers, Explosions caused by Leakage of Gas into, *July 28*, 1444.
Vauxhall Bridge Closing—Complaints as to Obstruction of Traffic, Date of Completion of New Bridge, etc., *July 28*, 1445.
Vivisection, *see subheading* Animals, Experiments on.
West Ham Police Court, Weight of Birch used at, *July 18*, 271.
Workmen's Compensation Acts, Extension of, proposed, *July 18*, 271.

"Dragoman"
Detention of, by Russian Cruiser in the Red Sea—Inquiry proposed.
Q. Mr. Younger; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 19*, 409.

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill
l. 3R.* *July 14*, 3.
Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 938.

Dromore
Gamble, Mr., Assault on—Prosecution of assailants, etc.
Qs. Mr. Sloan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 777, 778.

Drowning
Resuscitation experiments on dogs, by Professor Schäfer, Result of.
Q. Col. Lockwood; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 21*, 748, 749.

Drunkenness (Ireland) Bill
c. 2R.* *July 18*, 384.

Dublin
Castle Telegraph Office—Appointment of Constable Woulfe.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 26*, 1220.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1474.
Harcourt Road Post Office—Postmaster, payment of arrears of salary to.
Q. Mr. Nannetti; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 26*, 1221.
Hibernian Academy, Royal, rehousing, proposed.
Q. Sir T. Esmonde; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 14*, 27–28.
Marlborough Street Training College.
Building Grants, Return as to.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1216.

Dublin—*cont.*
Marlborough Street Training College—*cont.*
Students—Number religious denominations, etc.—Return.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1216-1217.
Motor bicycles, alterations of numbers on, to escape identification after an accident, alleged—Incised or enamelled numbers, proposed.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 272, 273.
Pawnbrokers, Returns from City Marshal as to, presented, *July 18*, 230, 250.
Phoenix Park.
Gate Constable, reason for dismissal of.
Qs. Mr. Sloan; *As.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 27*, 1345, 1346.
Traders' Passes, Regulations as to.
Qs. Mr. Clancy; *As.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 14*, 45–46.
Trinity College.
Administration and government, Emoluments and Ages of Senior Fellows, etc.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill; *A.* Mr. Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 782.
Estate Commission—Date of First Sitting, etc.
Os. Mr. Flavin; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1475.

Dumbartonshire (Vale of Leven) Water Order Confirmation Bill
l. 3R.* *July 14*, 3.
c. *Con.** *July 18*, 249.
3R.* *July 21*, 744.

Duncan, Mr. J. H. [Yorkshire, W.R., Otley]
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 27*, 1387.
Valuation Bill, Government Intentions as to, *July 14*, 49.

Dundee, Broughty Ferry and District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill
l. 3R.* *July 22*, 889.
c. Lords' Amendments *Con.** *July 26*, 1187.

Dundonald, Lord
Dismissal from Canadian Militia and Agitation against Canadian Government.
Os. Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. J. F. Hope, Mr. Speaker, *July 19*, 429; Mr. Lloyd George, 482, 491, 499; Mr. W. Churchill, 485; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 490, 491, 493, 495; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 496; Mr. T. Healy, 498.
Qs. Mr. H. Heaton; *A.* Mr. B. Davenport, *July 18*, 294.

[*cont.*

Dundonald, Lord—*cont.*
  Dismissal from Canadian Militia—*cont.*
    Date of recall, power of enforcement of order, etc.
      Q. Mr. Markham; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 22*, 947.
    Recall immediately on dismissal, desirability of.
      Qs. Mr. W. Churchill, *July 19*, 486; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 495; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 497; Mr. T. M. Healy, 498.
    Right of Officers on Half-pay to take part in Politics.
      Qs. Mr. W. Churchill, *July 19*, 489; Mr. Arnold-Forster, 493.

Dundonald Cemetery, Belfast
  see under Belfast.

Dungannon
  School Attendance Committee, Failure of, to Select Chairman.
    Q. Mr. Doogan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 283, 284.

Dunfermline District Water Order Confirmation Bill
  l. 3R.* *July 22*, 889.

Duke, Mr. H. E. [Plymouth]
  Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 27*, 1403, 1405.

Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H. [Kent, Dartford]
  Sewage Farms, Fruit and Vegetables grown on—Regulations as to French importations to England proposed, *July 18*, 251.

East Africa
  see Africa, East.

Eastville, Bristol
  Workhouse—Sick poor accommodation, Schemes for improvement of.
    Q. Mr. H. Samuel; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 21*, 750, 751.

Ebbw Vale Urban District Water Bill
  l. Commons Amendments, *Con.** *July 22*, 888.

Edenderry
  Labourers' Cottages Scheme—Compensation Award.
    Q. Mr. H. Burke; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1341, 1342.

Edgeworthstown
  Floods, Cause and prevention of.
    Qs. Mr. Farrell; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1214.
  Loan Fund Society, Failure of—Relief to losers, proposed.
    Q. Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1214-1215.

Edinburgh and District Water Order Confirmation Bill
  c. 1R.* *July 28*, 1440.

Education
  Estimates, Date of taking.
    Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1224, 1225.
  Girls' Public Day School Company, Regulations as to continuance of grants to.
    Q. Sir G. Bartley; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *July 26*, 1209, 1210.
  Ireland.
    Dungannon School Attendance Committee, Failure of, to Select Chairman.
      Q. Mr. Doogan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 283, 284.
    Intermediate—Visit of Dr. Starkie to Intermediate Schools—Authority to leave Dublin, Length of absence, etc.
      Q. Mr. J. Devlin; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 282.
    Marlborough Street Training College, *see under subheading* Training Colleges.
    National Schools Teachers, *see that title.*
    Queen's Colleges, *see that title.*
    Royal University.
      Scholarships, Regulations as to holding, in addition to Royal University Scholarships.
        Q. Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 424, 425.
      Senate, Vacancy in—Appointment of Dr. Leslie, proposed.
        Q. Mr. C. Craig; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1323.
    Starkie, Dr., Commissioner, Visit of to Intermediate Schools—Authority to leave Dublin, length of absence, etc.
      Q. Mr. J. Devlin; Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 282.
    Trinity College, *see* under Dublin.
    Tulloha—Instruction in Irish language.
      Qs. Mr. Boland; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1215, 1216.
  Isle of Wight—Voluntary Schools, Agreement with County Councils as to transfer of.
    Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *July 21*, 773.
  Physical Deterioration Committee Report, Opportunity for discussion of.
    Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1224, 1225.

[*cont.*

Education—*cont.*
Schools.
Attendance Officers.
Relieving Officers, &c., Employ-of.
Q. Mr. H. Hobhouse; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 18*, 256-7.
Superannuation Regulations.
Q. Mr. Corrie Grant; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 15*, 159-160.
Hayward's Heath, Accommodation at—Erection of Additional School, proposed.
Q. Mr. E. Cecil; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *July 21*, 753-754.
Kendal Grammar School—Inspection of Art Instruction, Reason for Dismissal of Headmaster, &c.
Qs. Mr. Lawrence; *As.* Sir W. Anson, *July 15*, 156-7; *July 26*, 1193-1194.
Voluntary
Isle of Wight—Agreement with County Council as to Transfer of Schools.
Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *July 21*, 773.
Transfer of—Number Transferred since Act of 1902 came into operation.
Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *July 21*, 773-774.
Scotland — Cookery and Household economy, Number of girls receiving instruction in, in Highland crofting Counties.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. H. G. Murray, *July 25*, 1026.
Secondary and Technical.
Art Work, Inspection of—Number of Reports, &c.
Q. Mr. Lawrence; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *July 26*, 1193-1194.
Local Authorities, Application of Funds by, Return as to, presented, *July 26*, 1189,
Regulations for, presented, *July 19*, 387, 406.
Technical Instruction, Officials employed in, by English County Boroughs—Return proposed.
Q. Mr Joyce; *A.* Sir. W. Anson, *July 26*, 1210, 1211.
Teachers, National School, *see that title.*
Training Colleges, Ireland—Marlborough St. Dublin.
Building Grants, Return as to.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1216-1217.
Students, Number, Religious Denominations, etc., Return as to.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1216-1217.

Education, Board of
President—Marquess of Londonderry.
Parliamentary Secretary—Sir W. R. Anson.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (Birmingham) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Education Board Provisional Order (Cardiff) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Education Board Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937

Education Board Provisional Order (Swansea) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Education Department, Scotland
Vice-President of Council—Mr. A. Graham Murray.
Secretary—Sir Henry Craik.

Education [Local Authority Default] Bill
c. 2R., *July 15*, 165.
Debate on Second Reading [Commons], *July 15*, 165.
Act of 1902.
Compulsory administration of, 179-181, 183, 218.
Failure of in England and Wales, alleged, 166, 171, 172, 190, 193-195, 198, 200, 215-217.
Inquiry into working of, and cause of discontent in Wales, proposed, 171, 206, 211, 214.
Provisions of, refusal of Local Authorities to carry out.
Injustice done to children and Teachers by, 178, 184, 185, 191, 197, 203, 208-210, 214.
Reasons and Justifications for refusal, 167, 168, 170-175, 191.
Supersession of Local Authorities by School Boards, 178, 181-185, 193, 199, 208-210.
Carmarthen County Council, Action of, 170, 184 190, 191, 202, 203.
Carnarvon County Council, Action of, 191-193, 200-203.
"Conscientious Objections" not a sufficient reason for breaking the law, 175, 176, 184, 194, 208.
Elementary Schools supported by public funds, Placing under popular control, proposed, 166, 173, 181, 186, 187, 196, 198, 204.
Grant to be Withdrawn from Local Authorities, 182, 183, 189.

[*cont.*

Education [Local Authority Default] Bill —*cont.*
Debate on Second Reading—cont.
London County Council, Action of, in refusing Rates to Voluntary Schools, etc., 197, 198.
Religious Instruction.
Exclusion of from State Schools, proposed, 185, 186.
Provision of Sectarian and Denominational Teaching, Possibility of, 177, 186–188, 205, 211, 212.
Scotch System, Introduction of, proposed, 187, 188.
Teachers' Salaries, Differentiation in, by County Councils, Legality of, 189.
Tests on Teachers, Abolition of, proposed, 165, 173, 181, 196.
"Whiskey Money," Allocation of, in England, Scotland, and Wales, respectively, 196, 197.

Education (Scotland) Bill
Date of resuming Discussion on.
Qs. Mr. Crombie, Mr. Pirie; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1225.
Population, Valuation, and Assessment levied under Act of 1872, etc.—Return Ordered, *July 25*, 1011, 1024.

Edwards, Mr. F. [Radnor]
Education [Local Authority Default] Bill, 2R. *July 15*, 214-218.

Egypt
Suez Canal, *see that title.*
Trade Reports Presented, *July 22*, 889.

Electric Lighting (London) Bill
c Com., Rep., and 3R.* *July 25*, 1022, 1176.
l. 1R.* *July 26*, 1177.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill
c. 2R.* *July 25*, 1023.
Nature of Proposals—Return Presented, *July 14*, 22.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill
l. Com. *July 14*, 3.
Rep. and 3R.* *July 15*, 146.
c. 1R.* *July 15*, 154.
2R. * *July 26*, 1317.
Nature of Proposals, Memorandum as to, Ordered, *July 21*, 747; Presented, *July 22*, 942.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill
c. 2R.* *July 25*, 1023.
Nature of Proposals—Return Presented, *July 14*, 22.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill
c. Rep.* *July 15*, 152.
3R.* *July 18*, 249.
l. Royal Assent, *July 22* 885, 938.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill
c. 2R.* *July 25*, 1023.
Nature of Proposals—Return Presented, *July 14*, 22.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill
c. Rep.* *July 18*, 249.
Con. and 3R.* *July 19*, 404.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill
c. Rep.* *July 18*, 250.
Con. and 3R.* *July 19*, 405.
l. 1R.* *July 19*, 386.
2R.* *July 28*, 1430.

Electric Power Undertakings
Nature of Proposals—Return Presented, *July 14*, 22.

Electricity
Mines in—Inspectors, Lack of Knowledge Among, etc.
Qs. Mr. Markham, Mr. Fenwick; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 14*, 35-36.

Elibank, Master of [Edinburgh, Midlothian]
Africa, East—British Protectorate—Sub-Commissioner Bagge, Reasons for Transfer of, *July 18*, 268.
Ceylon Crown Agent, Files and Ship-plates supplied by—Price, etc., *July 22*, 949–950.
Delagoa Bay—Pier and land at Lorenco Marques, Protection of Transvaal Interests, etc., *July 25*, 1042.
Swine Fever—Alteration of Local Regulations as to free movement area in Scotland, proposed, *July 19*, 409.

Ellice, Capt. E. C. [St. Andrew's Burghs]
Transvaal, Importation of Chinese Labour to—Intoxicants, Supply of — Provisions of Liquor Licensing Ordinance, etc., *July 25*, 1042.

Ellis, Mr. J. E.—*Temporary Chairman of Committees.* [Nottingham, Rushcliffe]
Colonial Office Vote, Date of taking, *July 18*, 287.
Colonies, Development of—Loans and free grants voted by British Parliament since 1850, *July 18*, 262.
Finance Bill, *Con.*, *July 20*, 627.
Labourer (Ireland) Bill, Adjournment of Committee on, etc., *July 14*, 49-50.
Port of London Bill—Abandonment, Question of—Date of removal from Order Paper, etc., *July 18*, 288.

[*cont.*

Ellis, Mr. J. E.—*cont.*
- Railways—Brakes for goods waggons, Experiments as to—Rules for prevention of accidents, etc., *July 18*, 258.

Emigration and Immigration
- Aliens, *see that title.*
- Colonies—Laws and regulations as to Immigration, presented, *July 14*, 4, 21.

Emigrant Ships
- Life saving precautions on, supply of life-belts, etc.
  - *Q.* Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 25*, 1026.

Emmott, Mr. A. [Oldham]
- Budget, Discussions on, unusual length of, *July 20*, 628–630.
- Coal Tax, opportunity for discussion of, *July 20*, 543.
- Finance Bill.
  - *Com.*, *July 20*, 543, 628.
  - *Con.*, *July 25*, 1136.
- Sugar—Duty of 1091, Effect of, *July 25*, 1137.
- Taxation—Proportion as between the direct and indirect taxpayer, *July 25*, 1136.

Epizootic Lymphangitis
- Army horses, infection of—Steps taken to stamp out disease, number of stations at which outbreaks have occurred, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. H. Fisher; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 20*, 1452.

Erith
- Urban District Council *v.* Capt. Miles Barnes—Petition for proper Officer to attend before the Court of Summary Jurisdiction, *July 18*, 295.

Erroll, Earl of
- Army Rifle, new service—Range, method of carrying, wind-gauge, etc., *July 14*, 16, 17.

Erzeroum
- Trade Report, Presented, *July 19*, 387.

Esmonde, Sir T. G. [Wexford, N.]
- Ancient Monuments, Ireland—Number inspected in 1903-4, Expenditure on repairs etc., *July 18*, 253, *July 25*, 1027.
- Fishing Industry on South East coast of Ireland, Government proposals as to encouraging, *July 21*, 756.
- Gorey Post Office.
  - New site, objections to, *July 18*, 253.
  - Sunday Post from Gorey to Kilanevin, Establishing, proposed, *July 14*, 27.
- Hibernian Academy, Royal—Re-housing, proposed, *July 14*, 27.

Esmonde, Sir T. G.—*cont.*
- Institutions, Irish Public—Tenders for Supplies—New arrangements, *July 18*, 252; *July 25*, 1027–1028.
- Scotland, Lucy, Compensation to, for ill-treatment in Venezuela, *July 27*, 1324.

Essex, County of
- Polling Districts in—County Council Order altering, presented, *July 15*, 147, 155.

Evans, Mr. S. T. [Glamorgan, Mid.]
- Coal, Export duty on.
  - Annual instead of permanent tax, proposed, *July 22*, 956.
  - Effect of, on the trade, and wages of miners, etc., *July 22*, 974–978.
- Finance Bill, *Con.*, *July 22*, 956, 974.
- Workmen's Compensation Acts, Extension of, proposed, *July 18*, 271.

Evictions, Ireland
- Ballymacrossin—Estate of Major Fox—Re-instatement of Miss Masterson, etc.
  - *Qs.* Mr. Delany; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 42, 43; *July 18*, 1279, 280.
- Clinton Estate Disturbances, Action as to.
  - *Q.* Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1339.
- Collierstown—Application from F. Morris for re-instatement.
  - *Q.* Mr. Sheehy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 274, 275.
- Mahony Estate—Re-instatement of Mr. F. Doherty.
  - *Q.* Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 39.
- Malone, Rev. S. L., Estate of—Re-instatement of P. O'Brien.
  - *Qs.* Mr. Reddy; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 41; *July 25*, 1051.
- McGuire Estate—Re-instatement of T. Rourke.
  - *Qs.* Mr. Tully; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1217; *July 27*, 1343.
- Notices Filed—Return Presented, *July 19*, 406; *July 21*, 678.
- Re-instatement of Evicted Tenants—Question of compensation to present occupiers who have purchased holdings.
  - *Q.* Mr. Cullinan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 407, 408.
- Tenelich—Re-instatement of P. Magrath.
  - *Qs.* Mr. Farrell; *As.* Mr. Atkinson, *July 27*, 1338.

Exchequer Bonds
- *see under* Government Stock.

Excise
- *see* Customs and Excise.

Exports and Imports
- Brazil, Imports into—Report Presented, *July 15*, 146.

Extradition Act, 1870
- Straits Settlements—Fugitive Offenders—Order in Council, 1904, presented, *July 22*, 889, 942.

Factories and Workshops
- Cotton Factories, Ventilation of, etc.—Humid air tests—Proportion of Carbon dioxide, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Shackleton ; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 15*, 159.
- Jam Factories, enforcement of Fruit Preserving Order in, as to weights lifted by Girls.
  - *Q.* Sir C. Dilke ; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 27*, 1321.

Fair Rent
- Appeals
  - Montalt, Earl de, Estate of—Reason for delay.
    - *Q.* Mr. K. O'Brien ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 281, 282.
  - Rowland Estate—Action of Major Kiggel as agent of owner, etc.
    - *Qs.* Mr. Murphy ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 40, 41.
- Applications, statistics as to
  - *Q.* Mr. H. Heaton ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 781, 782.

Falcorrib
- Pier and Breakwater, Expenditure on, Arrangement as to
  - *Q.* Mr. H. Law ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 411.

Farrell, Mr. J. P. [Longford, N.]
- Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department — Veterinary Branch — Portal Inspectors, Pension rights of, etc., *July 26*, 1213.
- Cattle food, Analysis of — Authority empowered to undertake analyses, etc., *July 25*, 1055.
- Edgeworthstown.
  - Floods, cause and prevention of, etc., *July 26*, 1214.
  - Loan Fund Society, Failure of — Relief to losers proposed, *July 26*, 1214.
- Galbraith Estate, sale of—Applications received, *July 25*, 1055.
- Loan Fund Board, Ireland, Functions and powers of, *July 26*, 1215.
- Longford.
  - Agricultural Instructor, appointment of, *July 25*, 1054.
  - Artillery force stationed at — Promotion of private of whom complaint had been made, *July 25*, 1039, 1040.
- Peat-rearing experiment at Inny Junction —Cost, etc , *July 25*, 1054, 1055.
- Tenelich—Reinstatement of P. Magrath, *July 27*, 1338.

Felixstowe Gas Bill
- *l.* Rep., * *July 22*, 888.
- 3R., * *July 28*, 1429.

Fellowes, Mr. A. E. [Huntingdonshire, Ramsey]
- Argentina, Importation of Cattle from, to Great Britain — Removal of restrictions proposed, to prevent U.S. butchers' strike inducing meat famine, *July 15*, 160.
- Diseases of Animals—Swine Fever, Scotland—Alteration in local regulations as to free movement area, proposed, *July 19*, 409.
- Forestry Committee Recommendations, progress in carrying out, *July 28*, 1470.
- Merchant Shipping—Margarine, substitution of, for Butter in supplying seamen, alleged, *July 14*, 38.
- Ordnance Survey Department—Civil Assistant, Reduction in pay of, for absence without leave, *July 14*, 37.

Fenit
- Pier, Particulars as to loan for.
  - *Q.* Mr. Flavin ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 783.

Fenwick, Mr. C. [Northumberland, Wansbeck.]
- Coal, Export duty on.
  - Discussion of, opportunity for, *July 20*, 535, 580.
  - Effect of, on the trade and wages of miners, etc., *July 20*, 618-621 ; *July 22*, 982, 992; *July 28*, 1500.
- Finance Bill.
  - *Con.*, *July 20*, 535, 580, 617, 618.
  - *Con.*, *July 22*, 982, 192.
  - 3R. *July 28*, 1500.
- Mines, Electricity in—Departmental Committee Rules, Approval of, etc. *July 14*, 36.
- Taxation, Incidence of—Proportion between direct and indirect taxation, etc., *July 28*, 1501, 1502.

Ferguson, Mr. R. C. M. [Leith Burghs]
- Army
  - Compulsory Service, Financial aspects of, *July 14*, 101.
  - Reform proposals, Tabling Memorandum as to, proposed, *July 14*, 100, 101.
  - Three years service system, Failure of, *July 14*, 101.
- Coal, export duty on, effect of, on the trade, and wages of miners, etc., *July 20*, 650-652.
- Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 18*, 299, 330, 363 ; *July 20*, 650.
- Militia, Changes in Organisation of, *July 14*, 100, 101.
- Tobacco Duties on Stripped Tobacco.
  - Additional duty, *July 18*, 330.
  - Rebate on tobacco proved to have been in bond before April 20, 1904 ; *July 18*, 299.

Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. [Manchester, N. E.]
Army.
Guards Brigade — Number of re-engagements during first six months of 1903 and 1904, *July 21*, 766.
Recruiting Returns for 1903-4—Comparison with 1898-99, &c., *July 21*, 765, 766.
Indian Army—Re-engagements, number of, *July 28*, 1460.
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1229, 1231, 123.
Merchant Seamen—Desertions in Pacific ports in 1903, Inquiry as to. *July 21*, 772.

Field, Mr. W. [Dublin, St. Patrick.]
Bankruptcy court, Ireland—Unclaimed Dividend Fund, amount of, utilisation, &c., *July 21*, 756.
Local Government Board Circular of 11th March, 1899, Number of local authorities adopting suggestions in, &c., *July 21*, 750.

Filey Improvement Bill.
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Finance Bill
For subjects of debates, see titles Coal, Income Tax, National Debt, Sugar, Taxation, Tea, Tobacco, *etc.*
c. Com., *July 18*, 296; *July 19 and 20*, 430.
Rep., *July 20*, 676.
Con., *July 22*, 951.
3R.* *July 28*, 1485.
Clauses 4 and 5—Date of Coming into force.
Os. Mr. J. F. Hope, Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 19*, 430; Mr. G. Bowles, 431, 435; Sir G. Bartley, 431, 437; Sir F. Flannery, Mr. Scott-Montagu, 432; Mr. Buchanan, 436; Mr. Runciman, 438.
Clause 6, Proposed omission of Sub-Clause 2.
Os. Mr. Kenna, *July 20*, 526; Sir R. Finlay, 527.
Clause 8—Omission of words, "and the Acts amending that Act," proposed.
Os. Mr. Soares, *July 20*, 567; Sir R. Finlay, 567, 568; Mr. W. Churchill, Mr. S. Buxton, 568.
Completion of Committee stage, arrangements as to.
Os. Mr. S. Buxton, *July 18*, 383; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 383, 384; Mr. W. Churchill, 384.
Date of sending to the House of Lords—Inadequate Time allowed for Discussion, etc.
Os. Marquess of Lansdowne, Earl Spencer, *July 28*, 1439.
Dates of Taking, &c.
Os. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 25*, 1065, 1066.

Finance Bill—*cont.*
Motions to report progress.
Os. Mr. S. Buxton, *July 20*, 533, Mr. A. J. Balfour, 533, 579, 627; Mr. J. Wilson, 579; Mr. Lough, 851, 582; Mr. Johnson, Mr. W. Churchill, 582; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 625, 626, 628, 658; Sir E. Grey, 628; Mr. E. Wason, Mr. C. Warner, 630; Mr. C. Hobhouse, 634; Mr McCrae, 634, 635; Mr. Labouchere, 635; Mr. J. Walton, Sir J. Joicey, Mr. Lough, 636.
Temporary or permanent nature of the duties.
Os. Mr. McKenna, *July 19*, 435, 440; Mr. G. Bowles, 436, 438; Mr. Flynn, 436; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 436, 437; Mr. S. Buxton, 437; Mr. Buchanan, Mr. H. Samuel, 438.
Third Reading.
Postponement of, Proposed.
Os. Mr. T. Shaw, *July 28*, 1486; Mr. Whitley, 1491; Mr. S. Buxton, 1511; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1553.
Proceedings on, to take precedence over Business of Supply.
Motion (Mr. A. J. Balfour), *July 28*, 1485.

Financial Secretary to the Admiralty
Mr. E. G. Pretyman.

Financial Secretary to the War Office
Mr. W. Bromley-Davenport.

Finlay, Sir R. B.—*Attorney-General* [Inverness Burghs]
Finance Bill.
Com., *July 19*, 527, 567, 568.
Clause 6, Proposed Omission of Sub-Clause 2, *July 20*, 527.
Clause 8—Omission of words, "and the Acts amending that Act," proposed, *July 20*, 567, 568.
Trustees, Frauds by—Prevention by establishment of Public Trustee, proposed, *July 28*, 1447.

First Commissioner of Works
Lord Windsor.

First Lord of the Admiralty
Earl of Selborne.

First Lord of the Treasury
Mr. Arthur J. Balfour.

Fiscal Policy
Debate [Lords] *July 22*, 890.
Albert Hall Meetings, Text of Resolutions moved at, 895, 896, 905, 934.
Chamberlain, Mr, Policy of
Attitude of the Government towards, 898, 899, 908, 910, 914-916, 919, 931, 935.
Objections to, 920, 921.

[*cont.*

Fiscal Policy—*cont.*
Debate—*cont.*
Colonial Preference, Attitude of the Government towards, 896–898, 902, 903, 911, 917, 920, 927–929.
Contradictory assertions by Ministers, 892, 901, 902, 918.
Corn, proposed tax on, information as to, 921.
Food, taxation of, Government attitude towards, 893, 894, 897, 903, 906, 917.
Government Majorities, smallness of, 892, 894.
Liberal Unionists Association, reconstruction of Acceptance of office and speeches by members of the Government, 891, 895–897, 903–906, 909, 912, 913, 924–926, 931, 934, 935.
Manufactured goods, Ten per cent duty on—Government attitude towards, 918, 922.
Policy of the Government, definition of, 897–899, 901, 902, 906–908, 910, 914–916, 918, 919, 923, 926, 927, 929–932, 935, 936.
Colonial Conference on the fiscal situation, proposed.
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1041.
Food, Taxation of—Policy of the Government—Vote of censure, motion for—opportunity for discussion.
Qs. Sir H. Campbell Bannerman; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 292–295.
Qs. Mr. W. Churchill, Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. Buchanan, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 19*, 428.
Government policy at next general election.
Q. Mr. Black; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 15*, 165.
Preferential treatment between Great Britain and Colonies.
Colonies, offers from, as to preferential treatment of British manufactures.
Q. Mr. Buchanan; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 27*, 1332.
Document alleged to have been brought before the Cabinet in 1903—Tabling, proposed.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 785.

Fisher, Mr. W. H. [Fulham]
Army Horses—Outbreaks of epizootic lymphangitis—number—steps taken to stamp out infection, etc., *July 28*, 1452.

Fisheries
Freshwater—Report for 1903 of proceedings under Acts, presented, *July 22*, 889, 942.

Fisheries—*cont.*
Ireland.
Ballynahinch trout fisheries, illegal netting in, alleged.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1340, 1341.
Bann River, Upper, Illegal net fishing in.
Q. Col. Saunderson; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1199.
South-east Coast, Government Proposals as to encouraging Fishing Industry on.
Q. Sir T. Esmonde; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 756.
Salmon—Report for 1903 of Proceedings under Acts, presented, *July 22*, 889, 942.
Sea—Report for 1903 of Proceedings under Acts, presented, *July 22*, 889, 942.
Scotland—Fish carriage of, to Southern Markets, Reduction in Rates, proposed.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *July 27*, 1320.
Weser Seaports, Trade of—Report, presented, *July 21*, 677.

Fison, Mr. F. W. [York, W. R., Doncaster]
Coal Tax, Opportunity for Discussion of, *July 20*, 539.
Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 20*, 539, 646.
Vauxhall Bridge, Closing—Complaints as to Obstruction of Traffic, etc., *July 28*, 1445.

Flannery, Sir J. F. [Yorkshire, Shipley]
Finance Bill.
Com., *July 19*, 432.
Clause 4, Date of coming into force, *July 19*, 432.

Flavin, Mr. M. J. [Kerry, N.]
Butter, Irish salt firkin, Regulations as to, *July 21*, 781.
Fenit Pier, Particulars as to Loan for, *July 21*, 783.
National Gallery, Ireland—Vacancy on Board of Governors, *July 28*, 1474.
Navy, Flogging in, *July 18*, 264.
Prisoners, Untried, Consent of, to being Photographed, *July 18*, 276.
Trinity College Estate Commission, Date of first sitting, etc., *July 28*, 1475.

Flogging
Navy, *see that title.*
Prisoners Flogged under Vagrancy Act in 1903—Number, Offences, etc.
Q. Mr. Lloyd Morgan; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 21*, 748.

Flower, Sir E. F. S. [Bradford, W.]
Africa, South—Banks, Claims by, as to Specie Commandeered by late South African Republic, *July 28*, 1455

Flynn, Mr. J. C. [Cork, N.]
Beer, Additional duties on, *July 19*, 439.
Cork Summer Assizes—Challenging of Jurors, *July 25*, 1057–1058.
Finance Bill.
Com., *July 19*, 439.
Temporary or Permanent Nature of the Duties, *July 19*, 436.
Irish Trade with Great Britain, Authority for Treating, as Coasting Trade, etc., *July 28*, 1477, 1478.
Kanturk—Bicycle-Riding on Footpath by Constable, alleged, *July 26*, 1199.
Post Office Wages—Bradford Committee—Report, Delay in Printing, for use of Members—Access of Press to advance copy, etc., *July 18*, 290, 291.
Spirits, Additional duties on, Objections to, *July 19*, 439, 440.
Tibet Expedition—Communications with China as Suzerain Power, *July 18*, 265, 266.

Food
Taxation of, *see* Fiscal Policy.

Foreign Office
Secretary of State—Marquess of Lansdowne.
Under Secretary—Earl Percy.

Foster, Sir B. W. [Derbyshire, Ilkeston]
Army—Recruiting—Removal of London District Head Quarters—Negotiations for New Site, *July 18*, 262.
Coal, Export Duty on, Effect of, on the trade, and wages of miners, etc., *July 22*, 978, 979.
Indian Army—Fevers, Dum-Dum and Malarial—Progress of Investigations as to mode of Inspection, etc., *July 26*, 1201.
Finance Bill.
Con., *July 22*, 978.
3R., *July 28*, 1537, 1540, 1541.
Madeira—German Sanatorium Syndicate, Concessions granted to—Protecting British Interests, *July 14*, 34, 35; *July 21*, 754.
Sparkhill Police Superintendent, Birching of Boy by—Inquiry proposed, *July 21*, 749.
Tea, Additional 2d. per pound on, *July 28*, 1537, 1538.
Tobacco Duties, Objections to, *July 28*, 1538–1542.

Forestry
Committee Recommendations, Progress in Carrying out.
Q. Mr. A. K. Lloyd; *A.* Mr. A. Fellowes, *July 28*, 1470.

"Formosa"
Detention and Search of Russian Cruisers—Alleged Breach of International Law.
Os. Earl Spencer, *July 28*, 1433; Marquess of Lansdowne, 1435; Mr. Runciman, 1481; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 1482.

Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir H. H. [Wolverhampton, East]
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 27*, 1371.
Transvaal.
Chinese Labour, Importation of.
British Guiana Ordinance, Terms of—Comparison with Transvaal Ordinance, *July 21*, 789–797.
Necessity for—Financial Situation, etc., *July 21*, 799, 800.
Regulations made under the Ordinance, Tabling, proposed, *July 28*, 1456.
Indian Labour, Reasons for Non-employment of, *July 21*, 791, 792.
Sand River Convention, Terms of, *July 21*, 797, 798.

France
Arbitration Treaty with Great Britain.
Convention, Date of Ratification of, etc.
Qs. Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 286.
Newfoundland Government, Concurrence of.
Qs. Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 287.
Sewage Farms, Vegetables and Fruit grown on, Importation of, into England—Regulations proposed as to sale of fruit, etc., to be eaten uncooked.
Q. Sir W. Hart Dyke; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 18*, 251.
Trade Reports Presented, *July 14*, 4; *July 21*, 677; *July 25*, 1011.

Frankfort-on-Maine
Trade Report—Presented, *July 18*, 230.

Freshwater Fisheries
Report for 1903 of Proceedings under Acts, presented, *July 22*, 899.

Friendly Societies
Income Tax—Exemption of Societies with incomes less than £160, proposed.
Os. Mr. G. Whiteley, *July 20*, 672; Mr. A. K. Loyd, 673; Mr. Lough, *July 25*, 1175, 1176; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1176.
Q. Mr. A. K. Lloyd; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 18*, 269.

Fruit Preserving Order
Enforcement of, as to Weights lifted by Girls in Jam Factories.
Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 27*, 1321.

Freeman-Thomas, Mr. F. [Hastings]
Postmen, Pensions of, considering Sunday Pay in calculating, *July 14*, 27.

Furness, Sir C. [Hartlepool]
Coal, Export Duty on, Opportunity for Discussing, *July 20*, 635, 636.
Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 20*, 635, 636.

Galbraith Estate
Sale of—Application received.
Q. Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1055.

Galway
Harbour—Lighting by electricity—Failure of electric light—inspection of works—Reason for refusal to light by gas, etc.
Qs. Mr. C. Devlin; *As.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 19*, 425, 426.
Land Purchase—Transactions within area of Parliamentary Borough.
Q. Mr. C. Devlin; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 775.
Shamble Barracks, name of regiment occupying, etc.
Q. Mr. C. Devlin; *A.* Mr. B. Davenport, *July 18*, 285, 286.

Gambling
Commercial, Prevention of—Inquiry proposed.
Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 28*, 1478.

Gas
Leakage into telegraph inspection chambers, explosions caused by, during the last two years.
Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 28*, 1444.

Gas and Water Orders Confirmation Bill
c. 2R.* *July 19*, 405.
Rep.* *July 28*, 1441.
Nature of proposals—Return Presented, *July 14*, 22.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill
c. 2R.* *July 25*, 1023.
Nature of proposals—Return Presented, *July 18*, 250.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill
c. Rep.* *July 15*, 152.
*Con.** *July 18*, 249.
3R.* *July 19*, 404.
Nature of proposals—Return Presented, *July 14*, 21.

Gas Orders Confirmation (No. 3) Bill
c. Rep.* *July 22*, 940.
*Con.** *July 25*, 1022.
Nature of proposals—Return Presented, *July 14*, 21.

Gault Estate
Sale of—Progress of negotiations.
Q. Mr. T. W. Russell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 776.

Genoa
Trade Report Presented, *July 18*, 230.

Geological Survey
Drift Maps—Number completed, Number of Publications contemplated, &c.
Q. Mr. Morrell; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *July 15*, 157-8.

Germany
Ceramic Industries, Special Technical Schools for—Report presented, *July 21*, 677.
Madeira—Sanatorium Syndicate, Concessions granted to—Protecting British Interests.
Qs. Sir W. Foster; *As.* Earl Percy *July 14*, 34, 35; *July 21*, 754.
Trade Reports Presented, *July 18*, 230.
Weser Seaports, Fishing Trade of—Report Presented, *July 21*, 677.

Gibbs, Hon. Alban G. H. [London]
Wines—Fraudulent Trade Description and Sale of Manufactured Wine—Protection of the Public, &c., *July 26*, 1196.

Gilhooly, Mr. J. [Cork Co., E.]
Margarine, Substitution of, for Butter, in supplying Merchant Seamen, Alleged, *July 14*, 37.
O'Donovan, Mr., Property of, in Durrus District—Date of Inspection by Congested Districts Board, *July 21*, 757.

Girls Public Day School Company
Grant to, Regulation as to Continuance of.
Q. Sir G. Bartley; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *July 26*, 1209, 1210.

Girouard, Sir Percy
Resignation of, from Railway Administratorship in S. Africa—Tabling Papers, proposed.
Q. Mr. Buchanan; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 19*, 413, 414.

Glasgow
Prison—Vaccination of Prisoners, Regulations as to.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *July 25*, 1026, 1027.
Telegraph Office Clerks, Proposed Reduction in Class of.
Q. Mr. J. Wilson; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 255.

Glasgow and South-Western Railway (Darvel and Lanarkshire Railway Transfer) Order Confirmation Bill
c. 1R.* *July 28*, 1441.

Glasgow & South-Western Railway Order Confirmation Bill
c. *Con.** *July 14*, 19.
3R.* *July 18*, 249.
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Glasgow Corporation (Police) Order Confirmation Bill
l. 3R.* *July 28*, 1430.

Glasgow Corporation (Tramways, &c., Order Confirmation Bill
l. 2R. and *Com.** *July 15*, 146.
3R.* *July 18*, 230, *July 19*, 386.
c. 1R.* *July 19*, 405.
2R.* *July* 26, 1317.

Goddard, Mr. G. F. [Ipswich],
Army Estimates—Increase, estimated, under re-armament scheme in 1905-6, 1906-7 *July 21*, 759-760, *July 2*, 944.
Middlesborough Post Office—Relatives of Superior Officials, Regulations as to, Appointment of, &c., *July 21*, 751.

Gold Coast Colony
Tarkwa-Sekondi-Kumasi Railway, Goods Rates on
Q. Mr. C. McArthur ; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 27*, 1324, 1325.

Gordon, Ma'or W. Evans [Tower Hamlets, Stepney]
Alien Immigration Returns, unreliability of, alleged, *July 18*, 271, 272.

Gorey, Ireland
Post Office—New Site, Objections to.
Q. Sir T. Esmonde ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 253.
Sunday Post to Kilanevin, Establishing, proposed.
Q. Sir T. Esmonde ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 14*, 27.

Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. E. [Cambridge University]
Children, Employment of—Street Trading, number employed in—Progress in making Bye-laws, &c., *July 18*, 259.
Education [Local Authority Default] Bill, 2R. *July 15*, 168, 183.
Industrial Schools, Number of, and Accommodation in, *July 14*, 24.
Juvenile Offenders.
Custody of Children under remand—Conveyance to Remand Homes and trial in separate Courts, proposed, *July 18*, 259.
Metropolitan Police Courts, in, *July 14*, 24.
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 27*, 1386, 1393, 1394.

Goschen, Viscount
Fiscal Proposals—Policy of H.M. Government, *July 22*, 929-933.

Gortnasate
Marine Works, date of commencement of.
Q. Mr. H. Law ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 410, 411.

Gothenburg
Trade Report Presented, *July 21*, 677.

Govan Corporation Order Confirmation Bill
c. *Con.** *July 14*, 19.
3R.* *July 18*, 249.
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Government Departments
Contracts, Return relative to, Ordered, *July 28*, 1443.

Government Stock
Exchequer Bonds, Renewal of—Terms, &c.
Q. Mr. Buchanan ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 27*, 1322.
Unclaimed Dividend Account, Realisation of.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 551-560.
Unclaimed Dividends, Application of, to pay off Budget deficit.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1072; *July 28*, 1488, 1492, 1559.

Gowna, Lough
Drainage of—Petitions from farmers, etc.
Q. Mr. V. Kennedy ; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 27*, 1345.

Grant, Mr. C. [Warwickshire, Rugby]
Education—Schools—Attendance Officers—Superannuation Regulations, *July 15*, 159.
Samoa—Bombardment of Apia—Claims of British Residents for Damage, and award of the King of Sweden, *July 25* 1033.

Gray, Mr. E. [West Ham, N.]
Customs and Excise—Statistical Department, Checking of Ships' Files by, *July 28*, 1449.
Education (Local Authority Default) Bill, 2R. *July 15*, 190, 202.
Imperial Service Medal, Regulations as to recommending, *July 28*, 1479.

Great Central and Midland Joint Railways Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 939.

Great Central Railway Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Great Eastern Railway Bill
c. Lords' Amendments, *Con.** *July 14*, 18.
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Great Northern Railway Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Great Western Railway Bill
c. Con. July 25*, 1022.
3R.* *July 28*, 1440.

Greenock Corporation Order Confirmation Bill
l. 2R. and *Com.* July 15*, 146.
3R.* *July 18*, 229.
c. 1R.* *July 19*, 405.
2R.* *July 26*, 1317.

Greenwich Observatory
Report of Astronomer Royal, Presented, *July 28*, 1443.

Gretton, Mr. J. [Derbyshire, S.]
Licensing Bill, *con.*, *July 27*, 1379, 1407.

Grey, Earl
Africa, South, Freights to, Return of, with Quantities and Description of Goods Exported from the United Kingdom and America, proposed, *July 19*, 395–402.

Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E. [Northumberland, Berwick]
Budget Discussions on, Unusual length of, *July 20*, 628.
Coal Tax.
Discussion of, Opportunity for, *July 20*, 535, 581.
Effect of, on the Trade, and Wages of Miners, etc.—Abolition of Duty, proposed, *July 20*, 647–650.
Education [Local Authority Default] Bill, 2R., *July 15*, 169.
Finance Bill.
Com., *July 19*, 458 ; *July 20*, 535, 541, 581, 628, 647.
Motion to Report Progress, *July 20*, 628.
Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 458, 459.
Licensing Bill, *con.*, *July 26*, 1244–1246.

Griffith, Mr. E. J. [Anglesey]
Income Tax Districts, Division of—Alleged Circular of Chief Inspector, *July 18*, 261.
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1295 ; *July 27*, 1403, 1409.

Groves, Mr. [Salford S.]
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1233, 1246, 1275 ; *July 27*, 1411.

Guest, Mr. J. C. [Plymouth]
Army.
Establishment, proposed reductions in, *July 14*, 109.
Reform proposals, *July 14*, 109–112.
Militia re-organisation proposals, *July 14*, 112.

Guardians, Boards of
see under Poor Law.

Guiana, British
Coolie labour in—Ordinances, terms of, and circumstances of passing.
Os. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 789, 791, 795, 786 ; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 802, 807 ; Sir C. Dilke, 815 ; Mr. Lyttelton, 837.

Gweedore
Postal Service, Improvement in, proposed.
Q. Mr. H. Law ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 19*, 410.

Haldane, Rt. Hon. R. B. [Haddington]
Alcohol used for Motive Power, etc., Exemption of from Duty, proposed, *July 25*, 1107–1110.
Finance Bill, *con.*, *July 25*, 1107, 1109.

Hall Marking of Foreign Plate Bill
l 3R * *July 14*, 5.
Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Halsbury, Earl of—*Lord Chancellor.*
County Courts Bill.
2 R., *July 18*, 245.
Com., *July 22*, 890.

Hamilton Gas Order Confirmation Bill
l 3R. * *July 14*, 3.
c 1R. * *July 14*, 20.
2R.* *July 19*, 405.
Rep.* *July 28*, 1441.

Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W. G. V. [Monmouthshire, W.]
Education [Local Authority Default] Bill 2R., *July 15*, 168, 169.

Hardie, Mr. J. K. [Merthyr Tydvil]
Coal, Export Duty on, Effect of, on the Trade, and Wages of Miners, etc., *July 22*, 983–986.
Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 22*, 983.
Russo-Japanese War—British Vessels, Detention and Search of, by Russian Cruisers, *July 28*, 1482.

Hardinge, Viscount
Army.
Inducements and Encouragement to men to Join, Necessity for, *July 21*, 697, 698.
Reform Proposals, Facilities for further Discussion of, *July 19*, 388.
Militia, Organisation of—Reform Proposals *July 21*, 698, 699.

Harmsworth, Mr. R. L. [Caithness-shire]
Navy—"Prince of Wales," Improvement of Gun Sights of, *July 25*, 1028.

Harris, Lord
Army Reform Proposals.
Depôts for Home Service Army, Establishment of, *July 21*, 710.
Foreign Service, Length of, for each Unit, *July 21*, 709.
Striking Force, Establishment of, proposed, *July 21*, 708.
Terms of Service under, *July 21*, 708.
Territorial Battalions, Quartering, in their own Territory, proposed, *July 21*, 709.

Harrogate Waterworks Tramroad Bill
c. 3R.* *July 21*, 743.
l. Commons' Amendments, *con.*, *July 22*, 888.

Harrow Road and Paddington Tramways Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Hastings *v.* Cogavin
Interpretation of "Public Work" in Application of Enactments Order—Assimilation of Law in England and Ireland, proposed.
Q. Mr. Tully ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 282, 283.

Harwood, Mr. G. [Bolton]
Alcohol used for Manufacturing Purposes, Exemption of, from Duty, proposed, *July 25*, 1115.
Finance Bill, *con.*, *July 25*, 1115, 1139, 1157.
Licensing Bill, *con.*, *July 26*, 1287.
Sugar Duty of 1901, Effect of, *July 25*, 1140.
Tea, Additional Duty on, Objections to, *July 25*, 1157, 1158.

Hawai
Trade Report Presented, *July 14*, 4.

Hawkesbury, Lord
Torquay, Tramways Bill, 3R., *July 25*, 1004.

Hayden Mr. J. P. [Roscommon, S.]
Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department — Statistical Section, Superintendent of—filling Vacancy, *July 28*, 1475.
Lunatic Asylums, Ireland — Medical Officers, Regulations as to Appointment of, *July 19*, 420.
Poor Law, Ireland—Medical Officers—Salaries, Increase in—Amount to be borne by Local Rates, etc., *July 19*, 421.

Hayward's Heath
School Accommodation, Increase of—Erection of Additional School, proposed.
Q. Mr. E. Cecil ; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *July 21*, 753–754.

Healy, Mr. T. M. [Louth, N.]
Belfast Corporation (Tramways) Bill, 2R., *July 19*, 500, 505, 506.
Dundonald, Lord — Dismissal from Canadian Militia and Agitation against Canadian Government, *July 19*, 498.
Prisons, Irish Military, Provision of Robes, etc., for Chaplains of — Allowing Privilege to Roman Catholics, *July 14*, 30.

Heaton, Mr. J. H. [Canterbury]
Achin, Dutch War with—British Government Representations, as to Killing of Women and Children, proposed, *July 28*, 1464.
Dundonald, Lord — Dismissal from Canadian Militia and Agitation against His Majesty's Government in Canada, *July 18*, 294.
Land Commission Ireland—Rents, Comparison of, between 1881 and 1903—Number of Fair Rent Applications since 1881, *July 21*, 781.
Land Purchase, Ireland—Advances made since 1881, Statistics as to, *July 21*, 781.
Motor Cars, Revenue from Licences issued to, *July 14*, 24–25.

Helme, Mr. N. W. [Lancashire, Lancaster]
Expenditure, increase in, necessity for economy, etc., *July 28*, 1535, 1536.
Finance Bill, 3R., *July 28*, 1535.
Licensing Bill, *con.* *July 27*, 1404.

Heneage, Lord
Army.
Barrack System, Changes in, *July 21*, 701.
Linked Battalion System, Abolition of, *July 21*, 699–701, 704.
Territorial Battalions, Composition of, *July 21*, 702.
Militia.
Number of Men passing into the Line from, *July 21*, 700.
Organisation of—Reform Proposals, *July 21*, 702, 704.

Hibernian Academy, Royal
Re-Housing proposed.
Q. Sir T. Esmonde ; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 14*, 27–28.

Hickman, Sir A. [Wolverhampton]
Indian Railways—East India Railway, Order for locomotives placed by, in Germany, alleged, *July 26*, 1198–1199.

High Courts of Justice
Account Presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1189.
Ireland — Probate Division — Account Presented, *July 27*, 1318 ; *July 28*, 1433.

Historical Manuscripts

Mar and Kellie, Earl of, Manuscripts belonging to, Report on, Presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1189.

Stuart Papers, Calendar of, Presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1189.

Hobhouse, Mr. C. E. H. [Bristol, E.]

Alcohol used for Motive Power, etc., Exemption of, from Duty, proposed, *July 25*, 1105, 1106.

Animals, Slaughtering of, Humane methods of—Committee Report, Date of Presenting, *July 22*,947.

Army.

Corps—Six Corps Scheme, Rescinding Resolution as to, proposed, *July 19*, 427.

Recruiting.

Desertions by Recruits during year ended 14th July, 1904, *July 28*, 1459, 1460.

Returns for 1903-4, *July 21*, 764, 765.

Reform Proposals, *July 14*, 104-106.

Reserves.

Mobilisation of — Number of Occasions since 1880 on which Reserves have been called out, Percentage Joining, Total Number of Troops Employed, etc., *July 21*, 760.

Number of Reservists available on 1st October 1899, *July 22*, 949.

Strength on 1st July, 1904, *July 28*, 1460.

Soldiers—Infantry—Number, Years of Service, etc., on 1st Oct., 1899, *July 28*, 1456.

Coal, Export Duty on, Effect of, on the Trade and Miners' Wages, etc., *July 22*, 970-972.

Finance Bill.

Com., *July 20*, 634.
con., *July 25*, 1105.

Motion to Report Progress, *July 20*, 634.

Militia Recruiting—Return for 1903-4, *July 21*, 765.

Sittings of the House—All-night Sitting—Procedure as to Business of Succeeding day, *July 20*, 665.

Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. H. [Somersetshire, E.]

Education—Schools—Attendance Officers, Employment of Relieving Officers as, etc., *July 18*, 256.

Licensing Bill, *con.*, *July 26*, 1242, 1299; *July 27*, 1351, 1358, 1401.

Holland

Achin, War with—British Government Representations as to Killing of Women and Children, proposed.

Q. Mr. H. Heaton; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 28*, 1464-1465.

Holland, Sir W. H. [Yorkshire, W. R., Rotherham]

Alcohol used for Manufacturing Purposes, Exemption of, from Duty, proposed, *July 25*, 1114.

Coal, Export Duty on, Effect of, on the Trade and Wages of Miners, etc. *July 22*, 969, 970.

Finance Bill, *con.*, *July 22*, 969; *July 25*, 1114.

3R., *July 28*, 1498.

Taxation—Oppressive Nature of Budget Proposals, *July 28*, 1498-1500.

Holywood, Ireland

District Council Withholding Authority to Sign Cheques, alleged.

Qs. Mr. MacVeagh; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1339.

Holywood Tramways Bill

c. *con.** *July 18*, 249.
3R.* *July 21*, 744.

Home Office

Secretary of State—Mr. A. Akers Douglas.

Under Secretary—Mr. T. H. A. E. Cochrane.

Vote, Date of Taking.

Q. Mr. Tennant; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 263.

Hong Kong

Report for 1903 Presented, *July 27*, 1318; *July 28*, 1432.

Hope, Mr. J. F. [Sheffield, Brightside]

Finance Bill, *Com.* *July 18*, 430.

Dundonald, Lord—Dismissal from Canadian Militia, and Agitation against Canadian Government, *July 19*, 429.

Education (Local Authority Default) Bill, 2R. *July 15*, 188.

Finance Bill—Clause 4—Date of coming into force, *July 19*, 430.

Horner, Mr. F. W. [Lambeth, N.]

Redistribution of Seats—Introduction of Bill, proposed, *July 25*, 1064.

Transvaal Administration—Self Government—Information as to details, *July 25*, 1042.

Horses

Army, *see that title.*

Worn-out, Shipment of, to the Continent—Treatment on Arrival.

Q. Mr. Butcher; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 14*, 25.

House of Commons and House of Lords
see under Parliament.

Housing of the Working Classes
Ireland.
Belturbet Scheme, Progress of negotiations as to.
Q. Mr. V. Kennedy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 281.
Boyle—Reason for refusing loan to Town Commissioners for erection.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 498.

Houston, Mr. R. P. [Liverpool, W. Toxteth]
Argentina, Importation of cattle from, into Great Britain—Removal of Restrictions, proposed, to prevent Butchers' strike inducing meat famine, *July 15*, 160.
Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill, *Com.*, *July 14*, 131.

Hudson, Mr. G. B. [Hertfordshire, Hitchin]
Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill, *con. July 18*, 354.

Humber Commercial Railway and Dock Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 939.

Hutton, Mr. A. E. [Yorkshire, W.R., Morley]
Education [Local Authority Default] Bill, 2R., *July 15*, 187.

Hyde Park
Volunteer Review in, proposed.
Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 26*, 1201.

Ilford Urban District Council Bill
c. Report from Police and Sanitary Committee, *July 27*, 1317.

Immigration
see Emigration and Immigration.

Imperial Institute
India.
Contributions from—Allocation of income derived from endowed sum, etc.
Q. Sir M. Bhownaggree; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 18*, 266, 267.
Indian University graduates, training of, in Laboratories, proposed.
Q. Sir M. Bhownaggree; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 267, 268.
Research Work—Indian contribution, amount of, etc.
Q. Sir M. Bhownaggree; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 267.

Imperial Service Medal
Regulations for recommending.
Q. Mr. E. Gray; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 28*, 1479.

Imports and Exports
see Exports and Imports.

Income Tax
Abatements, difficulty of securing.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 451, 469.
Additional 1d. in the pound, proposed.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 507–510, 515.
Clause 6—proposed omission of Sub-clause 2.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 526, 527.
Coal-owners, Income tax paid by, on a five years' average.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 22*, 962.
Deductions, amount levied by.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 470, 471.
Districts, Division of, where collections cannot be completed by 30 April—Alleged circular of Chief Inspector.
Q. Mr. E. Griffiths; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 18*, 261.
Elevenpence instead of One Shilling, proposed.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 479, 480, 506, 507, 510, 513, 514, 516.
Foreign and Colonial Investments, Estimate of tax on.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 443.
Friendly Societies with income less than £160, exemption of, proposed.
Os. Mr. G. Whiteley, *July 20*, 672, Mr. A. K. Loyd, 673; Mr. Lough, *July 25*, 1175, 1176; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1176.
Q. Mr. A. K. Loyd; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 18*, 269.
Graduation of, proposed.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 444–448, 450–454, 456–472, 474–476.
Basis of, to be a tax over and above the existing tax, proposed.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 449, 450, 452.
Declaration and publication of incomes, proposed.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, 467–469, 471.
Foreign Countries and Colonies, working of graduated scales in.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 461 464, 468, 473.

[*cont.*

Income Tax—*cont.*

Graduation of, proposed—*cont.*

Foreign Countries and Colonies—*cont.*

Return showing, granting, proposed.
Os. Mr. H. Samuel, Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 25*, 1174.
Q. Mr. H. Samuel; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 25*, 1047.

Inquiry, Public, into practicability of, Suggested.

References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 458, 459, 462, 464-467, 472-476; *July 28*, 1486.

Loss, Estimated, to the Revenue.

References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 448, 450, 455.

Insurances in Colonial Companies, Exemption of, proposed.
Os. Sir S. King, *July 25*, 1103; Mr. A. Chamberlain, Mr. S. Buxton, Mr. Lough, 1104.

Limited Liability Companies, Exemption of, proposed.
Os. Mr. Lough, *July 25*, 1175, 1176; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1176.

Reserve, Financial, in case of War.

References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 481, 507, 509, 513, 515.

Re-valuation where existing valuations are incorrect, proposed.

References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 529, 530.

Roscrea, Appeals from—Names of Special Commissioners.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 14*, 47.

Trades and Professions, Incomes derived from—Rebate of fourpence in the pound, proposed.

References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 519-526; *July 25*, 1175.

India

Secretary of State—Mr. St. John Brodrick.

Under Secretary—Earl of Hardwicke.

Aden, *see that title.*

Army.

Drafts for—Army Reform proposals, Conditions under.
Q. Mr. McCrae; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 22*, 945.

India—*cont.*

Army—*cont.*

Expenditure, Estimated, for current year.
Q. Mr. Lambert; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 27*, 1331, 1332.

Fevers, Dum-dum and Malarial—Progress of investigations into modes of infection, etc.
Q. Sir W. Foster; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 26*, 1201.

Promotions, Retardation of, alleged.
Q. Sir S. King; *A.* Mr. Brodrick *July 26*, 1197-1198.

Re-engagements, Number of.
Q. Sir J. Ferguson; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 28*, 1460.

Uniforms—Return Presented, *July 15*, 155.

War Office, Abolition of Indian representative at.
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 25*, 1044.

Assam, *see that title.*

Bandaru Appala Charyulu, Petition of, for redress of grievances—Action taken, etc.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 261.

Budget, Date of taking.
Qs. Mr. H. Roberts, Sir M. Bhownaggree; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 28*, 1483, 1484.

Education—Review of Progress in 1897-1902, Presented, *July*, *25*, 1025; *July 26*, 1178.

Imperial Institute.

Contributions to—Allocation of income derived from endowed sum, etc.
Qs. Sir M. Bhownaggree; *As.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 18*, 266, 267.

University graduates, training, in Imperial Institute Laboratories, proposed.
Q. Sir M. Bhownaggree; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 267, 268.

Imports of Boots, Shoes and Hosiery—Value and countries of origin.
Q. Sir J. Rolleston; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 28*, 1450.

Irrigation Works, Progress of.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 28*, 1450.

Muthia Gounden, Petition of, for redress of grievances—Action taken, etc.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 261.

Pandit Adya Prasada Misra, Petition of, for redress of grievances—Action taken, etc.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 261.

India—*cont.*
Petitions for redress of grievances presented in House of Commons, Action taken on, etc.
Qs. Mr. Weir; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 261; *July 19*, 410.
Qs. Sir. C. Dalrymple, Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, Sir H. Vincent, *July 19*, 415.
Police, Report on, date of tabling.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 28*, 1450.
Railways—East Indian Railway, Order for locomotives placed by, in Germany, alleged.
Q. Sir A. Hickman; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 26*, 1198, 1199.
Ramji Hariba, Death of, from flogging on conviction for theft, alleged.
Q. Mr. J. A. Pease; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 21*, 755, 756.
Sirasulramania Nadan, Petition of, for redress of grievances—Action taken, etc.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 19*, 410.
Tea Industry, effect of additional tax on.
Os. Mr. J. H. Lewis, *July 25*, 1148; Mr. Lloyd-George, 1149, 1150; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1152; Mr. H. Samuel, 1153; Mr. H. Roberts, 1156; Mr. Harwood, 1157; Mr. T. Taylor, 1159.
Tibet Expedition, *see that title.*
Transvaal.
British Indian Traders in, treatment of
Os. Sir C. Dilke, *July 21*, 818, 820; Sir M. Bhownaggree, 822–827; Mr. Lyttelton, 847–849.
Coolies, Refusal of the Indian Government to allow introduction of, into.
Os. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 791, 792; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 804–806; Sir C. Dilke, 815; Sir M. Bhownaggree, 822.
Water storage projects—progress made with surveys, etc.
Q. Mr. S. Smith; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 25*, 1033, 1034.
Q. Mr. H. J. Wilson; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 26*, 1198.

Industrial Schools
see Reformatory and Industrial Schools.

Inny Junction
Peat Production Experiment—Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1054–1055.

Inquests
Post mortem Examinations, Specialists called in to Perform—Return as to number in 1903, proposed.
Q. Mr. Kimber; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 18*, 260.

Insurance
Colonial Companies, in—Exemption from Income Tax, proposed.
Os. Sir S. King, *July 25*, 1103; Mr. A. Chamberlain, Mr. S. Buxton, Mr. Lough, 1104.

Ireland
Lord Lieutenant—Earl of Dudley.
Chief Secretary—Mr. George Wyndham.
Lord Chancellor—Lord Ashbourne.
Attorney-General—Mr. J. Atkinson.

Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department, *see that title.*

Ancient Monuments—Number Inspected in 1903–4, Expenditure on Repairs, etc.
Qs. Sir T. Esmonde; *As.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 18*, 253; *July 25*, 1027.

Anderson, Constable, case of, *see under* Constabulary, Royal Irish.

Armagh, Keady and Castleblayney Railway, Delay in Construction of, alleged.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 42.

Aughnamullen East, Band at, Action of Constable Creaghan as to.
Q. Mr. McKean; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 30.

Ballinasloe Lunatic Asylum, Medical Superintendent—Appointment of Dr. Kirwan in place of Dr. Mills, Tabling of Correspondence as to, proposed.
Qs. Mr. C. Craig, Mr. MacVeagh, Mr. Sloan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 421, 422.

Ballymacrossin—Estate of Major Fox—Reinstatement of Miss Masterson, etc.,
Qs. Mr. Delany; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 42, 43; *July 18*, 279, 280.

Ballynahinch Trout Fisheries, Illegal netting in, alleged.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1340, 1341.

Banbridge, Parade of Nationalist Band at.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1199–1200.

Bangor—Post Office Business, Return as to, proposed.
Q. Mr. J. Devlin; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 27*, 1344.

Bankruptcy Court—Unclaimed Dividend Fund, Amount of, Utilisation, etc.
Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 21*, 756.

Banks, Loan Fund—Losses of Debenture holders, etc.
Q. Dr. Thompson; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 757.

[*cont.*

Ireland—*cont.*

Bann River, Upper—Illegal net fishing alleged.
Q. Col. Saunderson ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1199.

Belfast, *see that title.*

Belturbet—Artisans' Dwellings Scheme, Progress of Negotiations as to.
Q. Mr. V. Kennedy ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 281.

Bertillon System of Measuring Prisoners, Regulations as to Introduction of, into Irish Prisons.
Qs. Mr. MacVeagh ; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 275, 276.

Blackrock—Motor speed regulations.
Qs. Capt. Donelan ; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1471.

Boyle, Erection of Cottages at—Reason for refusal of loan to Town Commissioners.
Q. Mr. Tully ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 408.

Bunbeg Postal Service, Improvement in, proposed.
Q. Mr. H. Law ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 19*, 410.

Burke, D. J., Sale of Estate of, Price asked—basis of Calculation, etc.
Qs. Mr. C. Craig, Mr. Kilbride ; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1211–1213.

Butter.

Delay in transit of saltless butter, alleged.
Q. Mr. Joyce ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1217–1218.

Salt firkin butter, Regulations as to.
Q. Mr. Flavin ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 781.

Cahircivane to Coppal—Construction of road proposed—Application of Congested Districts Board, &c.
Q. Mr. Boland ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1211.

Carnane Estate, sale of, proposals as to.
Q. Mr. Lundon ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 419.

Castlerea — Rate collector, Payment of arrears of poundage to, proposed.
Q. Mr. Tully ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 424.

Cattle food, Analysis of—Authority empowered to undertake analyses, &c.
Q. Mr. Farrell ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1055.

Charitable Donations and Bequests—Annual Report of Commissioners presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1189

Ireland—*cont.*

Civil Service Estimates, Opportunity for discussing.
Qs. Mr. J. Redmond ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 775.
Qs. Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. Lonsdale ; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1227, 1228.
Qs. Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. Lonsdale ; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1482, 1483.

Cladnageerah, Date of commencement of marine works at.
Q. Mr. H. Law ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 410, 411.

Clinton Estate Eviction disturbances, action as to.
Q. Mr. Sloan ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1339.

Clonaslee, Queen's County—Closure of Cut Road by Military Authorities—Compensation to Residents, etc.
Q. Mr. Delany ; *A.* Mr. B. Davenport, *July 14*, 47.

Collierstown—Reinstatement of F. Morris, evicted tenant.
Q. Mr. Sheehy ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 274, 275.

Congested Districts Board, *see that title.*

Constabulary, *see title* Constabulary, Royal Irish.

Cork, *see that title.*

Cusack Estate, Sale of—Progress of negotiations.
Qs. Mr. C. Craig, Mr. Cullinan ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 38.

De Burgh, Henrietta, Sale of Estate of—Safeguarding landlord and tenants against bargains induced by duress, etc.
Q. Mr. V. Kennedy ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 42.

Dredger for West of Ireland, provision of, proposed.
Qs. Mr. C. Devlin ; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 774–775.

Dromore—Assault on Mr Gamble—prosecution of assailants, etc.
Qs. Mr. Sloan ; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 777, 778.

Dublin, *see that title.*

Dungannon School Attendance Committee, Failure of, to select chairman, etc.
Q. Mr. Doogan ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 283, 284.

Edenderry Labourers' Cottages Scheme—Compensation award.
Q. Mr. H. Bourke ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1341, 1342.

Edgeworthstown, *see that title.*

Evictions, *see that title.*

Fair Rent, *see that title.*

[*cont.*

Ireland—*cont.*

Falcorrib Expenditure on construction of pier, etc., decision as to.
Q. Mr. H. Law ; *A* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 411.

Fenit Pier, Particulars as to loan for.
Q. Mr Flavin ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 783.

Fisheries, *see that title.*

Galbraith Estate, sale of—Applications received.
Q. Mr. Farrell ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1055.

Galway, *see that title.*

Gault Estate, sale of—Progress of negotiations.
Q. Mr. T. W. Russell ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 776.

Gorey, *see that title.*

Gortnasate, Date of commencement of marine works at.
Q. Mr. H. Law ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 410, 411.

Grazing farms in the West, selling and letting of, to non-resident graziers, alleged—Powers of Estates Commissioners, etc.
Qs. Mr. O'Dowd, Mr. Cullinan ; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1049–1050.

Gweedore Postal Service, Improvement in, proposed.
Q. Mr. H. Law ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 19*, 410.

Hastings *v.* Cogavin—Interpretation of "Public Work" in Application of Enactments Order, etc.
Q. Mr. Tully ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 282, 283.

High Court of Justice, Probate Division—Account presented, *July 27*, 1318 ; *July 28*, 1433.

Holywood District Council withholding authority to issue cheques, alleged.
Qs. Mr. MacVeagh ; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1339.

Housing of the Working Classes, *see that title.*

Inny Junction peat-production experiment—Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. Farrell ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1054–1055.

Institutions, Public—Tenders for supplies—New arrangements.
Qs. Sir T. Esmonde ; *As.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 18*, 252 ; *July 25*, 1027–1028.

Irish Language, *see that title.*

Ireland—*cont.*

Johnstown, Sunday delivery of letters at, proposed.
Q. Mr. J. Devlin ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 285.

Jones Lloyd Estate, sale of—Notice to quit served on tenant by landlord for refusing to pay price asked, alleged.
Q. Mr. Tully ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 45.

Kanturk—Bicycle-riding on footpath by constable, alleged.
Q. Mr. Flynn ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1199.

Keadew—Reason for dismissal of school teacher by patron, right to pension or compensation, etc.
Q. Mr. Tully ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 424.

Kerry, *see that title.*

Kilanevin, establishing Sunday post to Gorey from, proposed.
Q. Sir T. Esmonde ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 14*, 27.

Kilbride Camp canteen licence—Irregularity in signing order—Decision on action of Mr. Shanks, etc.
Q. Mr. J. O'Connor ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 275.

Kinvara—Improvement in condition of pier, proposed.
Q. Mr. Joyce ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1055–1056

Labourers' Cottages, *see that title.*

Lace, counterfeit Irish, manufactured in, Switzerland, alleged.
Q. Mr. Boland ; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 27*, 1337.

Land Commission, *see that title.*

Land Judge's Court, *see that title.*

Land Purchase, *see that title.*

Land Stock, price of issue.
Qs. Mr. Coghill, Mr. J. Redmond ; *As.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 21*, 783–784.

Lisnagade, Disturbances at, Prosecution of Offenders, etc.
Q. Mr. Sloan ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham *July 26*, 1218–1219.
Q. Mr. Sloan ; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *July 28*, 1477.

Loan Fund Board, Functions and Powers of.
Q. Mr. Farrell ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1215.

Local Government Board—Tenders, Instructions to unions, etc., as to accepting lowest.
Q. Mr. C. Devlin ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 419–420.

Longford, *see that title.*

Lunatic Asylums, *see under* Lunatics.

[*cont.*

Ireland—*cont.*

Lurgydonnell River—Prevention of Floods—Inspection of District, etc.
Q. Mr. P. A. McHugh; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1047–1048.

McGuire Estate, Sale of—Applications Received—Reinstatement of Evicted Tenant, &c.
Qs. Mr. Tully; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1217; *July 27*, 1343.

Mahony Estate, Sale of—Re-instatement of Mr. F. Doherty, Evicted Tenant.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 139.

Malone, Rev. S. L., Estate of—Proposals to Sell—Re-instatement of P. O'Brien, etc.
Qs. Mr. Reddy; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 41; *July 25*, 1051.

Marlborough Street Training College, *see under Dublin.*

Mayo, *see that title.*

Militia, *see that title.*

Millstreet Rural District—Audit of Accounts—Remission of Alleged Surcharge, proposed.
Q. Mr. Sheehan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1051, 1052.

Montalt, Earl de, Estate of—Delay in hearing Fair Rent Appeals, Alleged.
Q. Mr. K. O'Brien; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 281, 282.

Morley Estate, Sale of—Affirmances of Decrees for Rent, &c.
Q. Mr. V. Kennedy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1054.

Mountjoy Prison — Dismissal of S. J. Carmichael.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1451.

Mountpottinger Constabulary Barracks, Occupation of Quarters in, by Head Constable not stationed in District, &c., alleged—Inquiry proposed.
Qs. Mr. Sloan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 775, 776; *July 25*, 1052, 1053.

Moy Townlands, Reasons for Prohibition of Processions in.
Q. Mr. MacVeagh; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 280. 281.

National Gallery—Vacancy on Board of Governors.
Q. Mr. Flavin; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1474.

National Library—Salary of Mr. Evans, Deductions for Pension, &c.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 25*, 1060–1061.

National School Teachers, *see that title.*

O'Donovan, Mr., Property of, in Durrus District, Date of Inspection by Congested Districts Board.
Q. Mr. Gilhooly; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 757.

Ireland—*cont.*

Oughter and Gowna Loughs, Drainage of—Petitions from Farmers, etc.
Q. Mr. V. Kennedy; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 27*, 1345.

Owenmore River, Drainage of, proposed.
Q. Mr. O'Dowd; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1472.

Parcel Post between Cheltenham and North of Ireland—Delay in Transmission, alleged.
Q. Dr. Thompson; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1032.

Paupers, Deportation of — English and Scotch Paupers, Legislation to Authorise Removal of, from Ireland, proposed.
Q. Mr. MacVeagh; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 43, 44.

Peat Production Experiment at Inny Junction—Cost, etc.
Q. Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1054–1055.

Piers and Harbours, *see that title.*

Poor Law, *see that title.*

Portadown Post Office Learner, Inefficiency of, alleged.
Q. Col. Saunderson; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1031, 1032.

Portnoo, Date of Commencement of Marine Works at.
Q. Mr. H. Law; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 410, 411.

Portumna Railway — Investigation and Re-opening for Traffic, proposed.
Qs. Mr. Thornton; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1219; *July 28*, 1476.

Post Office, *see that title.*

Poultry Rearing Industry, Special Railway Rates, proposed.
Q. Mr. O'Shaughnessy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1472.

Prisons, *see that title.*

Queen's Colleges, *see that title*; *also Names of Colleges.*

Railways, *see that title.*

Rathmines, *see that title.*

Representative Peers for, *see under* Parliament—House of Lords.

Revenue and Expenditure Return, Date of presenting.
Q. Mr. Lough; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 14*, 46–47.

Roscommon, *see that title.*

Roscrea Income Tax Appeals—Names of Special Commissioners.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 14*, 47.

Rosscarbery Petty Sessions — Roman Catholic boy committed to Protestant Industrial School, alleged.
Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1472, 1473

[*cont.*

Ireland—*cont.*

Roundstone—Flags displayed on licensed premises, illegal prohibition by constabulary, etc.—Letter of Rev. Mr. Gleeson, asking for dismissal of constables, alleged.
Qs. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 277–279.

Royal University, *see under* Universities—Ireland.

Rush Harbour, Repair of—Complaints of disrepair, cost of repairs, etc.
Qs. Mr. Clancy; *As.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 25*, 1058–1060.

St. Louis Exhibition, Irish Section of—Extra charge for admission, number of advertisements issued, etc.
Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 779, 780.

Sherlock Estate, Cork—Affording opportunity for Tenants to purchase Holdings.
Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 29–30.

Skreen—Estate of Mr. Webber—Application of Mr. J. Higgins.
Q. Mr. W. McKillop; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 273, 274.

Tea, additional duty on, *see under* Tea.

Telegraph and Telephone Services, *see those titles.*

Tempo Water Supply, Improvement in, proposed.
Qs. Mr. Mitchell; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1343, 1344.

Tenelich—Reinstatement of evicted tenant, P. Magrath.
Qs. Mr. Farrell; *As.* Mr. Atkinson, *July*, *27*, 1358.

Trade with Great Britain, authority for treatment of, as coasting trade.
Qs. Mr. Flynn; *As.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 28*, 1477, 1478.

Trillick—Destruction of Union Jack on Orange Hall, alleged.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 756, 757.

Trinity College, *see under* Dublin.

Tullaroan Postal Arrangements—Memorial from Mr. R. Meagher.
Q. Mr. J. Devlin; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 254.

Tulloha School—Instruction in Irish Language.
Qs. Mr. Boland; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1215–1216.

Warden Estate, Sale of.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1213.

Weir, L. O., Sale of Estate of—Construction of Section 7 of Land Act, 1903, etc.
Q. Mr. T. W. Russell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 778.

Ireland—*cont.*

Weir Estate, Sligo, Sale of—Land Judge's Proposals as to Unsold Portion of Estate.
Qs. Mr. O'Dowd; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 776, 777.

Westropp Estate, Sale of—Progress of Negotiations.
Q. Mr. Sheehy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 274.

Workhouses, *see that title.*

Irish Language

Mayo County Council, Appointments under—Qualifications of Candidates, Necessity for Knowledge of Irish Language, etc.
Qs. Mr. C. Craig; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 422, 423.

Postmasters, Necessity for Knowledge of Irish by, alleged.
Qs. Mr. Boland; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 26*, 1220–1221.

Tulloha, Instruction in School at.
Qs. Mr. Boland; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1215, 1216.

Isle of Wight

Education—Voluntary Schools, Agreement with County Council as to Transfer of.
Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *July 21*, 773.

Italy

Trade Report Presented, *July 14*, 4; *July 18*, 230.

Jam Factories

Weights lifted by girls—Enforcement of Fruit Preserving order, etc.
Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 27*, 1321.

James of Hereford, Lord

Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill, Petitions against, from Boards of Guardians, *July 26*, 1183, 1185, 1186.

Japan

Trade Reports Presented, *July 15*, 146; *July 22*, 889.

War with Russia, *see title* Russo-Japanese War.

Joicey, Sir J. [Durham, Chester-le-Street]

Coal, Export Duty on, Effect of, on the trade and Wages of Miners, etc., *July 20*, 639–643.

Finance Bill.
Com., *July 18*, 342, 370; *July 20*, 636, 639.
Motion to report progress, *July 20*, 636.

Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill, *con.*, *July 18*, 353.

[*cont.*

Joicey, Sir J.—*cont.*
  Tobacco Duties — Stripped Tobacco — Rebate on Tobacco proved to have been in bond or stripped before April 20, 1904, *July 18*, 370.

Joint Stock Companies
  Registration of — Return relative to, ordered, *July 26*, 1190; Presented, *July 27*, 1318.

Johnson, Mr. J. [Gateshead]
  Coal, Export Duty on, Effect of, on the Trade and Wages of Miners, etc., *July 20*, 621–624.
  Finance Bill.
    Com., *July 20*, 582, 621.
    Motion to report progress, *July 20*, 582.

Johnstown, Ireland
  Sunday Delivery of Letters, proposed.
    Q. Mr. J. Devlin; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 285.

Jones, Mr. D. B. [Swansea District]
  Coal, Export Duty on—Annual, instead of Permanent Tax, proposed, *July 22*, 955.
  Finance Bill, *Con.*, *July 22*, 955.
  Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 27*, 1387.

Jones Lloyd Estate
  Sale of—Notice to Quit Served on Tenant by Landlord for Refusing to Pay Price asked, alleged.
    Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Wyndham, *July 14*, 45.

Joyce, Mr. M. [Limerick]
  Africa, South, Garrison in—Sentences on Soldiers—Revision proposed, *July 14*, 33; *July 19*, 415.
  Butter, Irish Saltless, Delay in Transit of, alleged, *July 26*, 1217–1218.
  Education — Technical Instruction — Return as to Officials Employed by English County Boroughs, proposed, *July 26*, 1210.
  Kinvara Pier, Improvement in, proposed, *July 25*, 1055.

Juvenile Offenders
  Custody of Children Under Remand—Conveyance to Remand Homes, proposed.
    Q. Mr. Talbot; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 18*, 258.
    Q. Sir J. Gorst; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, 259.
  Industrial School Accommodation for, etc.
    Q. Sir J. Gorst; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 14*, 24.
  Metropolitan Police Courts, Number dealt with in.
    Q. Sir J. Gorst; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 14*, 24.
  Trial in Separate Courts, proposed.
    Q. Sir J. Gorst; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 18*, 259.

Kanturk
  Bicycle-riding on Footpath by Constable, alleged.
    Q. Mr. Flynn; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1199.

Keadew, Carrick-on-Shannon
  School Teacher, Reason for Dismissal of, by Patron—Right to Pension or Compensation, etc.
    Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 424.

Kearley, Mr. H. E. [Devonport]
  Navy
    Coaling—Extra Remuneration claimed by Mates and Engineers of the Fleet Coaling Service, *July 28*, 1449.
    Gun Sights—Estimated Expenditure to render System efficient, *July 14*, 28.
    Officers, Promotion of—Obviating Delay in filling vacancies, *July 14*, 28.
    Stores of Sea-going Ships, Date of Presenting Committee Report on—Allowance to Naval Officers on Committee, etc., *July 14*, 29.

Kendal
  Grammar School—Art Instruction, Inspection of—Reasons for Dismissal of Headmaster, etc.
    Qs. Mr. Lawrence; *As.* Sir W. Anson, *July 15*, 156–7; *July 26*, 1193, 1194.

Kennedy, Mr. V. [Cavan, W.]
  Belturbet—Artisans' Dwellings Scheme, Progress of Negotiations, *July 18*, 281.
  Cavan Co.—Telephone Installation, Cost of, etc., *July 26*, 1195.
  Consular Service, Examinations for, Omission of Modern History from, *July* 22, 948.
  De Burgh, Henrietta, Sale of Estate of—Safeguarding Landlord and Tenants, against Bargains induced by Duress, etc., *July 14*, 42.
  Morley Estate, Sale of—Affirmances of Decrees for Rent, etc., *July 25*, 1054.
  Oughter and Gowna Loughs, Drainage of—Petition from farmers, *July 27*, 1345.

Kenyon, Lord
  Poor Law Authorities (Transfer of Property) Bill, 2R. *July 26*, 1179.

Kerry
  County Court Land Valuer acting as Land Agent on Rowland Estate, alleged.
    Qs. Mr. Murphy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 40, 41.
  Land Purchase by Congested Districts Board—Offer by Landlord, Price asked, etc.
    Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 273.

Kilanevin
Sunday Post to Gorey, Establishing, proposed.
Q. Sir T. Esmonde; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July*, *14*, 27.

Kilbride
Camp Canteen Licence—Irregularity in Signing Order—Decision on action of Mr. Shanks, etc.
Q. Mr. J. O'Connor; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July*, 18, 275.

Kilbride, Mr. D. [Kildare, S.]
Burke, D. J., Sale of Estate of—Price asked, etc., *July 26*, 1212.
Spirits.
British, Plain, Materials used in Distilling, *July 28*, 1467.
Distilleries in United Kingdom, Production of, in 1901, 1902 and 1903, *July 28*, 1468.
Patent Still, Use of Sulphuric Acid in Maufacturing, *July 28*, 1468.

Kimber, Sir H. [Wandsworth]
Post-mortem Examinations, Specialists called in by Coroners to perform—Return as to number in 1903, proposed, *July 18*, 260.

King, Sir H. S. [Hull, Central]
Cotton, Encouraging cultivation of, in Africa, *July 25*, 1043.
Finance Bill, *Con.*, *July 25*, 1103.
Income Tax—Insurances in Colonial Companies, Exemption of, proposed, *July 25*, 1103.
Indian Army Promotions, Retardation of, alleged, *July 26*, 1197.

King's College Hospital Bill
c. Rep.* *July 22*, 940.

Kinvara
Pier, Improvement of, proposed.
Q. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1055–1056.

Kirkcaldy Corporation Order Confirmation Bill
c. 1R.* *July 25*, 1023.
*Con.** *July 26*, 1317.

"Knight Commander"
Search and Sinking of, by Russian Cruiser—Alleged breach of International Law.
Os. Earl Spencer, *July 28*, 1433; Marquess of Lansdowne, 1435, 1436.
Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1224.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 27*, 1347.

Kruger, Late Mr.
Burial Place of—Removal to Transvaal—Permission of British Government, Offer of Warship for transport of body, etc.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill, Mr. Power; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 289.
Q. Mr. Power; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 767, 768.

Labouchere, Mr. H. [Northampton]
Africa, East—Alien Settlement—East African Syndicate—Terms of Lease, Grazing Rights of Masai, Rate of Wages for Native Labour, etc., *July 18*, 260.
Finance Bill.
Com. July 20, 635.
Motion to Report Progress, *July 20*, 635.
Russo-Japanese War—Dardenelles, Passage of, by Russian Volunteer Fleet under Commercial Flag, etc., *July 27*, 1321.

Labour
Hours of, Changes in—Report with Comparative Statistics for 1903–4, Presented, *July 28*. 1443.

Labourers (Ireland) Bill
c. Report from Standing Committee Presented, *July 27*, 1347.
Committee Stage, Reason for Adjournment of, etc.
Qs. Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. T. W. Russell; *As.* Mr. J. Ellis, Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 49–50.

Labourers' Cottages, Ireland
Edenderry Scheme Compensation Award.
Q. Mr. H. Burke; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1341, 1342.
Occupancy by other than *bonâ-fide* Labourers, Complaints received as to, etc.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 44, 45.

Lambart, Capt. Harry
Arrest and Cashiering of—Inquiry as to reason, proposed.
Q. Sir J. Rolleston; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 26*, 1202.

Lambert, Mr. G. [Devonshire, South Molton]
Army.
Estimated Expenditure for Current Year, *July 27*, 1331.
Reform Proposals—Recruiting, particulars as to, *July 27*, 1332.
Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 19*, 451, 452, 479, 506.
Income Tax—Elevenpence instead of One Shilling, proposed. *July 19*, 479-481, 506, 507.

[*cont.*

Lambert, Mr. G.—*cont.*

Indian Army—Estimated Expenditure for Current Year, *July 27*, 1331.

Licensing Bill. *Con., July 26*, 1281-1283; *July 27*, 1354.

Prison-made Goods, Foreign, excluded from Great Britain, Value of, *July 14*, 23.

Tibet Expedition.

Casualties, Information as to, *July 27*, 1333, 1334.

Lhasa, Advance on, *July 27*, 1333.

Lambeth

Trained Nurse, Roman Catholic, Dismissal of, by Guardians—Proposed Government Action.
Q. Mr. J. Devlin; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 14*, 36-37.

Lanark

Parliamentary By-Election for North-Eastern Division—New Writ, *July 25*, 1066.

Lancashire & Yorkshire Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill

l. Report from Select Committee, *July 28*, 1429.

Lancashire & Yorkshire Railway (Various Powers) Bill

l. 3R.* *July 14*, 2.
c. Lords' Amendments, *Con.** *July 19*, 404.

Lancaster, Duchy of

Chancellor—Sir W. H. Walrond.

Land Commission, Ireland

Fair Rents, *see that title.*

Grazing Farms in West of Ireland Let or Sold to non-resident Graziers, Alleged —Commissioners Powers, &c.
Qs. Mr. O'Dowd, Mr. Cullinan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1049-1050.

Rent Statistics—Comparison of Rent Paid in 1881 and 1903, Reductions since 1881, &c.
Q. Mr. H. Heaton; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 781-782.

Staff, Increase of, Proposed.
Q. Mr. O'Shee; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1048.

and Drainage Provisional Order Bill

l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 938.

and Judge's Court

Weir, L. O., Estate of—Construction of Section 7 of Land Act, 1903.
Q. Mr. T. W. Russell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 778.

Land Purchase, Ireland

Advances made since 1881, Statistics as to.
Q. Mr. H. Heaton; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 781-782.

Burke, D. J., Estate of—Price asked, &c.
Qs. Mr. C. Craig, Mr. Kilbride; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1211-1213.

Carnane Estate, Proposals as to.
Q. Mr. Lundon; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 419.

Cusack Estate, Sale of—Progress of Negotiations.
Qs. Mr. C. Craig, Mr. Cullinan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 38.

De Burgh, Henrietta, Estate of—Safeguarding Landlords and Tenants against Bargains induced by duress, &c.
Q. Mr. V. Kennedy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 42.

Economic Holdings on Grazing and Untenanted Lands—Number provided, &c.
Qs. Mr. Tully; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 44; *July 18*, 281.

Estates certified under Land Act (1903), Section 6, Sub-section 4.
Q. Mr. Dillon; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1322.

Evicted Tenants, Reinstatement of—Question of Compensation to present occupiers who have purchased holdings.
Q. Mr. Cullinan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 407, 408.

Galbraith Estate—Applications received.
Q. Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1055.

Galway — Transactions within area of Parliamentary Borough.
Q. Mr. C. Devlin; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 775.

Gault Estate—Progress of Negotiations.
Q. Mr. T. W. Russell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 776.

Jones Lloyd Estate—Notice to quit served on Tenant by Landlord, for refusing to pay price asked, alleged.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 45.

Kerry—Landlord, Offer of, to Congested Districts Board, Price asked, etc.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 273.

Land Clerks, Employment and Pay of.
Q. Mr. Sloan: *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1342.

McGuire Estate — Applications received, etc.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1217; *July 27*, 1343.

Malone, Rev. S. L., Estate of, Proposal to sell, Reinstatement of P. O'Brien, Evicted Tenant, etc.
Qs. Mr. Reddy; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 41; *July 25*, 1051.

[*cont-*

Land Purchase, Ireland—*cont.*
  Morley Estate—Affirmances of decrees for rent, etc.
    Q. Mr. V. Kennedy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1054.
  Rowland Estate—Offer from Major Kiggel as Agent of Owner, etc.
    Qs. Mr. Murphy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July* 14, 40, 41.
  Sherlock Estate, Cork—Purchase of Holdings by Tenants, Affording Opportunity for.
    Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 29–30.
  Skreen, Estate of Mr. Webber at—Application of Mr J. Higgins.
    Q. Mr. W. McKillop; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 273, 274.
  Warden Estate, Sale of—Inspection, etc.
    Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1213.
  Weir Estate—Proposals of Land Judge as to unsold portion of estate.
    Qs. Mr. O'Dowd; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 776, 777.
  Westropp Estate, Sale of—Progress of Negotiations.
    Q. Mr. Sheehy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 274.

Land Purchase (Ireland) Act, 1903
  Section 7, Interpretation of, Consulting Counsel as to, etc.
    Q. Mr. T. W. Russell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 778.

Land Registry
  Accounts of Receipts and Payments in respect of, for year ended March 31, 1904, Presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1189.

Land Stock, Ireland
  Price of Issue.
    Qs. Mr. Coghill, Mr. J. Redmond; *As.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 21*, 783–784.

Land Tax
  Value of, References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1068, 1069.

Lansdowne, Marquess of — *Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*
  Africa, South, Freights to, from the United Kingdom and America—Return proposed, *July 19*, 403.
  Army Reform Proposals, *July 21*, 734, 735, 737, 738.
    Facilities for further discussion, *July 19*, 388.
    Linked Battalion System, Abolition of, *July 21*, 736, 737.
  Finance Bill, Date of Sending, to the House of Lords, Arrangements as to Discussion, etc., *July 28*, 1439.

Lansdowne, Marquess of—*cont.*
  Fiscal Proposals—Policy of His Majesty's Government, etc., *July 22*, 900–908.
  Militia, Organisation of—Reform Proposals, *July 21*, 736.
  Public Health Bill, 2R., *July 14*, 5.
  Russo-Japanese War.
    Black Sea Volunteer Fleet, Passage of the Dardanelles by, under Commercial Flag, International Law as to, etc., *July 28*, 1433–1436.
    Detention and Search of British Vessels by Russian Cruisers — Alleged Breach of International Law, *July 28*, 1433–1436.
  Session, Duration of—Sitting during Winter instead of Summer Months, proposed, *July 19*, 393, 394.

Laurie, Lt.-Gen. J. W. [Pembroke and Haverfordwest]
  Russo-Japanese War.
    British Merchant Vessels, Detention and Search of, by Russian Cruisers, *July 18*, 268; *July 25*, 1045–1046.
    Dardanelles, Passage of, by Black Sea Volunteer Fleet under Commercial Flag, *July 18*, 268–269; *July 25*, 1045, 1046.

Law, Mr. A. B.—*Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade* [Glasgow, Blackfriars]
  Merchant Seamen — Desertions in the Pacific Ports in 1903, Inquiry as to, *July 21*, 772
  Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill, *Con.*, *July 14*, 139.

Law, Mr. H. A. [Donegal, W.]
  Falcorrib, Expenditure on Pier and Breakwater at, *July 19*, 410, 411.
  Gortnasate, Portnoo, and Cladnageerah, Date of commencement of marine works at, *July 19*, 410.
  Gweedore and Bunbeg Postal Services, Improvement in, proposed, *July 19*, 410.
  Macedonia.
    Gendarmerie, Reorganisation of—Blue-book, Date of publication, inclusion of Reports of Col. Fairholme, etc., *July 28*, 1466.
    Ilavés, Embodiment of, for Service—Promises of the Porte, etc., *July 28*, 1466.
  Postmen, Summer Uniforms of, in Irish rural districts, *July 19*, 410.

Law Courts
  Congestion of business in, alleged.
    Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 784.

Lawrence, Mr. W. F. [Liverpool, Abercromby]
  Kendal Grammar School—Art Instruction, Inspection of—Reasons for dismissal of Headmaster, etc., *July 15*, 156–157; *July 26*, 1193–1194.
  Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill, *Con.*, *July 14*, 125, 129.

Lee, Mr. A. H. [Hampshire, Fareham]
  Animals, Slaughtering of, Humane Methods of—Committee Report, Date of presenting, *July 22*, 947.
  Battleships, Sale of old—Restrictions as to purchase by foreign countries, Destination of "Belleisle," etc., *July 21*, 762, 763.

Leeds Corporation (Consolidation) Bill
  c. Report from Police and Sanitary Committee, *July 19*, 405.
  Con. and 3R.* *July 25*, 1022.
  l. 1R.* *July 25*, 1010.

Leeds Corporation (Waterworks) Railway Bill
  c. Rep.* *July 22*, 940.

Leeds University Bill
  c. 1R.* *July 25*, 1025.

Leicestershire and Warwickshire Electric Power Bill
  l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Leith Burgh Order Confirmation Bill
  l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Leith Corporation Tramways Order Confirmation Bill
  l. 3R.* *July 14*, 4.
  c. Lords' Amendts. *Con.* * *July 18*, 249.
  l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Lewis, Mr J. H. [Flint Boroughs]
  Finance Bill.
    Com., *July 19*, 443–445, 451, 476.
    Con., *July 25*, 1147.
  Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 444–447, 451, 476.
  Licensing Bill, *Con*, *July 26*, 1265, 1267, 1268, 1276; *July 27*, 1399, 1404, 1405.
  Tea, Additional duty on, Objections to, *July 25*, 1147, 1148.

Leyton Urban District Council Bill
  l. Report from Attorney General, *July 14*, 1.

Liability Companies, Limited
  Income Tax, Exemption from Payment of, proposed.
    Qs. Mr. Lough, *July 25*, 1175, 1176; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1176.

Libraries, Public
  Ireland—National Library—Salary of Mr. Evans, Deductions for Pension, etc.
    Qs. Mr. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 25*, 1060–1061.

Licences
  Dogs kept for Vivisection purposes, *Q.* Dr. Shipman; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 21*, 749.
  Motor Cars, for, Revenue from.
    Q. Mr. H. Heaton; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 14*, 24–25.

Licensing Bill
  c. *Con.*, *July 26*, 1229; *July 27*, 1348.
  Debates on Consideration [Commons] *July 26*, 1229; *July 27*, 1348.
    Adjournment of further Consideration, proposed, 1313, 1314.
    Administration of the Act
      Justices holding shares in Brewery Companies—Removal of disqualification, proposed, 1229–1233.
      Members of Quarter Sessions having an interest in Public-houses in their district, Disqualification of, 1263–1265.
    Compensation.
      Licences taken away through no fault of the Owner, 1293–1296.
      Members of Quarter Sessions having an interest in public-houses in the district, Disqualification of, 1263–1265.
      Off-licences, Inclusion of, in scope of Bill, proposed, 1275, 1276.
      Tied Houses, Exclusion of, proposed, 1276, 1277, 1279, 1280, 1282, 1285–1287.
      Time Limit, proposed, 1234–1239, 1241, 1243–1247, 1249, 1250, 1252.
    Duration of Act, Limitation of, to 1st January, 1919, proposed, 1234–1241, 1243–1245, 1249, 1250, 1252.
    Financial Position of the Country with reference to Liquor Taxation, 1372, 1378.
    Justices holding Shares in Brewery Companies, Administration of the Act by, 1229–1233.
    Licences.
      New.
        Appeal to Quarter Sessions, 1351.
        Auction of, Question of, 1358–1360, 1362, 1375, 1378, 1389.
        Confirmation or Variation of, by Quarter Sessions, 1349, 1350, 1352, 1358.
        Granting of.
          Number, Restrictions on Justices as to, proposed, 1363, 1364.
          Uniformity in, Necessity for, 1315.

[*cont.*

Licensing Bill—*cont.*

Debates on consideration, etc.—cont.

Licences—*cont.*

New—*cont.*

Monopoly Value.

Meaning of the Term, 1368, 1369, 1378, 1379, 1384, 1390, 1403.

Money raised by, to go to Local Taxation Account, 1367.

Payment of, Basis of, 1258, 1259, 1261, 1364–1366, 1370, 1373-1376, 1380, 1387-1389, 1399-1401, 1403, 1413.

Trust Public - houses, Position of, 1386, 1387.

Valuers, Employment of, proposed, 1400–1405.

Municipalisation of, 1359, 1361, 1362.

Permanent Vested Interest, Safeguards Against Creation of, 1265, 1266.

Seven Years, Granting for, 1255-1262, 1274, 1275, 1359-1363, 1369, 1375, 1379, 1383, 1405, 1406, 1408, 1409, 1411-1413.

Surrender of Old licences for, Powers of Magistrates as to, 1381, 1382.

Tied Houses, Monopoly Granted to, alleged, 1359, 1361, 1374, 1380, 1404.

Off-licences, Inclusion of, in Scope of Bill, proposed, 1275, 1276.

Property Value of, 1241, 1242, 1246.

Reduction in Number of—Transfer of Power to Quarter Sessions from Local Magistrates, 1349, 1350.

Renewal of.

Discretionary Powers of Magistrates, Interference with, 1267–1269, 1293, 1296.

Expenditure on Premises, Taking into Consideration, Proposed, 1391–1393, 1409–1411, 1414.

Reports from Local Magistrates to Quarter Sessions as to circumstances affecting, 1299–1302.

Surrender of Old Licences for New, Powers of Magistrates as to, 1381, 1382.

Local Justices, Interference with Discretionary Powers of, Alleged, 1267–1269, 1293–1296.

Licensing Bill—*cont.*

Debates on consideration, etc.—cont.

Profits Derived from Sale of Intoxicating Drink, and those Derived from Letting Rooms and Supplying Food, Separation of, 1382, 1394, 1395.

Quarter Sessions.

Appeal to, 1351.

Licences.

New, Power to Confirm or Vary, 1349, 1350, 1352–1358.

Reduction of, Powers as to, 1349, 1350.

Renewal of, Reports from Local Magistrates as to circumstances affecting, 1299–1302.

Tied Houses.

Beer Sold by, Class of, 1282, 1283, 1287, 1288.

Evils of, 1276–1280, 1282–1286, 1288–1290.

Exclusion of, from Operation of the Bill, proposed, 1276, 1277, 1279, 1280, 1282, 1285–1287.

Failure of the Government to deal with, 1266, 1267, 1269, 1270.

History of, 1281–1284.

Monopoly granted to, under New System of granting Licences, alleged, 1359, 1361, 1374, 1380, 1404.

Time Limit—Duration of Act, Limiting to, 1st January, 1919, proposed, 1234–1241, 1243–1245, 1249, 1250, 1252.

Transfer and Changes of Tenantry, Failure of the Government to deal with, 1266, 1267.

Compensation—Goodwill, Provision as to, proposed.
Qs. Mr. Runciman; *As.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 28*, 1469.

Introduction in the House of Lords, Advantages of.
O. Lord Newton, *July 19*, 390.

Light Railways

Number Authorised by Act or Order, Amount of Capital, Length of line, etc.—Return Ordered, *July 22*, 942.

Light Railways Bill

c. 1R.* *July 28*, 1485.

Lighthouses

Fund, General—Accounts, Date of Presenting.
Q. Mr. C. McArthur; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 27*, 1319.

Lignite
Production of—Statement relating to, Presented, *July 27*, 1319.

"Lion," H.M.S.
Swimming Instruction for Boys—Caning for Laziness and Inattention.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 26*, 1202, 1203.

Lisnagade
Disturbances at—Prosecution of Offenders, etc.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1218–1219.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *July 28*, 1477.

Liverpool and Wigan Churches Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Llanelly Harbour Bill
c. 3R.* *July 14*, 19.
l. Commons' Amendts., *Con.** *July 15*, 145.
Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Lloyd-George, Mr. D. [Carnarvon District]
Alcohol for Manufacturing purposes, Exemption of from Duty, proposed, *July 25*, 1118, 1119.
Coal Tax, Opportunity for Discussion of, *July 20*, 538.
Death Duties, Increase in, proposed, *July 19*, 510.
Dundonald, Lord — Dismissal from Canadian Militia, and Agitation against Canadian Government, *July 19*, 429, 482, 491, 499.
Education (Local Authority Default) Bill, 2R., *July 15*, 168, 175, 186, 191, 200–207.
Finance Bill.
Com., *July 19*, 510; *July 20*, 530, 538, 553, 554, 561, 594, 596.
Con., *July 25*, 1090, 1118, 1141, 1149.
Financial Position of the Country, *July 25*, 1090–1094.
Fiscal Policy—Free Trade *v.* Protection—Taxation of Food—Policy of the Government —Vote of Censure, Opportunity for Discussing Motion for, *July 19*, 428.
Income Tax.
Additional 1*d.* in the Pound, proposed, *July 19*, 510–513.
Re valuation where existing Valuations are Incorrect, proposed, *July 20*, 530.
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1234; *July 27*, 1356, 1388, 1389.
Sittings of the House.
All Night Sitting—Procedure as to Business of Succeeding Day, *July 20*, 660, 661.
Continuing longer than 24 hours—Interpretation of Standing Order, *July 20*, 657.

Lloyd-George, Mr. D.—*cont.*
Sugar* Duty, Decrease in Consumption of Sugar due to—Removal of Tax, proposed, *July 20*, 594–596.
Taxation, Increase in, *July 25*, 1141–1144.
Tea, Additional Duty on, Objections to, *July 25*, 1149–1152.
Transvaal.
Chinese Labour, Importation of, *July 21*, 879–882.
Financial Position of, *July 21*, 878, 879.
Unclaimed Dividend Account, Realisation of, *July 20*, 553, 554.

Loan Fund (Ireland) Bill
Amendments acceptable to the Government, Date of taking Bill, etc.
Qs. Mr. P. A. McHugh, Mr. MacVeagh; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1048, 1049.

Loans
Guaranteed—Increased Liabilities under.
References to, in debate on Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1070, 1078, 1080, 1081, 1097.
Period of Repayment, Shortening, proposed.
O. Sir G. Bartley, *July 25*, 1089.

Local Government Board
President—Rt. Hon. W. H. Long.
Circular of 11th March 1899, Number of Local Authorities adopting Suggestions in, etc.
Q. Mr. Field; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 21*, 750.

Local Government Board, Ireland
Tenders, Instructions issued to Unions and other Bodies as to accepting lowest.
Q. Mr. C. Devlin; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 419, 420.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill
l. 2R.* *July 14*, 3.
Com.,* *July 18*, 230.
Rep.,* *July* 21, 386.
3R.* *July 21*, 677.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill
l. 2R.* *July 14*, 3.
*Com.** and Rep.* *July 18*, 230.
3R.* *July 19*, 386.
Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill
l. 2R.* *July 14*, 3.
Com. July 18, 230.
*Rep.** *July 19*, 386.
3R.* *July 21*, 677.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill
l. 2 R.* *July 14*, 3.
Com. and Rep.* *July* 18, 230.
3R.* *July 19*, 386.
Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill
c. 1R.* *July 21*, 744.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No 4) Bill.
l. 2R.* *July 14*, 3.
Con. and Rep.* *July 15*, 146.
3R.* *July 19*, 386.
Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill
l. 2R.* *July 28*, 1430.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) Bill
*c Con.** *July 14*, 19.
3R.* *July 15*, 152.
l. 1R.* *July 15*, 145.
2R.* *July 28*, 1430.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 11) Bill
l. 2R.* *July 28*, 1430.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 12) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 13) Bill.
c. Rep. * *July 14*. 20.
*Com.** and 3R.* *July 18*, 249.
l. 1R.* *July 18*, 230.
2R.* *July 28*, 1430.

Local Government Proivisonal Orders (No. 14) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 15) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Local Government Provisional Orders (Gas) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 937.

Local Taxation
Licences, Amount received in respect of each Administrative County and County Borough, 1903-4—Return ordered, *July 26*, 1190.
Returns for 1902-3, *July 28*, 1443.

Local Taxation Account
Distribution of Proceeds of certain Duties —Return ordered, *July 14*, 23.

Loch Leven Water Power Bill
l. 2R. *July 19*, 385, 387.

Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. [Essex, Epping]
Dogs—Drowning and Resuscitation experiments by Professor Schäfer, Result of, *July 21*, 748, 749.

Locomotives on Highways
London Streets, Regulation of Locomotive Traffic in, by Byelaws, etc., proposed.
Q. Mr. Coghill; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 21*, 747-748.

London
Army Recruiting Head-quarters, Removal of—Negotiations for New Site.
Q. Sir W. Foster; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 18*, 262.
Guns allotted to, as war trophies—London County Council refusal of, alleged.
Q. Mr. Whitmore; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 26*, 1200, 1201.
Locomotives drawing Trucks in Public Streets, Danger arising from—Regulation of Traffic by Byelaw, etc., proposed.
Q. Mr. Coghill; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 21*, 747-748.
Vauxhall Bridge, Closing, Complaints as to—Date of Completion, etc.
Q. Mr. Fison; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas. *July 28*, 1445.

London and India Docks Company Bill
l. Rep. * *July 18*, 229.
3R.* *July 28*, 1429.

London and North Western Railway Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 939.

London Assurance Company
Directorship held by Crown Agent.
Q. Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 877.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 28*, 1461, 1462.

London Corporation
Accounts of Chamberlain for 1903, Presented, *July 28*, 1432, 1443.

London County Council
Guns—War Trophies allotted to London, Refusal to take charge of, alleged.
Q. Mr. Whitmore; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 26*, 1200-1201.

[*cont.*

London County Council [General Powers] Bill
l. 2R. *July 19*, 385, 387.

London County Council (Money) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Bill
l. Report from Select Committee, *July 28*, 1429.

London Government Act
Commissioners, Names of, Right of Appeal from Decisions of, Authority to whom Appeal should be made, etc.
Q. Mr. W. F. D. Smith; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 14*, 29.

London, Tilbury, and Southend Railway Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

London United Tramways Bill
l. 3R.* *July 21*, 677.
c. Lords' Amendments, *Con. July 28*, 1440.

Long, Rt. Hon. W. H.—*President of the Local Government Board* [Bristol, S.]
Cancer, Cause of—Effect of Consumption of Frozen Meat — Report of Cancer Research Committee, *July 25*, 1033.
Cardiff Corporation Accounts, Audit of, *July 27*, 1322.
Circular of 11th March, 1899, Number of Local Authorities Adopting Suggestions in, etc., *July 21*, 750.
Eastville, Bristol—Accommodation for sick poor in workhouse, Improvement schemes, etc., *July 21*, 750–751.
Education—Schools—Attendance Officers.
Relieving Officers, Employment of, as, *July 18*, 256–257.
Superannuation Regulations, *July 15*, 160.
Lambeth Guardians, Dismissal of Trained Roman Catholic Nurse by—Proposed Government Action, *July 14*, 36.
Locomotives on Highways — London streets, Regulation of Locomotive traffic in, by Bye-laws, etc., *July 21*, 747–748.
London Government Act Commissioners, Names of, Right of Appeal from Decisions of, etc., *July 14*, 29.
Poor Law Relieving Officers, Employment of, as School Attendance Officers, *July 18*, 256–257.
Sandy, Beds, Insanitary condition of—Measures for improvement, etc., *July 22*, 948.
Sewage Farms, French Fruit and Vegetables grown on—Regulations as to Importation and Sale in England, proposed, *July 18*, 251.
Workhouses—Eastville, Bristol, Sick poor accommodation in — Improvement Schemes, etc., *July 21*, 750, 751.

Longford
Agricultural Instructor, Appointment of.
Q. Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1054.
Artillery force stationed at—Promotion of Private of whom Complaint had been made.
Q. Mr. Farrell, *A.* Mr. Arnold Forster, *July 25*, 1039–1040.

Lonsdale, Mr. J. B. (Armagh, Mid.)
Civil Service Estimates, Ireland.
Date of Taking, *July 28*, 1482.
Discussion, Opportunity for, *July 26th*, 1228.

Lord Advocate for Scotland
Mr. C. Scott Dickson.

Lord Chancellor
Earl of Halsbury.

Lord Chancellor of Ireland
Lord Ashbourne.

Lord Chief Justice
Lord Alverstone.

Lord Great Chamberlain
Marquess of Cholmondley.

Lord Justice-General of Scotland
Lord Kinross.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland
Earl of Dudley.

Lord President of the Privy Council
Marquess of Londonderry.

Lord Privy Seal
Marquess of Salisbury.

Lord Tredegar's Supplemental Estate Bill
c. Rep.* *July 15*, 153.
Con. *July 25*, 1022.
3R.* *July 28*, 1440.

Lorenço Marques
Transvaal interest in Pier and Land at, Protection of.
Q. Master of Elibank; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1042.

Lothians Electric Power Bill
c. Rep.* *July 15*, 153.
Con. *July 21*, 744.
3R.* *July 25*, 1022.

Lough, Mr. T. [Islington, W.]
Alcohol used for Manufacturing Purposes, Exemption of, from Duty, proposed, *July 25*, 1115.
Army—Estimated Expenditure for Current Year, etc., *July 27*, 1332.
Brodrick, Mr., Alleged Refusal of, to Respond to the Toast of "His Majesty's Forces," *July 25*, 1041.

[*cont.*

Lough, Mr. T.—*cont.*
- Coal Tax, Opportunity for Discussion on, *July 20*, 539, 581.
- Finance Bill.
  - *Com.*, *July 18*, 299. 325, 345, 346; *July 19*, 529; *July 20*, 539, 540, 580-582, 589, 598, 636, 665, 668.
  - *Con.*, *July 25*, 1104, 1115, 1170, 1175, 1176.
  - 3R. *July 28*, 1505.
  - Motion to Report Progress, *July 20*, 581, 582, 636.
- Financial Position of the Country, Increase in Expenditure, etc., *July 28*, 1505–1509.
- Income Tax.
  - Friendly Societies and Limited Liability Companies, Exemption of, from Payment, proposed, *July 25*, 1175, 1176.
  - Insurances in Colonial Companies, Exemption of, *July 25*, 1104.
  - Re-valuation where Existing Valuations are Incorrect, proposed, *July 20*, 529.
- Nigeria—Purchase of Royal Niger Company by Imperial Government, Financial Result of Transactions, etc., *July 19*, 416.
- Police, Metropolitan — Sunday Duty, Alteration in, proposed, *July 25*, 1030.
- Revenue and Expenditure — Ireland — Return, Date of Presenting, *July 14*, 46.
- Russo-Japanese War—"Malacca," Seizure and Detention of, Information as to, *July 22*, 951.
- Sittings of the House—All-night Sitting—Procedure as to Business of Succeeding Day, *July 20*, 663.
- Spirits—Warehouse Charges on, Reduction of, *July 25*, 1173.
- Sugar Duty of 1901.
  - Effect of, on Consumption of sugar, *July 20*, 591, 598.
  - Expiration of, on 1st July, 1904, proposed, *July 20*, 789, 791.
- Tea.
  - Additional Duty on, Objections to, *July 25*, 1170.
  - Warehousing Charges on, Remission of, proposed, *July 20*, 665–668.
- Tobacco Duties.
  - Protective Character of, *July 18*, 325, 327.
  - Stripped Tobacco—Rebate on Tobacco proved to have been in Bond before April 20th, 1904, *July 18*, 299, 346.

Lovat, Lord
- Militia.
  - Mobilisation of, as a Practical Test of Efficiency, proposed, *July 21*, 706, 707.
  - Organisation of — Reform Proposals, *July 21*, 704–707.

Lowther, Mr. C. N. W. [Cumberland, Eskdale].
- Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 20*, 584.

Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. W.—*Chairman of Committees* [Cumberland, Penrith]
- (*for* Rulings as Chairman, *see title Chairman.*)
- Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill, *con.*, *July 18*, 351.

Loyd, Mr. A. K. [Berkshire, Abingdon]
- Agriculture — State Aid in Foreign Countries, Reports as to, proposed, *July 28*, 1466.
- Buckland Friendly Society and Treasury decision as to Income Tax deductions —Exemption of Unregistered Societies with Incomes under £160, proposed, *July 18*, 239.
- Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 20*, 673.
- Forestry—Committee Recommendations, Progress in carrying out, *July 28*, 1470.
- Friendly Societies—Income Tax, Exemption from, of Societies with Incomes less than £160, proposed, *July 20*, 672.
- Licensing Bill, *con.*, *July 27*, 1393.

Lucas, Mr. R. J. [Portsmouth]
- Cardiff Corporation Accounts, Audit of, *July 27*, 1321-1322.
- Militia Reorganisation proposals, *July 14*, 102, 103.
- Transvaal, Importation of Chinese Labour to—White Labour, Effect on, *July 22*, 999.

Lunatics
- Asylums—Ireland.
  - Ballinasloe—Medical Superintendent —Appointment of Dr. Kirwan in place of Dr. Mills, Tabling Correspondence as to, proposed.
    - *Qs.* Mr. Craig, Mr. MacVeagh, Mr. Sloan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 421, 422.
  - Medical Officers, Regulations as to appointment of.
    - *Qs.* Mr. Hayden, Mr. Clancy; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 420–421.
  - Visits made, Number of, Number of Patients seen, etc.—Commissioners' Report presented, *July 28*, 1443.

Lundon, Mr. W. [Limerick, E.]
- Carnane Estate, Proposals as to Sale of, *July 19*, 419.
- Constabulary, R.I.—Constable Anderson—Connection with Sheridan Case, etc., *July 21*, 780.

Lurgydonnell River
- Floods, Prevention of—Inspection of District, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. P. A. McHugh; *A.* Wyndham, *July 25*, 1047–1048.

Lyell, Mr. [Dorsetshire, E.]
- Alcohol used for Manufacturing purposes, exemption of, from Duty, proposed, *July 25*, 1113.
- Finance Bill, *con.*, *July 25*, 1113.

Lytham Improvement Bill
- *l.* 3R.* *July 19*, 385.
- *c.* Lords' Amendments, *con.** *July 25*, 1021.

Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred—*Secretary of State for the Colonies* [Warwick and Leamington]
- Africa, South.
  - Banks—Claims by, for Compensation, for Specie commandeered by late South African Republic, etc., *July 28*, 1455.
  - Cotton cultivation, encouragement of, *July 25*, 1043–1044.
  - Intercolonial Council, Receipts and Expenditure of, in 1903-4, *July 21*, 762.
  - Repatriation Funds
    - Boers, Repatriation of, Expenditure on—Audit of accounts, &c., *July 18*, 252.
    - Watson, Mr. W. B., claim of, for commandeered goods, reasons for disallowance, &c., *July 19*, 408.
- Africa, West—Cotton cultivation, encouragement of, *July 25*, 1043–1044.
- Argentina—British Consul's order to remove Canadian flag from Vessel, alleged, *July 26*, 1208.
- Canada.
  - Flag, order to remove from vessel, by British Consul at Rio Grande du Sol, Argentina, alleged, *July 26*, 1208.
  - Treaty-making powers, Extension of—Correspondence as to, *July 26*, 1207.
- Ceylon.
  - Crown Agent, Files and Ship plates supplied by, price, &c., *July 22*, 950.
  - Tamil children, education of—Committee Report, delay in presenting, *July 19*, 412.
- Crown Agents for the Colonies.
  - Ceylon—Files and Ship plates supplied by, price, &c., *July 22*, 950.
  - London Assurance Company, Directorship of, held by Crown Agent, *July 21*, 877; *July 28*, 1461, 1462.
  - Return as to Business of, Date of tabling, *July 14*, 33, 34.
- Development of the Colonies—Loans and free grants voted by British Parliament since 1850, *July 18*, 263.

Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred—*cont.*
- Fiscal Policy—Free Trade *v.* Protection.
  - Conference, Colonial, proposed, *July 25*, 1041.
  - Offers from Colonies as to preferential treatment of British manufactures, question of, *July 27*, 1332.
- Gold Coast Colony—Tarkwa-Sekondi-Kumasi Railway, goods rates on, *July 27*, 1325.
- Kruger, late Mr.—Burial Place—Removal to Transvaal, proposed—British permission, offer of warship for conveyance of body, &c., *July 21*, 768.
- Malta
  - Land, &c., held by War Office—Acreage and Estimated Rental, *July 18*, 262.
  - Language Question, *July 21*, 877.
  - Public Works—Imperial Contribution, Estimated Capital Value of Realty, etc., *July 25*, 1034–1037.
- Natal, Chinese Labourers for the Transvaal, Regulations as to transit of, through, *July 27*, 1333.
- New Zealand—Chief Justice, alteration as to precedence of, *July 21*, 769; *July 25*, 1044.
- Orange River Colony, Financial Condition of — Receipts and Expenditure in 1903-4, *July 21*, 762.
- Rhodesia, Importation of Chinese Labour —Resolution by Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia, alleged, *July 21*, 761.
- Scotland, Lucy, Compensation to, for ill-treatment in Venezuela, *July 27*, 1324.
- South African War—Claims, Investigation and Settlement of, *July 27*, 1333.
- Transvaal.
  - British Indian Traders in, treatment of, *July 21*, 847–849.
  - Chinese Labour, Importation of.
    - British Guiana and Trinidad Ordinances, terms of, *July 21*, 837.
    - Courts of Justice, access to, *July 21*, 839.
    - Desertions from Rand Mines, Tabling Information as to, etc., *July 14*, 33.
    - Intoxicants, supply of—Provisions of Liquor Licensing Ordinance, *July 25*, 1042.
    - Necessity for, alleged—Financial situation, etc., *July 21*, 837, 838.
    - Natal, Regulations for transit through, *July 27*, 1333.

[cont.

Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred—*cont.*
Transvaal—*cont.*
Chinese Labour, Importation of—*cont.*
Offices, Depôts, etc., number of, provided, payment for, etc., *July 28*, 1463.
Ordinance, Conditions imposed by, *July 21*, 835, 836.
Overseers, Asiatics as, Regulations as to, *July 21*, 846, 847.
Property, rights as to holding, *July 21*, 840.
Recruiting, conditions of, information given, etc., *July 28*, 1462, 1463.
Referendum, policy of, *July 21*, 842.
Regulations, Tabling, proposed, *July 28*, 1456.
Riots among the Chinese, alleged, *July 25*, 1043; *July 27*, 1328.
Truck Act, Alleged Violation of, 845-846.
"Tweeddale" Party of Coolies, Landing and Transmission of, Lord Milner's Report, *July 21*, 767; *July 26*, 1204-1205.
Wages, Rate of, *July 21*, 761, 840, 841, 844.
White Labour, Effect on, *July 22*, 1000.
Wives and Children, Facilities for Introduction of, *July 21*, 845.
Delagoa Bay—Transvaal Interest in Pier and Land at Lorenço Marques, *July 25*, 1042.
Devastation in, Caused by the War—Steps taken to make good, Expenditure, etc., *July 21*, 872–873.
Financial Position of, *July 21*, 874–876.
Receipts and Expenditure in 1903–4, *July 21*, 762.
Garrison in—Sentences on Soldiers at Pretoria — Mitigation Proposed, *July 19*, 414.
Milner, Lord, Administration of, *July 21*, 872.
Mines- -
Kaffirs, Employment of, as Overseers, *July 14*, 34.
Life of Gold Mines, Basis of Calculation of, for Profit Tax, *July 19*, 414.
Railways—
Girouard, Sir Percy, Resignation of—Tabling Papers, Proposed, *July 19*, 414
Transfer of Control to Civil Authorities — Provision for Payment of Outstanding Amount to Imperial Treasury, *July 26*, 1206
Repatriation Stores, Purchase of—Text of Agreement with Messrs. Wilson and Worthington, *July 25*, 1043.

Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred—*cont.*
Transvaal—*cont.*
Representative Institutions to be granted to, *July 21*, 843–844.
Self-Government, *July 21*, 870–871.
Correspondence with Lord Milner, Tabling, proposed, *July 21*, 768.
Information as to Details, proposed, *July 25*, 1042; *July 26*, 1206–1207.
War Contribution, Provision for Payment of, *July 25*, 1042.

McArthur, Mr. C. [Liverpool, Exchange]
Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July*, *18*, 305.
Gold Coast Colony — Tarkwa-Sekondi-Kumasi Railway Goods Rates, *July 27*, 1324.
Lighthouses Fund, General—Date of Presenting Accounts, *July 27*, 1319.
Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill, *Con.*, *July 14*, 119.
Tobacco Duties—Stripped Tobacco, Injustice of Proposed Tax on—Withdrawal proposed, *July 18*, 305–308.

McCrae, Mr. G. [Edinburgh, East]
Army—Scottish Horse, Cause of Delay in Distributing War Medals to, *July 14*, 31.
Finance Bill.
Com., *July 18*, 376; *July 20*, 519, 526, 528, 534, 551, 634.
Motion to Report Progress, *July 20*, 634, 635.
Income Tax—Trades and Professions, Rebate of Fourpence in the £ on Incomes derived from, proposed, *July 20*, 519–522.
Indian Army, Drafts for—Conditions under Army Reform Proposals, *July 22*, 945.
Tobacco Duties, New, on Stripped Tobacco. *July 18*, 376.
Unclaimed Dividend Account, Realisation of, *July 20*, 551.

Macedonia
Gendarmerie, Reorganisation of.
Blue-book—Date of Publication, Inclusion of Col. Fairholme's Reports, etc.
Q. Mr. H. Law; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 28*, 1466.
European Officers.
Authority of — Restrictions imposed by the Porte, etc.
Q. Mr. Moon; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 14*, 25, 26.
Instructions to, etc.—Increase of Russian and Austrian Officers, alleged.
Qs. Mr. Bryce; *As.* Earl Percy, *July 28*, 1465.
Ilavés, Embodiment of, for Service—Promises of the Porte, etc.
Q. Mr. H. Law; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 28*, 1466, 1467.

McGuire Estate

- Sale of—Applications received, Reinstatement of Evicted Tenant, etc. *Qs.* Mr. Tully ; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1217 ; *July 27*, 1343.

M'Hugh, Mr. P. A. [Leitrim, N.]

- Irish Loan Fund Bill, Date of Taking, Amendments Acceptable to the Government, etc., *July 25*, 1048, 1049.
- Lurgydonnell River—Prevention of Floods, Inspection of District, etc., *July 25*, 1047-1048.

MacIver, Mr. D. [Liverpool, Kirkdale]

- Finance Bill, *Com.*, *July 18*, 363.
- Tobacco Duties — Stripped Tobacco—Rebate on Tobacco proved to have been in Bond before April 20, 1904, *July 18*, 363.

McKean, Mr. J. [Monaghan, S.]

- Aughnamullen East, Band—Action of Constable Creaghan, *July 14*, 30.

McKenna, Mr. R. [Monmouth, N.]

- Belfast Corporation Tramways Bill, 2R. *July 19*, 505.
- Coal Tax, Opportunity for Discussion of, *July 20*, 537.
- Finance Bill.
  - *Com.*, *July 18*, 308, 335, 341, 346, 347, 364, 375, 377 ; *July 19*, 435, 440 ; *July 20*, 516, 517, 523, 526, 527, 528, 529, 537. 559, 586, 597, 599.
  - *Con.*, *July 25*, 1087, 1155.
  - 3R., *July 28*, 1563.
  - Temporary or Permanent Nature of the Duties, *July 19*, 435, 440.
- Financial Condition of the Country, *July 25*, 1563, 1564.
- Income Tax.
  - Additional 1d. in the £, proposed, *July 19*. 516-518.
  - Re-valuation where Existing Valuations are Incorrect, proposed, *July 20*, 529.
  - Sub-clause 2 of Clause 6, Omission of, proposed, *July 20*, 526.
  - Trades and Professions, Rebate on Incomes derived from, proposed, *July 20*, 523.
- National Debt—Permanent Debt Charge, Amount of, *July 25*, 1087-1089.
- Sugar Duty of 1901, Effect of, on Consumption of Sugar, etc., *July 20*, 599.
- Tea, Additional 2d. per Pound on, Objections to, *July 25*, 1155.
- Tobacco Duties—Stripped Tobacco.
  - Additional 3d. on, *July 18*, 377, 378.

McKenna, Mr. R.—*cont.*

- Tobacco Duties—Stripped Tobacco—*cont.*
  - Rebate on Tobacco proved to have been in Bond before April 20, 1904, *July 18*, 308, 309, 346, 347, 364.
  - Reduction of Duty from 3d. to 1½d. per Pound, proposed, *July 18*, 335-37.
  - Sand and Moisture, Proportion of in Leaf and Stripped Tobacco, *July 18*, 309, 310.
- Unclaimed Dividend Account, Realisation of, *July 20*, 559.

M'Killop, Mr. W. [Sligo]

- Skreen, Sale of Estate of Mr. Webber at—Application of Mr. J. Higgins, *July 18*, 273, 274.

McLaren, Sir C. B. B. [Leicester, Bosworth]

- Coal, Export Duty on, Effect of, on the Trade, etc. ; *July 22*, 992-994.
- Finance Bill, *Con.*, *July 22*, 992.

Macnamara, Dr. T. J. [Camberwell, N.]

- Education.
  - Estimates, Date of taking, *July 26*, 1224-1225.
  - Physical Deterioration Committee Report, Opportunity for Discussing, *July 26*, 1224-1225.
  - Voluntary Schools, Transfer of—Number transferred since Act of 1902 came into operation, *July 21*, 773.
- Education [Local Authority Default] Bill, 2R. *July 15*, 196.
- Finance Bill, *Con. July 25*, 1138, 1170, 1175.
- Income Tax—Trades and Professions, Incomes Derived from, Rebate for, proposed, *July 25*, 1175.
- Isle of Wight—Agreement with County Council as to Transfer of Voluntary Schools, *July 21*, 773.
- Sugar Duty of 1901, Abolition of, proposed, *July 25*, 1138.
- Tea, Additional Duty on, Objections to, *July 25*, 1170.
- Transvaal.
  - Administration — Self-government, *July 21*, 870.
    - Correspondence with Lord Milner, Tabling, proposed, *July 21*, 768.
    - Details as, *July 26*, 1206-1207.
  - Chinese Labour, Importation of—Riots among Coolies alleged, *July 27*, 1328.
    - Tweeddale, Party of Coolies, Landing and Transmission of—Lord Milner's Report, *July 21*, 767 ; *July 26*, 1204.

MacNeill, Mr. S. [Donegal, S.]

- Army.
  - Corps—Six Corps Scheme, Rescinding Resolution as to, proposed, *July 19*, 427.
  - Officers, Communication with, by Members of the House—Function of Minister as Intermediary, etc., *July 25*, 1040.
- Crown Agents for the Colonies, Regulation as to Directorships held by, *July 28*, 1461.
- Companies, Public, Ministers as Paid Directors of, alleged, *July 21*, 784.
- Constabulary, R.I.—Constable Anderson, Case of—Connection with Sheridan Case, etc., *July 18*, 276, 277; *July 21*, 780, 781.
- Dockyards, Naval—Prohibition of Information to the Press by Employees, alleged, *July 28*, 1457.
- Dublin.
  - Motor Bicycles, Alteration of Numbers on, to Escape Identification after an Accident, alleged—Enamelled or Incised Numbers, proposed, *July 18*, 272, 273.
  - Trinity College, Administration and Government, Ages and Emoluments of Senior Fellows, etc., *July 21*, 782.
- Finance Bill, *Con.*, *July 25*, 1144, 1165.
- Fiscal Policy—Free Trade *v.* Protection—Preferential Tariffs, etc., Document alleged to have been brought before the Cabinet in 1903, Tabling, proposed, *July 21*, 785.
- India—Petitions for Redress of Grievances Presented in House of Commons, Action Taken on, etc., *July 19*, 415.
- Kruger, late Mr., Burial Place of—Removal to Transvaal, Permission of British Government, etc., *July 18*, 289.
- Law Courts, Congestion of Business in, alleged, *July 21*, 784.
- Militia, Irish, Bringing, to England—Explanation of Statement in Lord Wolseley's Official Minute, *July 14*, 47.
- National Library of Ireland—Salary of Mr. Evans, Deductions for Pension, etc., *July 25*, 1060, 1061.
- Navy.
  - Flogging.
    - Birches and Cat o'-nine-tails, supply of, Suspension of use of Cat, etc., *July 19*, 412.
    - Discussion on Navy Estimates, proposed, *July 26*, 1225.
    - Number of Canings in 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, Nature of Offences, etc., *July 18*, 263, 264.
    - Warning to Boys on Enlistment, *July 28*, 1458.
  - Swimming Instructions for Boys on H.M.S. "Lion"—Caning for Laziness, etc., *July 26*, 1202, 1203.

MacNeill, Mr. S.—*cont.*

- Post Office Wages—Bradford Committee Report, Delay in Printing for use of Members, Access of Press to Advance Copy, etc., *July 18*, 291.
- Queen's College Scholarships, Regulations as to holding, in addition to Royal University Scholarships, *July 19*, 425.
- Tea Duty—Exemption of Ireland, proposed, *July 25*, 1166–1169.
- Tibet Expedition—Understanding with Russia, *July 18*, 264, 265.
- Transvaal.
  - Chinese Labour, Importation of—Desertions from Rand Mines, Tabling Information as to, etc., *July 14*, 33.
  - Repatriation Stores, Purchase of—Text of Agreement, Action of Col. Morgan, etc., *July 25*, 1039, 1043; *July 28*, 1458, 1459.
- West Ham Police Court, Weight of Birch at, *July 18*, 271.

MacVeagh, Mr. J. [Down, S.]

- Ballinasloe Lunatic Asylum, Appointment of Medical Superintendent to—Tabling Correspondence, proposed, *July 19*, 422.
- Belfast—Queen's College.
  - Professors, Additional Appointments held by, *July 25*, 1053.
  - Session, Duration of, Period for Delivery of Lectures, assistance for Professors, etc., *July 21*, 778–779.
- Bertillon System, Regulations for introduction of, into Irish Prisons, *July 18*, 275, 276.
- Cork Summer Assizes—Challenging of Jurors, *July 25*, 1058.
- Holywood District Council—Withholding Authority to Sign Cheques, alleged, *July 27*, 1339.
- Irish Loan Fund Bill — Amendments Acceptable to the Government, &c., *July 25*, 1049.
- Moy Townlands, Reason for Prohibiting Processions in, *July 18*, 280.
- Paupers, Deportation of — English and Scotch Paupers, Legislation to Authorise Removal of, from Ireland, proposed, *July 14*, 43.
- Spirits.
  - Adulteration of, With German Spirits Control of Revenue Authorities over Spirits taken out of Bond, etc., *July 27*, 1336.
  - Immature Raw Potable, Injuriousness of—Retention in Bond for not less than Three Years, proposed, *July 26*, 1193, 1208.

[*cont.*

MacVeagh, Mr. J.—*cont.*
Spirits—*cont.*
Patent Still.
Investigation of—Recommendations of Royal Commission on Arsenical Poisoning, *July 25* 1065.
Number of Gallons Blended in Bond with Scotch Whiskey and sold as such, Number of Gallons Distilled in Scotland during last Financial Year, etc., *July 21*, 769, 770.

Madeira
German Sanatorium Syndicate, Concessions Granted to — Protecting British Interests.
Qs. Sir W. Foster; *As.* Earl Percy, *July 14*, 34–35; *July 21*, 754.

Maidenhead Bridge Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Mail Service
see under Post Office.

Mahon's Estate
Purchase of, by Congested Districts Board, alleged.
Q. Mr. Roche; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1471, 1472.

Mahony Estate
Evicted Tenant—Reinstatement of Mr. F. Doherty.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 39.

Malone, Rev. S. L.
Estate of—Proposals as to Sale—Reinstatement of P. O'Brien, evicted tenant, etc.
Qs. Mr. Reddy; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 41; *July 25*, 1051.

"Malacca"
Detention and Search of, by Russian Cruiser in the Red Sea—Inquiry, etc.
Os. Earl Spencer, *July 28*, 1433; Marquess of Lansdowne, 1434, 1435; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 1479, 1480.
Qs. Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 786, 787.
Q. Sir J. Brunner; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 884.
Qs. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Lough; *As.* Sir A. Acland Hood, *July 22*, 950, 951.
Q. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 22*, 999.

Malta
Administration of, Despotic Nature of.
O. Mr. Boland, *July 21*, 859, 863, 866.
Constitution of — Changes effected by Letters Patent with reference to Election of Members of Council, etc.
O. Mr. Boland, *July 21*, 863, 864.

Malta—*cont.*
Financial Statement — Run on Savings Bank, etc.
O. Mr, Boland, *July 21*, 865.
Italian Trade, Value of.
O. Mr. Boland, *July 21*, 862.
Land, etc., held by War Office, Acreage, estimated Rental, etc.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 18*, 262.
Language Question—Italian *v* English.
Os. Mr. Boland, *July 21*, 859–863; Mr. Lyttelton, 877.
Public Works — Expenditure, Annual — Imperial Contribution, Estimated capital value of Realty, etc.
Q. Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1034–1037.

Manchester Corporation [General Powers] Bill
c. Report from Police and Sanitary Committee, *July 21*, 745.

Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill
c. *Rep.** *July 22*, 940.

Manchester Ship Canal Bill
c. *Rep.** *July 22*, 940.

Manchester Ship Canal (Finance) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Maps
Geological Survey, Drift Maps of—Number completed, Number of Publications contemplated, etc.
Q. Mr. Morrell; *A.* Sir W. Anson, *July 15*, 157–158.

Mar and Kellie, Earl of
Historical Manuscripts belonging to, Report on, Presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1189.

Markham, Mr. A. B. [Nottinghamshire Mansfield]
Africa, South—Gold Mines, Life of—Basis of Calculation for profit Tax, *July 19* 414.
Army—Officers' Pay—Pay of Second Lieutenants, etc.—Reducing Expenses or Increasing Pay, proposed, *July 14*, 31–32; *July 19*, 413.
Colonial Forces, Command of, by Imperial Officers—Prevention of Public Statements as to Colonial Defence, etc., *July 21*, 786.
Dundonald, Lord, Dismissal of, from Canadian Militia—Date of Recall, Power to enforce Order, etc., *July 22*, 947.
Finance Bill, *Com. July 19*, 524.
Mines, Electricity in, Lack of knowledge of, among Inspectors, etc., *July 14*, 35, 36.

[*cont.*

Markham, Mr. A. B.—*cont.*
Transvaal.
Chinese labour, Importation of, *July 21*, 827–835.
Mines — Employment of Kaffirs as Overseers, *July 14*, 34.

Marriages
Report of Registrar-General, Presented, *July 28*, 1432, 1443.

Marseilles
Trade Report, Presented, *July 25*, 1011.

Matlock and District Gas Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 939.

Matrimonial Causes
Rule, Additional, and Order, Presented, *July 14*, 22.

Mayo, Co.
County Council, Appointments under—Qualifications for Candidates, Necessity for a Knowledge of Irish Language, etc.
Qs. Mr. C. Craig; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 422, 423.
Firearm Outrage—Proceedings instituted by the Police, etc.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1056–1057.

Mayo, Earl of
Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill, *Com.*, *July 15*, 149, 150.

Meat
Decomposition, Stoppage of, by Chilling, etc., Effect upon Consumers—Cancer Research Committee Report.
Q. Mr. A. Davies; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 25*, 1032–1033.
Inspection of, Return relative to, Ordered, *July 28*, 1444.

Medical Companies
Registered, Number and Names—Return Presented, *July 25*, 1025.

Medical Profession
Colonies—Selections from Reports for 1901 and 1902, Presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1190.

Meldreth and Melbourn District Gas and Water Provisional Order
Report of Board of Trade dispensing with consent of certain Bodies, Presented, *July 14*, 5.

Melrose District Water Order Confirmation Bill
l. 3R.* *July 22*, 889.

"Menelaus"
Detention of, by Russian Cruiser in the Red Sea—Inquiry proposed.
Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 21*, 754.

Mercerised Goods
Portugal—New Tariff—Representation as to Reduction on Mercerised Goods, etc.
Q. Mr. W. Ridley; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 25*, 1046-1047.

Merchant Shipping
Africa, South, Freights to, *see under* Africa, South.
Belligerents, Right of, to search Merchant Vessels of Neutral Powers—Detention and Search of British Vessels by Russian Cruisers.
For particular Vessels detained see their Names.
Qs. Earl Spencer, *July 28*, 1433; Marquess of Lansdowne, 1434–1436; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 1479; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 1479–1481.
Q. Mr. Brotherton; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 14*, 26.
Q. Gen. Laurie; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 18*, 269.
Qs. Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 786, 787; *July 25*, 1062–1063.
Emigrant Ships, Life-saving Precautions on, Supply of Life-belts, etc.
Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 25*, 1026.
Foreign Seamen on British Vessels.
Number arriving in England to Ship, Number acquainted with Shipping Regulations, etc.
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 18*, 257.
Restriction by Amendment to Merchant Shipping Bill, proposed.
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July*, *15*, 155–156.
Margarine, Substitution of, for Butter, in supplying Seamen, alleged.
Q. Mr. Gilhooly; *A.* Mr. A. Fellowes, *July 14*, 37, 38.
Naval Warnings as to avoidance of Danger of Collision.
Qs. Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 27*, 1328, 1329.
Progress of, in United Kingdom and Principal Maritime Countries—Tables showing, ordered, *July 27*, 1318.
"Ras Bera"—Trial of Crew for Insubordination, Finding of Court, &c.
Q. Mr. Nannetti; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 26*, 1208–1209.
Russian Cruisers, Detention of British Vessels by, *see subheading* Belligerents, Rights of, *and for particular Vessels detained see their names.*
Seamen.
British—Number Unemployed, etc.
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 18*, 257.

[*cont.*

Merchant Shipping—*con*.
Seamen—*cont.*
Desertions in Pacific Ports in 1903, Inquiry as to.
Q. Sir J. Fergusson; *A.* Mr. B. Law, *July 21*, 772.
Foreign, *see subheading* Foreign Seamen.
"Tweeddale," Chinese Coolies Landed by, *see under* Transvaal—Chinese Labour, Importation of.
United States Charges on British Vessels entering American Ports, Reduction, in, etc.
Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 26*, 1194.

Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill
c. Con. July 14, 116.
Debate on Consideration (Commons) *July 14*, 116.
Board of Trade, Introduction of Bill by, proposed, 118, 119, 122, 126, 130.
Coasting Vessels, Effect of Alteration upon, 122, 128, 135, 140.
Committee to consider Existing Anomalies, proposed, 121, 140.
Crew Accommodation and Light and Air Spaces, Curtailment of, 117, 119, 121, 122, 124, 126, 131, 134, 138, 140.
Cunard Company, Objections of, to Bill, alleged etc., 123, 127, 131, 141.
Foreign Shipping, Effect on, 124, 131, 132, 139.
Inequalities of Present System, 122, 128.
Local Acts altering Basis of Assessment—Number passed, Establishment of precedent, etc., 121, 123, 125, 129, 138.
Passenger Ships, Insufficient dues paid by, alleged, 118, 120, 122, 124, 134.
Select Committee Report, Opinions expressed in, 119, 120, 136.

Metropolitan District Railway Bill
c. Con. July 18*, 249.
3R.* *July 21*, 744.
l. Commons' Amendts. *Con.* July 26*, 1177.

Metropolitan Police
Sunday Duty, Alteration in, proposed.
Q. Mr. Lough; Mr. A. Douglas, *July 25*, 1030.

Middlesborough
Post Office—Relatives of Superior Officials, Regulations restricting Appointments of.
Q. Mr. Goddard; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 21*, 751, 752.

Midwifery
Diplomas, Examinations for—Appointments made by Central Midwives' Board, etc.
Q. Dr. Thompson; *A.* Mr. Cochrane, *July 27*, 1337.

Militia
Absorption and Abolition of—Reform Proposals.
Os. Lord Burghclere, *July 21*, 686, 687, 689; Lord Denman, 693; Viscount Hardinge, 698; Lord Heneage, 702; Lord Monkswell, 727, 728; Marquess of Lansdowne, 736; Earl Spencer, 740, 741.
Conversion of, into Territorial Battalions, proposed.
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 75, 76, 116; Mr. G. Boscawen, 89; Mr. M. Ferguson, 101.
Os. Lord Burghclere, *July 21*, 686; Lord Heneage, 702, 703; Lord Lovat, 704; Earl of Donoughmore, 722–724, 740; Marquess of Lansdowne, 736; Earl Spencer, 740, 741.
Cost of, per Man.
O. Earl of Donoughmore, *July 21*, 725.
Foreign Service, Proposals as to.
Os. Sir J. Colomb, *July 14*, 99, 100.
Os. Lord Burghclere, *July 21*, 688; Lord Heneage, 702; Lord Lovat, 704.
Irish, bringing, to England—Explanation of Statement in Lord Wolseley's Official Minute.
Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; *A.* Mr. B. Davenport, *July 14*, 47.
Irish Regiments, Reason for Stoppage of Recruiting for.
Q. Dr. Thompson; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 22*, 946.
Mobilisation of, as a practical Test of Efficiency, proposed.
O. Lord Lovat, *July 21*, 706, 707.
Number of Men passing into the Line through.
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 74; Mr. G. Boscawen, 88.
Os. Lord Heneage, *July 21*, 700; Earl of Donoughmore, 722.
Officers.
Supply of, Inadequacy of.
O. Mr. R. Lucas, *July 14*, 102.
Training of, Standard of Examinations, etc.
O. Mr. R. Lucas, *July 14*, 103.
Organisation of, Unsatisfactory Nature of.
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 65; Col. Pilkington, 107, Mr. Guest, 112.
Os. Vis. Hardinge, *July 21*, 698; Lord Lovat, 704–706, Earl of Donoughmore, 721.

[*cont.*

July 14—*July* 28.

Militia—*cont.*
Recruiting.
Irish Regiments, Reason for Stoppage of Recruiting for.
Q. Dr. Thompson; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 22*, 946.
Return for 1903–4.
Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; *A.* Mr, Arnold-Forster, *July 21*, 764, 765.
South African War, *see that title.*
Strength of,
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 65.
Maintenance of — Training period, Extension of, and prevention of men from joining Army, proposed.
Qs. Dr. Thompson, ; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 22*, 945–946.

Millstreet, Ireland
Rural District Council, Audit of Accounts of—Remission of alleged Surcharge, proposed.
Q. Mr. Sheehan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1051–1052.

Milner. Rt. Hon. Sir F. G. [Notts, Bassetlaw]
Finance Bill, *Com. July 20*, 632, 633.

Minehead Urban District Council Water Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Mines
Electricity in—Inspectors, Lack of Knowledge among, etc.
Qs. Mr. Markham, Mr. Fenwick; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 14*, 35, 36.

Mitchell, Mr. E. [Fermanagh, N.]
Tempo Water Supply, Improvement of, proposed, *July 27*, 1343, 1344.

Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill
c. Con. July 18, 347.
Compensation to Owners and Occupiers on the Holywell Stream, proposed.
Os. Mr. H. Robertson, *July 18*, 347; Sir W. Tomlinson, 349, Mr. Tennant, 350, Mr. Brigg, Mr. J. W. Lowther, 351, Mr. Cripps, Mr. Tomkinson, 352; Sir J. Joicey, Col. Pryce-Jones, 353; Mr. Hudson, Mr. W. Abraham, 354.

Monkswell, Lord
Army.
Africa, South, Service in, Unpopularity of, *July 21*, 732.
Recruits—Number required and inducements offered, etc., *July 21*, 728–731.
Militia, Absorption and Abolition of—Reform Proposals, *July 21*, 727, 728.

Moon, Mr. E. R. P. [St. Pancras, N.]
Turkey, European, Tithe Scheme proposed for Villages in—Restrictions imposed on *Gendarmerie* Officers, *July 14*, 25–26.

Mooney, Mr. J. J. [Dublin Co., S.]
Rathmines.
Commissioners, Appeal of, against Dublin County Council Order—Delay in Decision, alleged, *July 21*, 777.
Registration Lists, Illegal interference with—Identification and Prosecution of Offenders, etc., *July 21*, 774, 788; *July 27*, 1338.
Spirits, Adulteration of, with German Spirits—Control of Revenue Authorities over Spirits taken out of Bond, etc., *July 27*, 1336.

Moore, Mr. W. [Antrim, N.]
Congested Districts Board, Ireland—Clerical Staff, Regulations as to Appointments of, *July 26*, 1192.

Morgan, Mr. J. L. [Carmarthen, W.]
Education [Local Authority Default] Bill, 2R. *July 15*, 165, 170.
Prisoners Flogged under Vagrancy Act in 1903, Number, Nature of Offences, etc., *July 21*, 748.

Morley Estate
Sale of—Affirmances of Decrees for Rent etc.
Q. Mr. V. Kennedy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1054.

Morrell, Mr. G. H. [Oxon, Woodstock]
Geological Survey—Drift Maps—Number completed, Number of Publications contemplated, etc., *July 15*, 157.

Motherwell and Bellshill Railway (Abandonment) Order Confirmation Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Motors
Bicycles, Alteration of Numbers on, to Escape Identification after an Accident, alleged—Incised or Enamelled Numbers, proposed.
Qs. Mr. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 272, 273.
Cars, Licences issued to, Revenue from.
Q. Mr. H. Heaton; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 14*, 24–25.
Locomotives on Highways, *see that title.*
Speed Regulations—Blackrock, Ireland, Legal limit at.
Qs. Capt. Donelan, *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1471.

Mount, Mr. W. A. [Berkshire, Newbury]
Coal, export Duty on—Effect of, on the Trade and Wages of Miners, etc., *July 22*, 972–974.
Finance Bill, *Con. July 22*, 972–973.

Mountpottinger
Constabulary barracks, Occupation of quarters in, by Head Constable not stationed in District, etc., alleged—Inquiry, proposed.
Qs. Mr. Sloan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 775, 776; *July 25*, 1052, 1053.

Moy
Townlands, Processions in, Reason for prohibition of.
Q. Mr. MacVeagh; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 280, 281.

Mullingar, Kells, and Drogheda Railway Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Murphy, Mr. J. [Kerry, E.]
Rowland Estate, Sale of—Action of Major Kiggel as Agent for owner, etc., *July 14*, 40.

Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G.—*Secretary for Scotland* [Buteshire]
Crofting Counties—Cookery and Household Economy, Number of Girls receiving Instruction in, *July 25*, 1026.
Fish, Carriage of, to Southern Markets—Reduction in Rates, proposed, *July 27*, 1320.
Glasgow Prison—Regulations as to Vaccination of Prisoners, *July 25*, 1027.
Scottish Office—Letters addressed to Members of Parliament, Postage on, *July 27*, 1320.

Muthia Gounden
Petition for Redress of grievances, Action taken on.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 261.

Nannetti, Mr. J. P. [Dublin, College Green]
Ordnance Survey Department — Civil Assistant, Reduction of Pay of, for Absence without Leave — Restoring Pay and Position, *July 14*, 37.
Post Office.
American Mail Service — Sorting Arrangements at Queenstown, etc., *July 26*, 1219, 1220.
Dublin, Harcourt Road—Payment of Arrears of Salary to Postmaster, *July 26*, 1221.
Stony Stratford — Recommendations of New Postmaster, Rule as to Applications for Vacancies, etc., *July 18*, 269, 270.
"Ras Bera"—Trial of Crew for Insubordination, Finding of Court, etc., *July 26*, 1208-1209.

Natal
Chinese Labourers for the Transvaal, Regulations as to Transit of, through Natal.
Q. Major Seely; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 27*, 1333.

National Debt
Irregular Debt, Growth of.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1069-1071, 1077, 1079.
Permanent Annual Charge for, Amount of.
References to, in the Debate on the Finance Bill. *July 20*, 668-672.
Permanent Debt Charge, Amount of, Reduction of, proposed.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1066, 1067, 1071, 1087-1089.
Reduction of.
Q. Mr. E Robertson; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 28*, 1467.
References to, in the Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1067, 1068, 1082, 1084, 1088; *July 28*, 1489, 1490.
Sinking Fund, Position of.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1073-1076, 1079, 1082, 1084-1087, 1090, 1093.

National Gallery of Ireland
see under Ireland.

National School Teachers, Ireland
Civil Service, Regulations as to entering.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 418.
Keadew—Reason for Dismissal of Teacher by Patron, Right to Pension or Compensation, etc.
Q. Mr. Tully; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 424.
Punishment — Charges, Opportunity for disproving or explaining—Practice of Commissioners on receiving School Manager's Statement, etc.
Qs. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 40.
Reports, Official, on — Giving teachers opportunity of seeing, proposed.
Qs. Mr. Sloan; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1340.
Salaries, Initial, Amount of — Increase proposed.
Qs. Mr. J. Campbell; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 417, 418.

Navy
First Lord—Earl of Selbourne.
Financial Secretary—Mr. E. G. Pretyman.

Navy
Battleships.
"Belleisle," Sale of—Name of Purchaser, Stipulation as to Disposal, Effacement of Result of Gunnery Experiments, etc.
Qs. Col. Denny; *As.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 15*, 161-162.
Q. Col. Denny; *A.* Mr. A. Lee, *July 21*, 762, 763.

[*cont.*

Navy—*cont.*

Battle-ships—*cont.*

Sale of Old Vessels, Conditions of, etc.
Q. Col. Denny ; *A.* Mr. A. Lee, *July 21*, 762, 763.

"Belleisle," Sale of—Name of Purchaser, Stipulation as to Disposal, Effacement of Result of Gunnery Experiments, etc.
Qs. Col. Denny ; *As.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 15*, 161–162.

Q. Col. Denny ; *A.* Mr. A. Lee, *July 21*, 762, 763.

Brass Castings, Contracts for—Stipulation as to Manufacture from British Copper and Tin, proposed.
Q. Mr. W. Ridley, *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 18*, 256.

Canton Booty Fund, Distribution of—Amount unpaid, etc.
Q. Mr. Sharpe ; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 25*, 1029.

Coaling of the Fleet—Extra Remuneration Claimed by Mates and Engineers.
Q. Mr. Kearley ; Mr. Pretyman, *July 28*, 1449.

Colonial Contributions towards.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 28*, 1488, 1497, 1533, 1534, 1544, 1551, 1562, 1563.

Contingencies, Sudden, Regulations as to Nightly Preparation for.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles ; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 4*, 23, 24.

Dockyards, *see that title.*

Estimates, Date of Taking.

Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill ; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1225.

Expenditure, Increase in.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 28*, 1487, 1488, 1496, 1508, 1509, 1513, 1525, 1529, 1530, 1533, 1562.

Flogging.

Birches, and Cat-o'-nine-tails, Supply of, to Vessels and Training Ships, Suspension of use of Cat, etc.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill ; *As.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 19*, 412.

Discussion on Estimates, proposed.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill ; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1225.

Number of Canings in 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, Nature of Offences, etc.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill ; *As.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 18*, 263, 264.

Warning on Enlistment as to Liability to Caning.
Q. Mr. S. MacNeill ; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 28*, 1458.

Navy—*cont.*

Gun Sights.

Expenditure, Estimated, to render System Efficient.
Q. Mr. Kearley ; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 14*, 28.

"Prince of Wales," Improvement in Gun Sights of.
Q. Mr. Harmsworth ; *A.* Mr, Pretyman, *July 25*, 1028, 1029.

Merchant Ships, Warnings to, as to avoidance of Danger of Collision.
Qs. Mr. G. Bowles ; *As.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 27*, 1328, 1329.

Officers.

Colonial Forces, Command of—Prevention of Public Statements by Imperial Officers, as to Colonial Defence.
Q. Mr. Markham ; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 786.

Promotions — Obviating Delay in Filling Vacancies.
Q. Mr. Kearley ; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 14*, 28, 29.

Retired, Liberty of, to write on Naval Matters to the Press, etc.
Qs. Mr. G. Bowles ; *As.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 27*, 1329, 1330.

Pay, Non-Effective and Allowances—List of Exceptions to, Presented, *July 19*, 407.

"Prince of Wales,"—Gun Sights, Improvement of.
Q. Mr. Harmsworth ; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 25*, 1028, 1029.

Stores of Sea-going Ships, Committee of Inquiry on—Report, Date of Presenting, Allowance to Naval Officers on Committee, etc.
Q. Mr. Kearley ; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 14*, 29.

Swimming Instruction for Boys—Caning for Laziness and Inattention.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill ; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 26*, 1202, 1203.

Works.

Estimated Cost, and Estimated Expenditure on, during 1903–4, and 1904–5, and Date of Completion — Statement as to, Presented, *July 22*, 942.

Expenditure on, Growth of.

References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1070, 1098.

New Writs for Parliamentary By-Elections

see under Parliamentary By-Elections.

New Zealand
Chief Justice, Alteration as to Precedence of.
Qs. Mr. C. Wason; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 768, 769; *July 25*, 1044.

Newburgh and North Fife Railway (Extension of Time) Order Confirmation Bill
c. 1R.* *July 22*, 941.
*Con.** *July 25*, 1022.
3R.* *July 27*, 1317.
l. 1R. and 2R.* *July 28*, 1430.

Newcastle and Gateshead Water Bill
c. Rep.* *July 21*, 744.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Corporation Bill
c. Rep.* *July 21*, 745.

Newfoundland
Arbitration Treaty between France and Great Britain, *see under* France.

Newton, Lord
Business of the House, Congested State of, *July 19*, 390–392.
Licensing Bill—Introduction in the House of Lords, Advantages of, *July 19*, 390.
Session, Duration of — Sitting during Winter instead of Summer months, proposed, *July 19*, 390, 392, 393.
Torquay Tramways Bill, 3R. *July 25*, 1009.

Nigeria
Royal Niger Company, Purchase of, by Imperial Government, Financial result of Transaction, etc.
Qs. Mr. Bayley, Mr. Lough; *As.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 19*, 415, 416.

North British Railway [General Powers] Order Confirmation Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

North Western Electricity and Power Gas Bill
c. Lords' Amendts., *Con.** *July 14*, 18
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Northbrook, Earl of
Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill—Petitions against, from Boards of Guardians, *July 26*, 1180–1183, 1185, 1186.

Norton, Capt. C. W. [Newington, W.]
Army.
Camberley Royal Military College—Shooting Record of Cadets—Inferiority attributable to Defective Eyesight, alleged, *July 25*, 1037–1038.

Norton, Capt. C. W.—*cont.*
Army—*cont.*
Corps—Six Corps Scheme, Rescinding Resolution as to, proposed, *July 19*, 427.
Recruiting.
Betterment of—Report of late Inspector-General, *July 25*, 1038.
Vision Tests, Report of Committee on, *July 25*, 1038.
Reform proposals, Opportunity for Discussing, *July 27*, 1346.
Civil Service Pay—Increments—Application of Order-in-Council of 29th November, 1898, *July 25*, 1031.
Indian Army—War Office, Abolition of Representative at, *July 25*, 1044.
Parliament—House of Commons—Stokers and Enginemen, Wages of, *July 28*, 1446.
Post Office—Unestablished Employees, Annual Leave Regulations for, *July 25*, 1030–1031.
Transvaal, Importation of Chinese Labour to—Riots among the Chinese, alleged, *July 25*, 1043.

Nurses
Registration of—Report from Select Committee, Presented, *July 26*, 1192.

Oakengates and Dawley Joint Water Board Bill
c. Rep.* *July 28*, 1442.

O'Brien, Mr. J. F. X. [Cork]
Telephone Service—Extension of Trunk System in Ireland, proposed, *July 28*, 1448.

O'Brien, Mr. K. [Tipperary, Mid.]
De Montalt, Earl, Estate of—Delay in hearing Fair Rent Appeals, alleged, *July 18*, 281, 282.

O'Connor, Mr. J. [Wicklow, W.]
Congo Free State, Administration of—Mal administration, etc., Charges of, *July 25*, 1045.
Kilbride Camp Canteen Licence—Irregularity in signing Order—Decision on Action of Mr. Shanks, etc., *July 18*, 275.

Odessa
Trade Report, Presented, *July 25*, 1011.

O'Dowd, Mr. J. [Sligo, S.]
Congo Free State, Administration of—Maladministration, etc., Charges of—Investigation, etc., *July 25*, 1044, 1045.
Grazing Farms in West of Ireland sold or let to Non-resident Graziers, alleged—Powers of Estates Commissioners, etc., *July 25*, 1049–1050.

[*cont.*

O'Dowd, Mr. J.—*cont.*

Owenmore River, Drainage of, proposed, *July 28*, 1472.

Weir Estate, Sale of—Proposals of Land Judge as to Unsold Portion of Estate, *July 21*, 776, 777.

O'Donovan, Mr.

Property of, in Durrus District, Date of Inspection by Congested Districts Board.
Q. Mr. Gilhooly; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 757.

Official Secrets Bill

l. 1R.* *July 22*, 936.

O'Kelly, Mr. J. [Roscommon, N.]

Roscommon District Council, Proposal of, to make Allowances to certain Labourers and Inmates of the Workhouse out of the Rates—Refusal of Permission by Local Government Board, etc., *July 14*, 43.

Onslow, Earl of—*President of the Board of Agriculture.*

Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill, Petitions against, from Boards of Guardians, *July 26*, 1184, 1185.

O'Shaughnessy, Mr. P. J. [Limerick, W.]

Poultry-rearing in Ireland—Special Railway Rates for carriage of Poultry, proposed, *July 28*, 1472.

O'Shee, Mr. J. J. [Waterford, W.]

Land Estates Commissioners -- Staff, Increase in, proposed, *July 25*, 1048.

Orange River Colony

Annual Revenue and Expenditure Account.
O. Sir R. Reid, *July 21*, 854, 855.

Devastation in, caused by the War, Steps taken to rebuild Farms, Houses, etc.
Os. Sir R. Reid, *July 21*, 851, 852; Major Seely, 866.

Financial Condition—Receipts and Expenditure for 1903-4.
Q. Mr. Buchanan; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21.* 761, 762.

Sand River Convention, Terms of.
Os. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 797, 798; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 810.

Ordnance Survey Department

Civil Assistant, Reduction in Pay of, for Absence without Leave—Restoration of Position, etc., proposed.
Q. Mr. Nannetti; *A.* Mr. A. Fellowes, *July 14*, 37.

Progress of Surveys—Report Presented, *July 27*, 1318; *July 28*, 1432.

Oughter, Lough

Drainage of—Petitions from Farmers, etc.
Q. Mr. Kennedy; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 27*, 1345.

Outdoor Relief [Friendly Societies] Bill

Petitions against, from Poor Law Guardians, etc.—Obtaining opinions from Poor Law Inspectors, proposed.
Os. Earl of Northbrook, *July 26*, 1180-1183, 1185, 1186; Lord James of Hereford, 1183, 1185, 1186; Earl of Onslow, 1184, 1185.

Owenmore River

Drainage of, proposed.
Q. Mr. O'Dowd; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1472.

Oxford University

Worcester College — Statutes, Presented, *July 22*, 889, 941.

Pacific Cable Act

Revenue, Expenditure, Securities, etc.—Account Presented, *July 14*, 21; *July 15*, 147.

Paisley District Tramways Order Confirmation Bill

l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Palestine

Trade Report, Presented, *July 19*, 387.

Pandit Adya Prasada Misra

Petition for redress of Grievances, Action taken on.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 261.

Paupers

see under Poor Law.

Parcel Post

see under Post Office

Parliament

Decoration of Palace of Westminster.
Frescoes, Condition of, etc.
Os. Lord Stanmore, *July 25*, 1016, 1017, 1021; Lord Windsor, 1019.

Mosaics—Allegations against Sir H. Layard.
O. Lord Stanmore, *July 24*, 1013.

Select Committee of Inquiry, Appointment of, proposed.
Os. Lord Stanmore, *July 25*, 1011 - 1014, 1018; Lord Windsor, 1018; Earl Spencer, 1020.

Unfinished state of, Date of proceeding with work, etc.
Os. Lord Stanmore, *July 25*, 1011, 1013, 1015; Lord Windsor, 1018; Earl Spencer, 1020.

[*cont.*

Parliament—*cont.*

House of Commons.

Business of the House, *see that title.*

Divisions, Frivolous or Vexatious, Challenge of—Members requested to rise in their places.
O. Mr. Speaker, *July 19*, 506.

Sittings of the House, *see that title.*

Stokers and Enginemen, Wages of.
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Lord Balcarres, *July 28*, 1446.

House of Lords.

Business, Congested State of.
O. Lord Newton, *July 19*, 390–392.

Representative Peers for Ireland — Right to Vote at Elections.

Conyngham, Marquess of, *July 15*, 145; *July 22*, 887.

Cork and Orrery, Earl of, *July 15*, 145; *July 26*, 1177; *July 28*, 1429.

Session, Duration of—Sitting during winter instead of summer months, proposed.
Os. Lord Newton, *July 19*, 390, 392, 393; Marquess of Lansdowne, 393, 394.
Qs. Mr. Broadhurst; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1225–1227.

Parliamentary By-Elections

New Writ—Lanark [North-Eastern Division] *July 25*, 1066.

Parker, Sir G. [Gravesend]

Cement, Foreign, Use of, in Government Works—Use of British Cement only, proposed, *July 19*, 417.

Parks and Gardens

Phoenix Park, Dublin, *see under Dublin.*

Parrott, Mr. [Yorks, W.R., Normanton]

Coal, Export Duty on, Effect of, on the Trade and Wages of Miners, etc., *July 20*, 645–647.

Finance Bill, *Com. July 20*, 645–646.

Pawnbrokers

Dublin, Returns from City Marshal of, Presented, *July 18*, 230, 250.

Pease, Mr. J. A. [Essex, Saffron Walden]

Ramji Hariba, Death of, from Flogging on Conviction for theft in India, alleged, *July 21*, 755.

Peat

Inny Junction Peat Production Experiment.
Q. Mr. Farrell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July* 25, 1054–1055.

Peel, Mr. W. R. [Manchester, S.]

Licensing Bill, *Con. July 27*, 1355.

Pemba

Freed Slave Mshangama, Appeal Case of, Evidence in.
Q. Mr. Bayley; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 14*, 26.

Pensions

Army Special—Return as to, Presented, *July 21*, 677, 746.

Postmen, of, Considering Sunday Pay in calculating, *July 14*, 27.

Percy, Earl—*Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs* [Kensington, S.]

Achin, Dutch War with—British Government Representations as to Killing of Women and Children, proposed, *July 28*, 1465.

Africa, East.

Alien Settlement—East African Syndicate—Terms of Lease, Grazing Rights of Masai, Rate of Wages for Native Labour, &c., *July 18*, 261.

British Protectorate — Sub-Commissioner Bagge, Reason for Transfer of, *July 18*, 268.

Agriculture, State Aid to, in Foreign Countries, Reports on, proposed, *July 28*, 1466.

Congo Free State, Administration of—Mal administration, Charges of—Investigation, etc., *July 25*, 1045.

Consular Service, Examinations for, Omission of Modern History from, *July 22*, 948.

Horses, Worn-out, Shipment of, to the Continent—Treatment on arrival, *July 14*, 25.

Macedonia

Gendarmerie, Re-organisation of.

Blue-book—Date of publication, inclusion of Reports of Col. Fairholme, etc., *July 28*, 1466.

European Officers, Instructions to — Increase in Russian and Austrian Officers, alleged, *July 28*, 1465.

Ilavés, Embodiment of, for Service—Promises of the Porte, etc., *July 28*, 1467.

Maderia—German Sanatorium Syndicate, Concessions granted to — Protecting British Interests, *July 14*, 34, 35; *July 21*, 754.

Pemba—Freed Slave Mshangama, Appeal Case of, Evidence in, *July 14*, 26.

Russo-Japanese War.

Black Sea Fleet, Passage of Dardenelles by, under Commercial Flag, International Law as to, etc., *July 14*, 26; *July 18*, 269; *July 25*, 1054, 1046; *July 27*, 1321.

[*cont.*

Percy, Earl—*cont.*
Russo-Japanese War—*cont.*
British Vessels, Detention and Search of, by Russian Cruisers in the Red Sea—Inquiry, etc., *July 14*, 26; *July 18*, 268, 269; *July 19*, 409; *July 21*, 754.
Samoa—Bombardment of Apia—Claims of British Residents for Damage and the Award of the King of Sweden, *July 25*, 1033.
Suez Canal Company, Number of British Pilots employed by, *July 28*, 1446.
Traité des Blanches, Ratification of, *July 28*, 1445.
Turkey, European, Tithe scheme proposed for villages in—Restrictions imposed on *Gendarmerie* Officers, *July 14*, 26.
Zanzibar Regent, Complaints against, by Envoys—Inquiry proposed, *July 21*, 769.

Perks, Mr. R. W. [Lincolnshire, Louth]
Education [Local Authority Default] Bill, 2R. *July 15*, 169.
Finance Bill, *Con. July 25*, 1094.
Financial Position of the Country, *July 25*, 1094-1097.

Perth Corporation Order Confirmation Bill
c. 1R.* *July 28*, 1441.

Petitions
India—Petitions for Redress of Grievances Presented in House of Commons, Action taken on, etc.
Qs. Mr. Weir; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 261; *July 19*, 410.
Qs. Sir C. Dalrymple, Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, Sir H. Vincent, *July 19*, 415.

Petitions, Public
Committee Report, Presented, *July 25*, 1025.

Petroleum
Production of, Statement relating to, Presented, *July 27*, 1319.

Phœnix Park, Dublin
See under Dublin.

Physical Deterioration
Inter-Departmental Committee Report on, Presented, *July 21*, 678, 746.
Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1224, 1225.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 1) Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 885, 938.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill
*c. Con.** and 3R.* *July 14*, 19.
l. 1R.* *July 14*, 4.
2R.* *July 28*, 1430.

Pier and Harbour Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill
c. Rep.* *July 21*, 745.
*Con.** *July 22*, 941.
l. 1R.* *July 26*, 1177.

Piers and Harbours
Dues, Harbour and Dock, Committee on—Appointment of Representatives of Crews, proposed.
Q. Mr. Runciman; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 28*, 1469, 1470.
Ireland.
Falcorrib—Expenditure, Arrangement as to.
Q. Mr. H. Law; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 411.
Fenit Pier, Particulars as to Loan for.
Q. Mr. Flavin; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 783.
Galway, *see that title.*
Kinvara—Improvement in Pier, proposed.
Q. Mr. Joyce; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1055, 1056.
Rush Harbour—Complaints of Disrepair, Cost of Repairs, etc.
Qs. Mr. Clancy; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 25*, 1058-1060.
Scotland—Avoch Harbour Works, Decision as to Grant for.
Q Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 21*, 753.

Pilkington, Lt.-Col. R. [Lancashire, Newton]
Army.
Linked Battalions System, Abolition of, proposed, *July 14*, 107.
Mounted Troops, Increase in Number of, proposed, *July 14*, 107.
Militia Re-organisation Proposals, *July 14*, 107.
Volunteers Re-organisation Proposals, *July 14*, 108.

Pilots and Pilotage
Abstract of Returns relating to, Presented, *July 25*, 1011, 1025.

Pirie, Mr. D. V. (Aberdeen, N.)
Alcohol for Manufacturing Purposes Exemption of, from Duty, proposed, *July 25*, 1120.
Army—Recruits, Desertions by, during year ended 14th July, 1904, *July 28*, 1460.
Education (Scotland) Bill, Date of Resuming Discussion on, *July 26*, 1225.
Finance Bill, *Con. July 25*, 1120, 1163.
Tea, Additional 2d. per Pound on, Objections to, *July 25*, 1163, 1164.

Plymouth Corporation Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Police

Constabulary, Royal Irish, *see that title.*

Metropolitan—Sunday Duty, Alteration in, proposed.
Q. Mr. Lough ; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 25*, 1030.

Sparkhill — Birching of Boy by Police Superintendent, Inquiry as to, proposed.
Q. Sir W. Foster ; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 21*, 749, 750.

Police Courts

Juvenile Criminals, Numbers of, Dealt with in Metropolitan Courts, etc.
Q. Sir J. Gorst ; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 14*, 24.

Polling Districts

Cambridge, Borough of—Order altering certain Districts, Presented, *July 28*, 1432, 1442.

Essex, County of—County Council Order altering certain Districts, Presented, *July 15*, 147, 155.

Poor Law

In-maintenance and Out-door Relief—Statement of Amount Expended by Boards of Guardians in 1904, Presented, *July 15*, 155.

Ireland.

Medical Officers.

Retirement, Age for, etc.
Q. Dr. Thompson ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 758, 759.

Salaries, Increase in—Amount to be borne by local rates, etc.
Q. Mr. Hayden ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 421.

Paupers, Deportation of—English and Scotch paupers, Legislation to authorise removal of, from Ireland proposed.
Q. Mr. MacVeagh ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 43, 44.

Out-door Relief (Friendly Societies Bill), Petitions against, from Boards of Guardians—Obtaining opinions from Poor Law Inspectors, Proposed.
Os. Earl of Northbrook, *July 26*, 1180-1183, 1185, 1186 ; Lord James of Hereford, 1183, 1186 ; Earl of Onslow, 1184, 1185.

Relieving Officers, Employment of, as School Attendance Officers.
Q. Mr. H. Hobhouse ; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 18*, 256-257.

Poor Law Authorities (Transfer of Property) Bill

l 1R.* *July 21*, 678.

2R. *July 26*, 1179.

Postmasters

See under Post Office.

Postmen

See under Post Office.

Post-Mortem Examinations

Specialists called in by Coroners—Return as to number in 1903, proposed.
Q. Mr. Kimber ; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 18*, 260.

Post Office

Postmaster-General—Lord Stanley.

Civil Servants — Increments of Pay—Application of Order in Council of 29th Nov., 1898.
Q. Capt. Norton ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1031.

Engineering Department — Annual leave regulations for Unestablished Staff.
Q. Capt. Norton ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1030-1031.

Ireland.

American Mails — Sorting Arrangements at Queenstown.
Q. Mr. Nannetti ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 26*, 1219, 1220.

Bangor—Return as to Business, proposed.
Q. Mr. J. Devlin ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 27*, 1344.

Bunbeg — Improvement in Postal Service, proposed.
Q. Mr. H. Law ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 10*, 410.

Harcourt Road—Postmaster, Payment of Arrears of Salary to.
Q. Mr. Nannetti ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 26*, 1221.

Gorey.

Post Office, Objection to New Site for.
Q. Sir T. Esmonde ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 253.

Sunday post to Kilanevin from, proposed.
Q. Sir T. Esmonde ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 14*, 27.

Gweedore and Bunbeg Districts, Improvement of service in, proposed.
Q. Mr. H. Law ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 19*, 410.

Irish Language, Knowledge of, by Postmasters in Ireland, a necessity alleged.
Qs. Mr. Boland ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 26*, 1220, 1221.

Johnstown, Sunday Delivery at, proposed.
Q. Mr. J. Devlin ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 285.

Learners.

Female — Pay, Period of Probation, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Devlin ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18* 284, 285.

[*cont.*

Post Office—*cont.*

Ireland—*cont.*

Learners—*cont.*

Portadown, Inefficiency of Learner at, alleged.
Q. Col. Saunderson ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1031, 1032.

Telegraph and Telephone Services, *see those titles.*

Tullaroan Postal Arrangements — Memorial from Mr. R. Meagher.
Q. Mr. J. Devlin ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 254.

Uniforms.

Auxiliary Postmen, Regulations as to Overcoats for.
Q. Mr. T. W. Russell ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 254.

Summer Provision of for Rural Postmen.
Q. Mr. H. Law ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 19*, 410.

Learners in Ireland, *see under sub-heading* Ireland.

Letters.

Addresses Applying Equally to Several Persons, Rule as to Delivery in Cases of.
Q. Mr. J. Devlin ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 254, 255.

Tain Post Office, Extra Charge on Letters Addressed to.
Q. Mr. Weir ; Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 255, 256.

Mail Service.

Africa, East, Steamship Communication with — Arrangement with German East African Company, proposed.
Q. Mr. C. Wason ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1046.

American Mails at Queenstown—Sorting Arrangements, etc.
Q. Mr. Nannetti ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 26*, 1219-1220.

Stornoway Mails, Delay in.
Q. Mr. Weir ; Lord Stanley, *July 28*, 1447.

Middlesbrough — Relatives of Superior Officials, Regulations Restricting Appointment of.
Q. Mr. Goddard ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *21*, 751, 752.

Parcel Post.

Cheltenham to North of Ireland—Delay in Transmission, alleged.
Q. Dr. Thompson ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1032.

Foreign and Colonial — Statutory Rules and Orders Presented, *July 21*, 678, 746.

Post Office—*cont.*

Postage to the Continent, Reduction in Rates for, proposed.
Q. Sir T. Dewar ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 22*, 948.

Postmasters.

Dublin, Harcourt Road—Payment of Arrears of Salary.
Q. Mr. Nannetti ; *A.* Lord Stanley ; *July 26*, 1221.

Irish Language, Necessity for knowledge of, by Postmasters in Ireland alleged.
Qs. Mr. Boland ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 26*, 1220-1221.

Southampton Vacancy, Reason for Appointing Mr. Kent to.
Q. Mr. Sloan ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 270-271.

Stony Stratford—Recommendations of New Postmaster, Rule as to Applications for Vacant Posts, etc.
Q. Mr. Nannetti ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 269, 270.

Vacancies, Number of, filled by persons not previously in the Civil Service, etc.
Q. Mr. J. Wilson ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 21*, 752.

Postmen.

Auxiliary, Regulations as to Overcoats for.
Q. Mr. T. W. Russell ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 254.

Pensions, Considering Sunday Pay in calculating.
Q. Captain Freeman-Thomas ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 14*, 27.

Uniforms, Summer, for Irish rural postmen.
Q. Mr. H. Law ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 19*, 410.

Savings Bank, *see that title.*

Scotland

Stornoway Mail Service, Delays in.
Q. Mr. Weir ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 28*, 1447.

Tain Post Office — Extra charge on letters addressed to.
Q. Mr. Weir ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 255, 256.

Sites—Expenses, Committee to consider authorising payment of, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament.
Motion (Lord Stanley) *July 26*, 1229.

Stafford—Wages of Staff, Scale of.
Q. Mr. C. Shaw ; *A.* Lord Stanley *July 27*, 1320.

Telegraph and Telephone Services, *see those titles.*

[*cont.*

Post Office—*cont.*
Unestablished employees, Annual leave regulations for.
Q. Captain Norton; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1030–1031.
Vote, Date of taking.
Qs. Mr. F. Ridley; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 290, 291.
Wages.
Bradford Committee Report.
Delay in Printing, for use of Members, Access of Press to advance copy, etc.
Qs. Mr. Flynn, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. S. McNeill, Mr. T. W. Russell, Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 290, 291.
Presented, *July 15*, 146, 155.
Recommendations, Decision as to.
Q. Mr. Bell; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 28*, 1449.

Post Office Bill
c. 2R.* *July 22*, 999.

Post Office Sites Bill
c. 2R.* *July 26*, 1228, 1316.

Port of London Bill
Abandonment, Question of—Date of removal from Order Paper, etc.
Qs. Mr. J. Ellis; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 288, 289.

Portadown
Post Office, Inefficiency of Learner at, alleged.
Q. Colonel Sanderson; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1031, 1032.

Portmadoc, Bedgellert, and South Snowdon Railway Bill
*c. Con.** *July 22*, 940.
3R.* *July 26*, 1187.

Portnoo
Marine Works at—Date of commencement.
Q. Mr. H. Law; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 410, 411.

Port Said
Trade Report, Presented, *July 22*, 889.

Portugal
Tariff, New—Mercerised Goods, Representations as to Reduction of Duty on.
Q. Mr. W. Ridley; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 25*, 1046–1047.

Portumna
Railway — Investigation and Re-opening for Traffic, proposed.
Qs. Mr. Thornton; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1219; *July 28*, 1476.

Powell, Sir F. S. [Wigan]
Education [Local Authority Default] Bill. *July 15*, 198, 199.

Power, Mr. P. J. [Waterford, E.]
Kruger, Late Mr., Burial of—Offer of Warship for Transport of Body to South Africa, *July 18*, 289; *July 21*, 767.

President of the Board of Agriculture
Earl of Onslow.

President of the Board of Education
Marquess of Londonderry.

President of the Board of Trade
Mr. Gerald W. Balfour.

President of the Local Government Board
Mr. Walter H. Long.

Preston Corporation Water Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Pretyman, Mr. E. G.—*Secretary to the Admiralty* [Suffolk, Woodbridge]
Battleships.
"Belleisle," Sale of—Conditions of Sale, Effacement of Results of Gunnery Experiments, etc., *July 15*, 161–2.
Sale of Old Vessels—Conditions of Sale, Number sold, etc., *July 15*, 161-162.
"Belleisle," Sale of—Conditions of Sale, Effacement of Results of Gunnery Experiments, etc., *July 15*, 161–162.
Brass Castings, Contract for—Stipulation as to manufacture from British copper and tin proposed, *July 18*, 256.
Canton Booty Fund, Distribution of—Amount Unpaid, etc. *July 25*, 1029.
Coaling of the Fleet—Extra Remuneration claimed by Mates and Engineers, *July 28*, 1449.
Contingencies, Sudden, Regulations as to nightly preparations for, *July 14*, 23–24.
Dockyards—Information to the Press by Employees, Exhibition of Posters, Prohibiting, *July 28*, 1458.
Flogging.
Birches and Cat-o'-nine tails supplied to Vessels and Training Ships—Suspension of use of Cat, etc., *July 19*, 412.
Number in 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, Nature of Offences, etc., *July 18*, 263, 264.
Warning of Liability of Caning to Boys on Enlistment, *July 28*, 1458.

Pretyman, Mr. E. G.—*cont.*
Gun Sights.
Expenditure, Estimated to render System Efficient, *July 14*, 28.
"Prince of Wales"—Improvement of Gun Sights, *July 25*, 1028–1029.
Merchant Vessels, Warnings to, as to Avoidance of Danger of Collision, *July 27*, 1329.
Officers.
Promotions — Obviating Delay in filling Vacancies, *July 14*, 28–29.
Retired, Liberty of to write on Naval Matters to the Press, etc., *July 27*, 1330.
"Prince of Wales"—Improvement of Gun Sights, *July 25*, 1028–1029.
Questions not answered by a Minister, Circulation of, with the Votes, *July 14*, 51.
Stores of Sea-going Ships, Date of Presenting Committee Report on—Allowance to Naval Officers on Committee, etc., *July 14*, 29.
Swimming Instruction for Boys—Caning for Laziness, etc., on board H.M.S. "Lion," *July 26*, 1203.

Prevention of Cruelty to Children (Amendment) Bill
c. 2R.* *July 25*, 1022.

Prime Minister
Mr. A. J. Balfour.

Prisons
Aliens, Number of, in British Prisons.
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 19*, 416.
Bahamas—Rule as to personal correction of Prisoners, Presented, *July 21*, 747; *July 22*, 889.
Foreign Prison-made Goods, excluded from Great Britain, Value of.
Q. Mr. Lambert; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 14*, 23.
Ireland.
Bertillon System, Regulations as to introduction of.
Qs. Mr. MacVeagh; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 275, 276.
Mountjoy Prison—Dismissal of S. J. Carmichael.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1451.
Report of General Prisons Board for 1903-4, Presented, *July 27*, 1318; *July 28*, 1432.
Military, in Ireland, Provision of Robes, etc., for Chaplains of—Allowing Privilege to Roman Catholics.
Q. Mr. T. M. Healy; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 30–31.

Prisons—*cont.*
Scotland—Glasgow — Regulation as to Vaccination of Prisoners.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *July 25*, 1026, 1027.

Prisoners
Flogging of, under Vagrancy Act—Number flogged in 1903, Nature of Offences, etc.
Q. Mr. Lloyd Morgan; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 21*, 748.

"Prince of Wales," H.M.S.
Gunsights, Improvement of.
Q. Mr. Harmsworth; *A.* Mr. Pretyman, *July 25*, 1028, 1029.

Prosecution of Offences Acts
Return Presented, *July 18*, 250.

Protection *v.* Free Trade
See Fiscal Policy.

Pryce-Jones, Lieut.-Col. E. [Montgomery, Boroughs]
Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill, *Con. July 18*, 353.

Public Accounts
Committee Report, Presented, *July 28*, 1485.

Public Health Bill
l. 2R. *July 14*, 5.
Com. and *Rep.** *July 15*, 147.
Report from Standing Committee, *July 19*, 387.
3R.* *July 21*, 678.
c. 1R.* *July 28*, 1485.

Public Petitions
Committee Report, Presented, *July 25*, 1025.

Queen's Colleges, Ireland
Belfast.
Professors, Additional Appointments held by.
Qs. Mr. MacVeagh; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 25*, 1053.
Session, Duration of, Period for Delivery of Lectures, Assistance to Professors, etc.
Q. Mr. MacVeagh; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 778–779.
Cork—Report of President for Session 1903–1904. Presented, *July 21*, 678, 746.
Scholarships, etc, Regulations as to Holding, in addition to Royal University Scholarships.
Qs. Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 424, 425.

Questions
Debating, After an Answer received.
Os. Mr. Speaker, *July 19*, 427; *July 21*, 780; *July 27*, 1329.
Irregular.
O. Mr. Speaker, *July 18*, 277.
Unanswered by a Minister, Circulation of, with the Votes—Standing Order 9.
Os. Mr. G. Bowles, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Pretyman, *July 14*, 51.

Radcliffe Tramways and Improvement Bill
l. Rep.* *July 22*, 888.
3R.* *July 28*, 1429.

Railways
Accidents, Prevention of—Making rules, Progress of matters as to.
Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 18*, 257.
Brakes.
Continuous—Return Presented, *July 18*, 230.
Either side, for goods waggons, Experiments with.
Q. Mr. J. Ellis; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 18*, 258.
Brazil, Report on Railway Systems of, Presented, *July 25*, 1011.
Capital, Traffic, Receipts and Working Expenditure of Railway Companies—Return for 1903, Presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1190,
India—East Indian Railway, Order for Locomotives placed by, in Germany, alleged.
Q. Sir A. Hickman; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 26*, 1198, 1199.
Ireland.
Armagh, Keady and Castleblayney Railway, Delay in construction of, alleged.
Q. Mr. J. Campbell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 42.
Portumna Railway—Investigation and re-opening, proposed.
Q. Mr. Thornton; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1219.
Poultry, Special rates for, proposed.
Q. Mr. O'Shaughnessy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1472.
Light, Number of, authorised by Act or Order, Amount of Capital, Length of line, etc., Return Ordered, *July 22*, 942.

Railways and Steamships (Parliamentary Facilities) Bill
c. 1R.* *July 27*, 1348.

Railways (Private Sidings) Bill
l. *Com.** *July 18*, 231.
Report from Standing Committee, *July 19*, 388.
Rep.* *July 21*, 679; *July 22*, 936.
c. Lords' Amendments, *Con.** *July 27*, 1317.

Ramji Hariba
Death of, from flogging on conviction for theft, in India, alleged.
Q. Mr. J. A. Pease; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 21*, 755, 756.

"Ras Bera"
Crew, Trial of, for insubordination, finding of Court, etc,
Q. Mr. Nannetti: *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 26*, 1208–1209.

Rasch, Major Sir F. Carne [Essex, Chelmsford]
Agriculture, Condition of, *July 28*, 1536.
Finance Bill, 3R. *July 28*, 1536.

Rathmines
Commissioners, Appeal of, Against Dublin County Council Order—Delay in Local Government Board Decision, alleged.
Qs. Mr. Mooney; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 777.
Registration Lists, Illegal interference with—Identification and Prosecution of Offenders, etc.
Qs. Mr. Mooney, Mr. J. Redmond; *As.* Mr. Atkinson, *July 21*, 774.
Os. Mr. Mooney, Mr. Speaker, *July 21*, 788.
Q Mr. Mooney; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *July 27*, 1338.

Rea, Mr. R. [Gloucester]
Finance Bill, *Com. July 18*, 323.
Licensing Bill, *Con. July 26*, 1279.
Tobacco Duties—Stripped Tobacco, Trade in, effect of the Tax on, *July 18*, 324.

Red Sea
British Vessels, Detention and search of, by Russian Cruisers, *see that subheading under* Russo-Japanese War.

Reddy, Mr. M. [King's County, Birr]
Malone, Rev. S. L., Estate of—Proposals to sell, Reinstatement of P. O'Brien, etc., *July 14*, 41.

Redistribution of Seats
Introduction of Bill, proposed.
Q. Mr. Horner; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 25*, 1064–1065.

Redmond, Mr. J. E. [Waterford]
Civil Service Estimates, Ireland, opportunity for discussing, *July 21*, 775; *July 26*, 1227; *July 27*, 1346.
Labourers (Ireland) Bill—Committee Stage, Reason for Adjournment of, etc., *July 14*, 49, 50.
Land Stock, Ireland, Price of issue of, *July 21*, 783.
Queen's College—Scholarships, etc., Regulations as to holding, in addition to Royal University Scholarships, *July 19*, 424–425.

[*cont.*

Redmond, Mr. J. E.—*cont.*

Rathmines Registration Lists, Illegal interference with—Identification and Prosecution of Offenders, etc., *July 21*, 774.

Reformatory and Industrial Schools

Number of, and Accommodation in, etc.
Q. Sir J. Gorst; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 14*, 24.

Registration of Clubs (Ireland) Bill

l. Com., *July 15*, 147.

Report from Standing Committee, *July 19*, 388.

3R.* *July 21*, 678; *July 22*, 936.

Debate in Committee [Lords] *July 15*, 147.
Certificate of Registration to be signed by two Justices of the Peace, 147, 148.

Sale of Excisable Liquor for consumption outside the Premises, Regulations as to, 148, 149.

Reid, Sir R. T. [Dumfries Burghs]

Licensing Bill, *Con. July 27*, 1351, 1362, 1363, 1379.

Transvaal.

Boers and Natives, Relations between, *July 21*, 583.

Chinese Labour, Importation of, *July 21*, 849, 850.

Compensation Fund, Cost of distribution of, *July 21*, 854.

Devastation in, Caused by the War, Steps taken to rebuild Farms, Houses, etc., *July 21*, 851, 852.

Financial Position of, *July 21*, 854–857.
Land Settlement Scheme, Progress of, and Expenditure on, *July 21*, 853, 854.

Military Receipts given during the War, Redemption of, *July 21*, 583.

Peace Preservation Ordinance, Reasons for keeping in force, *July 21*, 854.

Representative Institutions to be granted to, *July 21*, 849.

Renwick, Mr. G. [Newcastle-on-Tyne]

Licensing Bill, *Con. July 26*, 1286.

Representative Peers for Ireland

See under Parliament—House of Lords.

Revenue and Expenditure

Borrowed Money, Lax method of dealing with.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1077, 1078.

Capital Expenditure, System of Charging on the Annual Votes.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1080, 1083, 1095.

Revenue and Expenditure—*cont.*

Collecting and Expenditure, Return relating to, Presented, *July 18*, 251.

Control of the House of Commons over, Increasing — Carrying out recommendations of Select Committee of Inquiry, proposed.
Os. Sir E. Vincent, *July 28*, 1503; Mr. J. Walton, 1526.

Financial Position of the Country.

References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1075, 1086, 1087, 1091–1094, 1096–1098; *July 28*, 1486, 1504, 1506, 1509–1512, 1516–1518, 1527, 1528, 1532, 1544, 1560, 1561.

Increase in Expenditure, Necessity for reduction, etc.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19*, 481, 508–513, 515, 516; *July 28*, 1486, 1487, 1506, 1507, 1513, 1535, 1536, 1560.

Interception of Public Revenue—Return Presented, *July 14*, 21.

Ireland—Return, Date of Presenting.
Q. Mr. Lough; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 14*, 46–47.

Nett Public Income and Expenditure from 1889–1904—Return Presented, *July 26*, 1188.

Return of June 27th, 1904, Memorandum prefixed to, Information as to Particulars Contained in.
Qs. Mr. Clancy; *As.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 21*, 770–772.

Savings Banks, Government borrowings from.
Os. Mr. Bowles, *July 28*, 1510; Mr A. Chamberlain, 1561.

Rhodesia

Chinese Labour, Importation of—Resolution of Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia, alleged.
Q. Mr. H. Samuel; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 761.

Richard Jaeger's Patent Bill

l. Commons' Amendts., *Con.* * *July 14*, 3.
Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Richards, Mr. H. C. Finsbury, E.]

Licensing Bill, *Con. July 27*, 1402.

Rickett, Mr. J. C. [Scarborough]

Coal, Export Duty on, Effect of, on the Trade and Wages of Miners, etc., *July 22*, 990, 991.

Finance Bill, *Con. July 22*, 990.

Ridley, Mr S. F. [Bethnal Green, S.W.]

Post Office Vote, Date of taking, *July 18*, 290, 291.

Ridley, Mr. M. W. [Stalybridge]
- Navy — Contracts for Brass Castings — Stipulation as to Manufacture from British Copper and Tin, proposed, *July 18*, 256.
- Portugal—New Tariff—Mercerised Goods, Representations as to Reduction of duty on, *July 25*, 1046-1047.

Rifle Clubs
- War Office Grant to.
  - *O.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 79.
  - *O.* Earl of Donoughmore, *July 21*, 726.

Rifle Ranges
- Protected Ranges, Construction of—Result of Experiments as to Safety, etc.
  - *Q.* Mr. Tillett; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 28*, 1454, 1455.

Rifles
- *See under* Army.

Roberts, Earl
- Army Reform Proposals — Terms of Memorandum, Necessity for Discussion, etc., *July 21*, 695, 696.

Roberts, Mr. J. B. [Carnarvonshire, Eifion]
- Africa, South — Repatriation of Boers, Expenditure on—Audit of Accounts, etc., *July 18*, 252.
- Finance Bill, *Com. July 19*, 469.
- Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 469.
- Licensing Bill, *Con. July 27*, 1391.

Roberts, Mr. J. H. [Denbighshire, W.]
- Assam Excise Administration, Allegations against—Reports, etc., Date of Presenting, *July 27*, 1335.
- Education (Local Authority Default) Bill, 2R. *July 15*, 191.
- Finance Bill, *Con. July 25*, 1156.
- Indian Budget, Date of Taking, *July 28*, 1483, 1484.
- Licensing Bill, *Con. July 26*, 1248, 1292; *July 27*, 1415.
- Sweets containing Liqueur, Regulations as to Sale of, *July 27*, 1335.
- Tea, Additional Duty on, Objections to, *July 25*, 1156.
- Tibet Expedition, Information as to, Payment of Cost of, etc., *July 28*, 1463.

Robertson, Mr. E. [Dundee]
- Africa, South — Repatriation Funds—Claim of Mr. W. B. Watson for Commandeered Goods, Reasons for Disallowing, etc., *July 19*, 408.
- Army—Expenditure under Military Works Act in 1903-4, Estimate for Current Financial Year, etc., *July 21*, 766, 767.
- Consolidated Fund—Amount of Ways and Means remaining unissued, *July 14*, 49.

Robertson, Mr. E.—*cont.*
- Finance Bill.
  - *Con. July 25*, 1066, 1070.
  - 3R. *July 28*, 1550.
- Licensing Bill, *Con. July 26*, 1261; *July 27*, 1364, 1365, 1394.
- National Debt, Reduction of, *July 28*, 1467.
  - Amount of Permanent Debt Charge, etc, *July 25*, 1066–1071.
- Navy, Colonial Contributions towards cost of, *July 28*, 1551.

Robertson, Mr. T. H. [Hackney, S.]
- Licensing Bill, *Con. July 26*, 1281, 1282, 1284.
- Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill, *Con. July 18*, 347, 352, 357.
- Shop Hours Bill—Date of Taking Report Stage, *July 18*, 289.

Robson, Mr. W. S. [South Shields]
- Finance Bill, *Com. July 18*, 300.
  - 3R. *July 28*, 1542.
- Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill, *Con. July 14*, 117.
- Tobacco Duties—Stripped Tobacco.
  - Influence brought to bear by Manufacturers, alleged, *July 18*, 304, 305; *July 28*, 1545, 1546.
  - Rebate on Tobacco proved to have been in Bond before April 20th, 1904; *July 18*, 300.
  - Trade in, Effect of the Tax on, *July 18*, 302-304; *July 28*, 1542, 1544.

Roche, Mr. J. [Galway, E.]
- Mahon's Estate, Purchase of, by Congested Districts Board, alleged—Price, etc., *July 28*, 1471.

Rochford Gas Provisional Order
- Report by Board of Trade dispensing with consent of Little Stambridge Parish meeting, Presented, *July 14*, 5.

Rolleston, Sir J. F. L. [Leicester]
- India—Imports of Boots, Shoes and Hosiery—Value and Country of Origin, *July 28*, 1450.
- Lambart, Capt. Harry, Arrest and cashiering of—Inquiry as to Reason, proposed, *July 26*, 1202.

Roscommon
- Animals, Cruelty to—Number of Sentences of Imprisonment during past five years, etc.
  - *Qs.* Mr. Tully; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 283; *July 25*, 1056.
- District Council, Proposal of, to make allowances to certain Labourers and Inmates of the Workhouse out of the Rates—Refusal of Permission by Local Government Board.
  - *Q.* Mr J. O' Kelly; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 43.

Roscrea

Income-tax Appeals — Names of Special Commissioners.
Q. Mr. Tully ; *A.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 14*, 47.

Rosebery, Earl of

Africa, South, Freights to, from the United Kingdom and America—Return proposed, *July 19*, 403.

Fiscal Proposals—Policy of His Majesty's Government, etc., *July 22*, 908–916.

Rosscarbery

Petty Sessions—Roman Catholic boy Committed to Protestant Industrial School, alleged.
Q. Capt. Donelan ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1472, 1473.

Roundstone

Flags displayed on Licensed Premises, Illegal Prohibition of, by Constabulary —Letter of Rev. Mr. Gleeson asking for Dismissal of Constables, alleged.
Qs. Mr. Sloan ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham *July 18*, 277-279.

Rowland Estate

Sale of — Offer from Major Kiggel as owner's land agent, etc.
Qs. Mr. Murphy ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 40, 41.

Royal University, Ireland

See under Universities—Ireland.

Rules Publication Act, 1893

Draft Additional Rule (Previous proceedings) Presented, *July 15*, 147.

Runciman, Mr. W. [Dewsbury]

Finance Bill.

Com. July 18, 329, 339, 364, 367 ; *July 19*, 438, 472 ; *July 20*, 525, 530, 541, 555, 596, 597.

Clause 5—Date of coming into force, *July 19*, 438.

Harbour and Dock Dues, Committee on—Appointment of Representative of Crews, proposed, *July 28*, 1469.

Income Tax.

Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 472–474.

Revaluation where existing Valuations are Incorrect, proposed, *July 20*, 530.

Trades and Professions, Rebate on Incomes derived from, proposed, *July 20*, 525.

Runciman, Mr. W.—*cont.*

Licensing Bill—Compensation for Goodwill, proposed, *July 28*, 1469.

Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill, *Con. July 14*, 127.

Russo-Japanese War.

"Allanton," s.s., Seizure of—Obtaining Official Statement as to Grounds of Condemnation, etc., *July 14*, 48.

"Formosa" and "Ardova," Detention and Search of, by Russian Cruisers —Question of Compensation, *July 28*, 1481.

Sugar Duty of 1901, Effect of, on Consumption of Sugar, etc., *July 20*, 597, 598.

Tobacco Duties—Stripped Tobacco.

Additional Duty on, *July 18*, 329.
Moisture, Proportion of, in Leaf and Strips, *July 18*, 339, 340.

Rebate on Tobacco proved to have been in Bond or Shipped before April 20, 1904, *July 18*, 364, 367.

Unclaimed Dividend Account, Realisation of, *July 20*, 555.

Rush Harbour, Ireland

Repair, Cost of, etc.
Qs. Mr. Clancy ; *As.* Mr. V. Cavendish, *July 25*, 1058-1060.

Russell, Mr. T. W. [Tyrone, S.]

Gault Estate, Sale of—Progress of Negotiations, *July 21*, 776.

Labourers (Ireland) Bill, Committee on, Adjournment of, etc., *July 14*, 50.

Land Purchase (Ireland) Act, 1903, Construction of Section 7 of, *July 21*, 778.

Post Office.

Postmen, Auxiliary—Regulation as to Overcoats, *July 18*, 254.

Wages—Bradford Committee Report, Delay in Printing, for use of Members — Access of Press to Advance Copy, etc., *July 18*, 291.

Weir, L. O., Estate of, Sale of—Construction of Section 7 of Land Act, 1903, *July 21*, 778.

Russia

British Merchant Vessels, Detention of, etc., *see* Russo-Japanese War—British Vessels, Detention and Search of.

Japan, War with, *see* Russo-Japanese War.

Tibet Expedition, Understanding as to.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill ; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 265, 266.

Trade Reports, Presented, *July 25*, 1011.

Russo-Japanese War
Black Sea Volunteer Fleet, Passage of Dardanelles by, under Commercial Flag—International Law as to Warships flying Commercial Flag, etc.
O. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 25*, 1061.
Os. Earl Spencer, *July 28*, 1433; Marquess of Lansdowne, 1434–1436.
Q. Mr. Brotherton; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 14*, 26.
Qs. Gen. Laurie; *As.* Earl Percy, *July 18*, 268, 269; *July 25*, 1045, 1046.
Q. Gen. Laurie; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 25*, 1064.
Qs. Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1222.
Q. Mr. Labouchere; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 27*, 1321.
British Vessels, detention and search of, by Russian Cruisers — Right of Belligerents to search Merchant Vessels of Neutral Powers, etc.
Os. Earl Spencer, *July 28*, 1433; Marquess of Lansdowne, 1434; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, 1479; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 1479–1482.
Q. Mr. Brotherton; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 14*, 26.
Q. Gen. Laurie; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 18*, 268–269.
Qs. Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 786, 787; *July 25*, 1062-1063.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 27*, 1347.
"Allanton," Obtaining Official Statement as to grounds of seizure of.
Q. Mr. Runciman; *A* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 14*, 48–49.
"Ardova"—Circumstances attending seizure, Question of Compensation, etc.
Os. Marquess of Lansdowne, *July 28*, 1435; Mr. Runciman, 1481; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 1482.
"Crew Hall," Case of.
Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 21*, 754.
"Dmitri Donskoi,' Action of—False Declaration by Captain, etc.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 28*, 1457.
"Dragoman," Case of.
Q. Mr. Younger; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 19*, 409.
"Formosa"—Circumstances attending seizure, Question of Compensation, etc.
Os. Earl Spencer, *July 28*, 1433; Marquess of Lansdowne, 1435; Mr. Runciman, 1481; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 1482.

Russo-Japanese War—*cont.*
British Vessels, detention and search of—*cont.*
"Knight Commander," Information as to Sinking of.
Os. Earl Spencer, *July 28*, 1433; Marquess of Lansdowne, 1435, 1436.
Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1224.
Q. Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 27*, 1347.
"Malacca," Inquiry into Circumstances of.
Os. Earl Spencer, *July 28*, 1433; Marquess of Lansdowne, 1434, 1435; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 1479, 1480.
Qs. Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 786, 787.
Q. Sir J. Brunner; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 884.
Qs. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Lough; *As.* Sir A. Acland Hood, *July 22*, 950–951.
Q. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 22*, 999.
"Menelaus." Case of.
Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 21*, 754.
Suez Canal Convention—Provisions as to Prizes of War.
Qs. Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 25*, 1061, 1062.
Volunteer Fleet, *see sub-heading* Black Sea Fleet.

Saddleworth and Springhead Tramways Bill.
l. 2R.* *July 22*, 888.
Rep.* *July 26*, 1177.

Sadler, Col. S. A. [Middlesbrough]
Alcohol used for Motive Power, etc., Exemption of, from Duty, proposed, *July 25*, 1110–1113.
Finance Bill, *Con. July 25*, 1110.

St. Helena
Report, Annual, Presented, *July 14*, 4.

St. Louis Exhibition
Irish Section—Extra Charge for Admission, Number of Advertisements issued, etc.
Q. Capt, Donelan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 779–780.

St. Mary Woolnoth Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 939.

Salisbury, Marquess of—*Lord Privy Seal.*
Dean Forest Bill.
2R. *July 14*, 6.
Com. July 15, 150, 151.
Rep. *July 28*, 1438.
Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill.
2R. *July 18*, 246.
Com. July 21, 679, 680.

Salmon Fisheries
Report for 1903 of Proceedings under Acts, Presented, *July 22*, 889, 942.

Samoa
Bombardment of Apia—Claims of British Residents for Damage—Award of King of Sweden.
Q. Mr. Corrie Grant; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 25*, 1033.

Samuel, Mr. H. L. [Yorkshire, Cleveland]
Eastville, Bristol—Sick Poor Accommodation in Workhouse, Improvement Schemes, etc., *July 21*, 750.
Finance Bill.
Com. July 19, 438, 459; *July 20*, 524.
Con. July 25, 1153, 1174.
Temporary or Permanent Nature of the Duties, *July 19*, 438.
Income Tax.
Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 459–462.
Return showing Foreign and Colonial Systems, proposed, *July 25*, 1047, 1174.
Trades and Professions, Incomes derived from, Rebate on, proposed, *July 20*, 524.
Rhodesia, Importation of Chinese Labour to—Resolution by Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia, alleged, *July 21*, 761.
Shop Hours Bill—Report Stage, Date of taking, *July 18*, 289.
Tea, Additional Duty on, Objections to, *July 25*, 1153–1155.
Transvaal, Importation of Chinese Labour to—Wages, Rate of, *July 21*, 761.

Sandhurst
Shooting record of Cadets—Inferiority attributable to Defective Eyesight, alleged.
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 25*, 1037–1038.

Sandy, Beds
Insanitary Condition, Measures for Improvement of, etc.
Q. Mr. Schwann; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 22*, 948.

Sassoon, Sir E. A. [Hythe]
Aden — Murder of Capt. Warneford, Efforts made to arrest Murderer, etc., *July 28*, 1451.
Contraband of War—Memorandum as to Non-contraband goods on Vessels carrying Contraband of War, proposed, *July 28*, 1456.

Saunderson, Col. Rt. Hon. E. J. [Armagh N.]
Bann River, Upper, Illegal net fishing in, *July 26*, 1199.
Portadown Post Office, Inefficiency of Learner in, alleged, *July 25*, 1031, 1032.

Savings Banks
Government Borrowings from.
Os. Mr. Bowles, *July 28*, 1510; Mr. A. Chamberlain, 1561.
Post Office.
Deposits of less than one pound, Estimated saving on Abolition of Acknowlegment of.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 21*, 751.
Withdrawals by Telegraph, Number of, during 1904.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 28*, 1447, 1448.

Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill
l. 2R. *July 18*, 246.
Com. July 21, 679.
Rep.* *July 22*, 936.
3R.* *July 25*, 1021.
c. Lords' Amendts., *Con.* *July 27*, 1317.
India, Bringing, within Scope of Bill.
O. Marquess of Salisbury, *July 21*, 680.

Scarisbrick Estate (Amendment) Bill
c. Rep.* *July 15*, 153.
3R.* *July 19*, 404.

Schwann, Mr. C. E. [Manchester, N.]
Sandy, Beds., Insanitary Condition of—Measures for Improvement, etc., *July 22*, 948.

Scotch Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (Edinburgh) Bill
c. Rep.* *July 22*, 940.
3R.* *July 25*, 1022.

Scotland
Secretary—Mr. A. Graham Murray.
Lord Advocate—Mr. C. Scott Dickson.
Lord Justice General—Lord Kinross.
Vice President of the Council of Education—Mr. A. Graham Murray.
Avoch Harbour Works, Decision as to Grant for.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 21*, 753.
Caledonian Canal—Report of Commissioners, Presented, *July 28*, 1443.
Crofting Counties—Cookery and Household Economy, Number of Girls Receiving Instruction in.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *July 25*, 1026.
Education, *see that title.*

[*cont.*

Scotland—*cont.*

Fish, Carriage of—Reduction in Rates to Southern Markets, proposed.
Q. Mr. Weir ; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *July 27*, 1320.

Glasgow Prison Regulations as to Vaccination.
Q. Mr. Weir ; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *July 26*, 1026, 1027.

Lanark—New Writ for North Eastern Division, *July 25*, 1066.

Mail Service, *see under* Post Office.

Stornoway Mail Service, Delays in.
Q. Mr. Weir ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 28*, 1447.

Swine Fever—Alteration of Local Regulations as to Free Movement Area, proposed.
Q. Master of Elibank ; *A.* Mr. A. Fellowes, *July 19*, 409.

Tain Post Office, Extra Charge on Letters addressed to.
Q. Mr. Weir ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 255, 256.

Telegraph and Telephone Services, *see those titles.*

Whiskey, Patent Still—Number of Gallons Distilled during last financial year.
Q. Mr. MacVeagh ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 21*, 770.

Scotland, Lucy

Compensation for illtreatment in Venezuela.
Q. Sir T. Esmonde ; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton. *July 27*, 1324.

Scott-Montagu, Mr. G. [Hampshire, New Forest]

Alcohol used for Motive Power, Exemption of, from Duty, proposed, *July 20*, 673, 674.

Finance Bill.
Com. July 19, 432 ; *July 20*, 673.
Clause 4—Date of coming into force, *July 19*, 432.

Scottish Horse

South African War Medals, Cause of Delay in Distribution of.
Q. Mr. McCrae ; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 31.

Scottish Office

Letters Addressed to Members of Parliament, Postage of.
Q. Mr. Weir ; Mr. A. G. Murray, *July 27*, 1320.

Sea Fisheries

Report of Proceedings under Acts, for 1903, Presented, *July 22*, 889, 942.

Seamen

See under Merchant Shipping.

Secondary and Technical Education

See under Education.

Secretary of State for the Colonies

Mr. Alfred Lyttelton.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

Marquess of Lansdowne.

Secretary of State for India

Mr. W. St. John Brodrick.

Secretary for Scotland

Mr. A. Graham Murray.

Secretary of State for War

Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster.

Seely, Major J. E. B. [Isle of Wight]

Africa, South, Garrison in, Necessity for Maintaining, *July 21*, 867.

Natal—Chinese Labourers for the Transvaal—Regulations as to Transit of, through Natal, *July 27*, 1333.

Transvaal
- Chinese Labour, Importation of, *July 21*, 867, 868, 869.
  - Recruiting, Conditions of, Information given, etc., *July 28*, 1462.
- Farms and Houses, Rebuilding, etc., Expenditure on, etc., *July 21*, 866.
- Military Receipts given during the War, Redemption of, *July 21*, 866, 867.

Selborne, Earl of—*First Lord of the Admiralty*

Fiscal Proposals—Policy of the Government, etc., *July 22*, 923–929.

Selby Urban District Council Bill

l. 2R.* *July 14*, 2.

Sewage Farms

Vegetables and Fruit grown on—Regulations proposed as to French Fruit, etc., imported into England.
Q. Sir W. Hart Dyke ; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 18*, 261.

Shackleton, Mr. D. J. [Lancashire, Clitheroe]

Army Contracts—Boots, Orders given for, Compliance with Fair Wages Resolution, etc., *July 19*, 411.

Coal, Export Duty on, Opportunity for Discussion of, *July 20*, 630, 631.

Cotton Factories, Ventilation of—Humid Air Tests—Proportion of Carbon Dioxide, etc., *July 15*, 159.

Finance Bill.
Com. July 20, 630.
Con. July 25, 1162.

Tea, Additional Duty on, Objections to, *July 25*, 1162.

Sharpe, Mr. W. E. T. [Kensington, N.]

Canton Booty Fund, Distribution of—Amount unpaid, etc., *July 25*, 1029.

Shaw, Mr. T. F. C. E. [Stafford]

Stafford Post Office—Wages of Staff and Bradford Committee recommendations, *July 27*, 1320.

Shaw, Mr. T. [Hawick Burghs]

Finance Bill, 3R. *July 28*, 1485, 1522.

Financial Position of the Country, Increase in Expenditure, etc., *July 28*, 1486–1491.

Sheehan, Mr. D. D. [Cork, Co. Mid.]

Millstreet Rural District Audit of Accounts—Remission of Alleged Surcharge, proposed, *July 25*, 1051.

Sheehy, Mr. D. [Meath, S.]

Collierstown—Reinstatement of F. Morris, evicted tenant, *July 18*, 274.

Westropp Estate, Sale of — Progress of Negotiations, *July 18*, 274.

Sherlock Estate, Cork

Purchase of Holdings by Tenants, Affording opportunity for.
Q. Captain Donelan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 29–30.

Shipley Urban District Council Bill

l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Shipman, Dr. J. G. [Northampton]

Animals, Experiments on.

Anaesthetics, Administration of, Authority present at Operations to Supervise, *July 15*, 158.

Consecutive Experiments on the same Animal, Number of, in 1903. *July 15*, 158, 159.

Licences for Dogs kept for Vivisection purposes, *July 21*, 749.

Number performed in 1903, *July15*, 158.

Number of Dogs Vivisected at University College in 1903, *July 22*, 944.

Shop Hours Bill

Report Stage, Date of taking.
Qs. Mr. H. Samuel, Mr. H. Robertson; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 289.

Sicily

Trade Report, Presented, *July 14*, 4.

Sittings of the House

Adjournment not later than eleven o'clock p.m., proposed.
Q. Mr. Broadhurst; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 26*, 1225, 1226.

Sittings of the House—*cont.*

All Night Sitting.

Procedure as to Business of Succeeding Day.
Qs. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, *July 20*, 658, 660, 661, 665; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 658–665; Mr. Lloyd-George, 660, 661; Sir C. Dilke, 661, 664; Mr. G. Bowles, 661, 662; Mr. Asquith, 662, 665; Mr. Lough, 663; Mr. C. Hobhouse, 665; Mr. Speaker, 676.

Resumption of the Chair by Mr. Speaker before Conclusion of Sitting and on Question that the House do now Adjourn.
Os. Mr. Asquith, *July 20*, 662, 663; Mr. A. J. Balfour, 663; Mr. Speaker, 676.

Continuing longer than Twenty-four Hours —Interpretation of Standing Order.
Os. Mr. Lloyd-George; Mr. J. W. Lowther; Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, *July 20*, 657.

Sivasulramania Nadan

Petition for Redress of Grievances, Action taken on, etc.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 19*, 410.

Skipton Water and Improvement Bill

l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Skreen

Webber, Mr., Sale of Estate of—Application of Mr. J. Higgins.
Q. Mr W. McKillop; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 273, 274.

Slaughtering of Animals

Humane Methods of—Committee Report, Date of Presenting.
Q. Mr. C. Hobhouse; *A.* Mr. A. Lee, *July 22*, 947.

Sloan, Mr. T. H. [Belfast, S.]

Agriculture and Technical Instruction Department, Veterinary Branch of—Pension Claim, Treasury Decision as to, *July 27*, 1341.

Ballinasloe Lunatic Asylum, Appointment of Medical Superintendent to–Tabling Correspondence, proposed, *July 19*, 422.

Ballynahinch Trout Fisheries, Illegal Netting in, alleged, *July 27*, 1340.

Banbridge, Parade of Nationalist Band at, *July 26*, 1199–1200.

Belfast.

Dundonald Cemetery—Regulations as to burial of Roman Catholics, Corporation's refusal to concede to Bishop Henry's demand, etc., *July 25*, 1050–1051.

Telegraph Service—Adult Messengers, Sunday Pay of, *July 25*, 1061.

[*cont.*

Sloan, Mr. T. H.—*cont.*

Clinton Estate—Disturbances at Evictions, *July 27*, 1339.

Constabulary, Royal Irish—Mountpottinger Barracks, Occupation of quarters in, by Head Constable not stationed in district, alleged, *July 21*, 775-776.

Cork Police—Religion of Head Constables, *July 18*, 277.

Dromore-Assault on Mr. Gamble, Prosecution of Assailants, etc., *July 21*, 777-778.

Dublin.

- Castle Telegraph Office, Appointment of Constable Woulfe to, *July 26*, 1220; *July 28*, 1474.
- Phœnix Park Gate Constable, Reason for Dismissal of, *July 27*, 1345, 1346.

Land Clerks, Employment and Pay of, *July 27*, 1342.

Lisnagade, Disturbances at—Prosecution of Offenders, etc., *July 26*, 1218-1219. *July 28*, 1477.

Mountjoy Prison—Dismissal of S. J. Carmichael, *July 28*, 1451.

National School Teachers.

- Punishment—Opportunity for explaining or disproving Charges—Practice of Commissioners on receiving Statement of School Manager, *July 14*, 40.
- Reports, Official, on, Opportunity of Seeing, proposed, *July 27*, 1340.

Roundstone—Display of Flags on Licensed Premises, Illegal Prohibition of, by Constabulary—Letter of Rev. Mr, Gleeson, asking for dismissal of Constables, alleged, *July 18*, 277, 278.

Southampton Post Office Vacancy—Reason for appointing Mr. Kent, *July 18*, 270, 271.

Telegraph Service in the North of Ireland Complaints as to Delay in, etc., *July 18*, 284.

Trillick—Destruction of Union Jack on Orange Hall, alleged, *July 21*, 756-757.

Smith, Mr. S. [Flintshire]

India—Water Storage Projects—Progress made with Surveys, etc., *July 25*, 1033, 1034.

South African War Claims, Investigation and Settlement of, *July 27*, 1332.

Smith, Mr. W. F. D. [Strand, Westminster]

London Government Act Commissioners, Names of—Right of Appeal from Decisions of, etc., *July 14*, 29.

Soares, Mr. E. [Devonshire, Barnstaple]

Finance Bill.

- *Com. July 18*, 381, 382, *July 19*, 462, 513; *July 20*, 526, 567.
- Clause 8—Omission of words "and the Acts amending that Act," proposed, *July 20*, 567.

Soares, Mr. E.—*cont.*

Income Tax.

- Additional 1d. in the £, proposed, *July 19*, 513.
- Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 462-465.
- Trades and Professions, Rebate on Incomes derived from, Proposed, *July 20*, 526.

Tobacco Duties, Additional, on Stripped Tobacco, *July 18*, 382.

Soldiers

See under Army.

Solicitor-General

Sir E. Carson.

Solicitor-General for Ireland

Mr. J. H. M. Campbell.

Soothill Nether Urban District Tramways Bill

l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

South Africa

See Africa, South.

South African War

Claims, Settlement and Investigation of.
- *Q.* Mr. S. Smith; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 27*, 1332, 1333.

Compensation for Commandeered Goods—Reason for disallowance of Claim of Mr. W. B. Watson, etc.
- *Q.* Mr. E. Robertson; *A.* Mr. Mr. Lyttelton, *July 19*, 408.

Guns—Trophies allotted to London, Refusal of London County Council to take charge of, alleged.
- *Q.* Mr. Whitmore; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 26*, 1200, 1201.

Lambart, Capt. Harry, Arrest and Cashiering of—Inquiry as to Reason, proposed.
- *Q.* Sir J. Rolleston; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 26*, 1202.

Medals—Scottish Horse, Cause of Delay in Distribution to.
- *Q.* Mr. McCrae; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 31.

Militia Reserves—Number called up, Numbers engaged at Colenso, Pieter's Hill and Spion Kop, etc.
- *Q.* Dr. Thompson; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 26*, 1200.

Transvaal Contribution, Arrangements for Payment of.
- *Q.* Mr. Whitley; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1041-1042.

Witton, Lieut., Sentence on—Mitigation proposed.
- *Qs.* Mr. W. Churchill; *As.* Mr. B. Davenport, *July 14*, 32-33.
- *Q.* Mr. W Churchill; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 19*, 412-413.

South Shields Gas Bill

l. 3R.* *July 28,* 1429.

South Western and Isle of Wight Junction Railway (Extension of Time) Bill

l. Royal Assent, *July 22,* 886, 938.

Southampton

Postmastership—Reason for appointing Mr. Kent.

Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18,* 270, 271.

Southend-on-Sea Gas Bill

l. Royal Assent, *July 22,* 886, 939.

Southport and Lytham Tramroad (Extension of Time) Bill

l. Royal Assent, *July 22,* 887, 939.

Spain

Trade Report, Presented, *July 25,* 1011.

Sparkhill

Police Superintendent, Birching of Boy by—Inquiry proposed.

Q. Sir W. Foster; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas *July 21,* 749, 750.

Speaker, Mr.

Army Officers, Communication with, by Members of the House—Function of Minister as Intermediary, etc., *July 25,* 1040.

Controversial Expressions, Use of, not in Order, *July 18,* 294.

Divisions

Frivolous or Vexatious Challenge of—Members Requested to Rise in their Places, *July 19,* 506.

Members Requested to Rise in their Places, *July 19,* 429.

Dundonald, Lord, Dismissal of, from Canadian Militia, etc.—Motion to call Attention to, terms of, *July 19,* 429.

Education [Local Authority Default] Bill—Matter Irrelevant to the Subject under Debate, Introduction of, *July 15,* 167–170.

Irrelevant Matter, Introduction of, *July 19,* 501–505; *July 25,* 1129, 1138, 1141, 1169.

Irrelevant Observations, *July 14,* 33; *July 18,* 264, 270, 289; *July 21,* 784; *July 25,* 1045.

Licensing Bill.

Matter Irrelevant to Subject under Debate, Introduction of, *July 27,* 1384.

New Clauses, Rulings as to Moving of, *July 26,* 1229.

Sections 1 and 2, Terms of, *July 26,* 1268.

Motions on Allotted Days for the Licensing Bill, Inadmissibility of, *July 26,* 1207.

Speaker, Mr.—*cont.*

Questions.

Debating, after Answer received, *July 19,* 427; *July 21,* 780; *July 25,* 1058; *July 27,* 1329.

Irregular, not in Order, *July 18,* 277.

Unanswered by a Minister, Circulation of, with the Votes.—Standing Order 9, *July 14,* 51.

Second Reading of a Bill, Points which may be debated on, *July 19,* 505.

Sittings of the House—All-night Sitting—Procedure as to Business of Succeeding Day, *July 20,* 676.

Urgency, Motion on a Question of, Inadmissibility of, while institution of Criminal Proceedings under consideration of Government, *July 21,* 788.

Spear, Mr. J. W. [Devonshire, Tavistock]

Army, Expenditure on, Increase in, *July 28,* 1496.

Finance Bill, 3R. *July 28,* 1496, 1523.

Licensing Bill, *Con.* *July 26,* 1246; *July 27,* 1357.

Navy, Expenditure on—Colonial Contributions, etc., *July 28,* 1496, 1497.

Spencer, Earl

Army Reform Proposals, *July 21,* 738–740.

Finance Bill, Date of Sending, to the House of Lords, inadequate time allowed for discussion, etc., *July 28,* 1439.

Fiscal Proposals—Policy of H.M. Government, *July 22,* 933–936.

Militia, Conversion of, into Territorial Battalions, proposed, *July 21,* 740, 741.

Russo-Japanese War—Detention and Search of British Vessels—Breach of International Law, *July 28,* 1433.

Volunteers, Re-organisation of, proposed, *July 21,* 741–743.

Westminster, Palace of, Decoration of—Appointment of Select Committee of Inquiry, proposed, *July 25,* 1019, 1020.

Spirits

Additional Excise Duties on—Budget Proposal.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19,* 439, 440.

Drawbacks, Date of Expiration of.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 19,* 436–438.

Adulteration of, with German Spirits—Control of Revenue Authorities over Spirits taken out of Bond, etc.

Qs. Mr. MacVeagh, Mr. Mooney; *As.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 27,* 1336.

[*cont.*

Spirits—*cont.*

- Alcohol used for Manufacturing purposes, Special Regulations for Reduction of Duty on, proposed.
    - *Q.* Col. Denny ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 21*, 755.
- British plain, materials used in distilling, etc.
    - *Qs.* Mr. Kilbride ; *As.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 28*, 1467, 1468.
- Distilleries in United Kingdom, Production of, in 1901, 1902, and 1903.
    - *Q.* Mr. Kilbride ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 28*, 1468, 1469.
- Immature Raw Potable Spirits, Injuriousness of—Retention in Bond for not less than three years, proposed.
    - *Qs.* Mr. MacVeagh ; *As.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 26*, 1193, 1208.
- Patent Still.
    - Investigation of—Recommendation of Royal Commission on Arsenical Poisoning, etc.
        - *Q.* Mr. MacVeagh ; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 25*, 1065.
    - Number of Gallons blended with Scotch Whiskey in Bond and sold as such, Number of gallons distilled in Scotland during last Financial Year, etc.
        - *Qs.* Mr. MacVeagh ; *As.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 21*, 769, 770.
    - Sulphuric Acid, Use of, in Manufacture of Spirit.
        - *Q.* Mr. Kilbride ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 28*, 1468.
- Sweets containing liqueur, Regulations as to sale of.
    - *Q.* Mr. H. Roberts ; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 27*, 1335.
- Warehouse Charges on, Reduction of.
    - *Qs.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, Mr. Lough, *July 25*, 1173.

Stafford

- Post Office—Wages of Staff and Bradford Committee Recommendations.
    - *Q.* Mr. C. Shaw ; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 27*, 1320.

Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord—*Postmaster-General* [Lancashire, West Houghton]

- Civil Service Pay—Increments—Application of Order in Council of 29th November, 1898, *July 25*, 1031.
- Engineering Department—Unestablished Staff, Annual Leave Regulations for, *July 25*, 1031.
- Ireland.
    - American Mails — Sorting Arrangements at Queenstown, *July 26*, 1220.

Stanley, Right Hon. Lord—*cont.*

- Bangor—Return as to Post Office Business, proposed, *July 27*, 1344.
- Bunbeg, Improvement in Postal Service at, proposed, *July 19*, 410.
- Dublin, Harcourt Road—Payment of Arrears of Salary to Postmaster, *July 26*, 1221.
- Gorey.
    - Post Office, Objection to new site for, *July 18*, 253.
    - Sunday post from, to Kilanevin, proposed, *July 14*, 27.
- Gweedore, Improvement in Postal Service at, proposed, *July 19*, 410.
- Irish Language, Necessity for knowledge of, by Postmasters, alleged, *July 26*, 1221.
- Johnstown, Sunday Delivery of Letters at, proposed, *July 18*, 285.
- Learners.
    - Female—Pay, Period of Probation, etc., *July 18*, 285.
    - Portadown, Inefficiency of learner at, alleged, *July 15*, 1032.
- Tullaroan Postal Arrangements—Memorial from Mr. A. Meagher, *July 18*, 254.

Ireland.

- Uniforms.
    - Auxiliary Postmen, Regulations as to Overcoats for, *July 18*, 254.
    - Summer, for Rural District Postmen, *July 19*, 410.

Learners.

- Female—Pay, Period of Probation, etc., in Ireland, *July 18*, 285
- Portadown, Inefficiency of learner at, alleged, *July 25*, 1032.

Letters.

- Addresses applying equally to several persons—Rule as to delivery in cases of, *July 18*, 255.
- Tain Post Office, Extra charge on letters addressed to, *July 18*, 256.

Mail Service.

- Africa, East, Steamship Communication with—German East African Company, Arrangement with, proposed, *July 25*, 1046.
- American Mails — Sorting arrangements at Queenstown, *July 26*, 1220
- Stornoway, Delay at, alleged, *July 28*, 1447.

Middlesborough Post Office—Relatives of Superior Officials, Regulations restricting Appointment of, *July 21*, 752.

[*cont.*

Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord—*cont.*
Parcel Post—Cheltenham and North of Ireland — Delay in Transmission, alleged, *July 25*, 1032.

Post Office Sites Bill, 2R. *July 26*, 1316.

Postage to the Continent—Reduction of Rates, proposed, *July 22*, 948.

Postmasters.

Dublin, Harcourt Road—Payment of Arrears of Salary, *July 26*, 1221.

Irish Language. Necessity for knowledge of, by Postmasters in Ireland. alleged, *July 26*, 1221.

Southampton Vacancy—Reasons for Appointing Mr. Kent, *July 18*, 270, 271.

Stony Stratford—Recommendations of New Postmaster, Rule as to Applications for Vacancies, etc., *July 18*, 270.

Postmasterships—Vacancies, Number of, filled by persons not previously in the Civil Service, *July 21*, 752.

Postmen.

Auxiliary — Regulation as to Overcoats, *July, 18*, 254.

Pensions of, Considering Sunday Pay in calculating, *July 14*, 27.

Uniforms, Summer, in Irish rural districts, *July 19*, 410.

Savings Banks.

Deposits of less than one pound, Estimated saving on Abolition of Acknowledgement of, *July 21*, 751.

Withdrawals by Telegraph during 1904, *July 28*, 1448.

Scotland.

Stornoway Mail Service, Delay in, *July 28*, 1447.

Tain — Extra Charge on letters addressed to Post Office, *July 18*, 256.

Stafford Post Office—Wages of Staff and Bradford Committee Recommendations, *July 27*, 1320.

Telegraph Service.

Ireland.

Belfast—Adult Messengers, Sunday pay of, *July 25*, 1061.

Delays in North of Ireland, alleged —Complaints received, etc., *July 18*, 284.

Dublin Castle Telegraph Office—Appointment of Constable Woulfe, *July 26*, 1220.

Messengers, Adult Night, Awarding Good Conduct Stripes to, in Scotland, proposed, *July 27*, 1337.

Stanley, Rt. Hon. Lord—*cont.*
Telegraph Service—*cont.*
Scotland.

Glasgow—Clerks, Proposed Reduction in Class of, *July 18*, 255.

Messengers, Adult Night, Award of Good Conduct Stripes to, proposed, *July 27*, 1337.

Underground System to the North—Progress of work, *July 27*, 1319–1320.

Unestablished employees, Annual Leave Regulations for, *July 25*, 1031.

Telephone Service.

Ireland.

Cavan, Co.—Installation. Cost of, etc., *July 26*, 1195–1196.

Extension of Trunk System, proposed, *July 28*, 1448.

Unestablished Employees, Annual Leave Regulations for, *July 25*, 1031.

Wages—Bradford Committee Report.
Delay in Printing, for Use of Members, Access of Press to Advance Copy, etc., *July 18*, 290, 291.

Recommendations, Decision as to, *July 28*, 1449.

Stanmore, Lord
Westminster, Palace of, Decoration of—Appointment of Select Committee of Inquiry, proposed, *July 25*, 1011–1018, 1020.

Statistics
Abstract for the United Kingdom from 1889 to 1903, Presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1190.

Stony Stratford
Postmaster, New, Recommendations of—Rule as to Applications for Vacant Posts, etc.
Qs. Mr. Nannetti; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 269, 270.

Stornoway
Mail Service, Delays in.
Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 28*, 1447.

Strabane, Raphoe, and Convoy Railway Bill
l. Report from Select Committee, *July 18*, 229.
3R.* *July 25*, 1001.

Straits Settlements
Fugitive Offenders Order in Council 1904, Presented, *July 22*, 889, 942.

Street Trading
Children, Employment of—Number Employed, Progress in Making Byelaws, etc.
Q. Sir. J. Gorst; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 18*, 259, 260.

Stroyan, Mr. J. [Perthshire, W.]
- Transvaal, Importation of Chinese Labour, *July 21*, 857, 858.

Stuart Papers
- Calendar of, Presented, *July 26*, 1178, 1189.

Suez
- Trade Report, Presented, *July 22*, 889.

Suez Canal
- Company, British Pilots Employed by.
  - *Q.* Mr. G. Bowles; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 28*, 1446.
- Convention—Prizes of War, Provisions as to.
  - *Qs.* Mr. G. Bowles; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 25*, 1061-1062.

Sugar
- Consumption of, Alleged Falling off in.
  - References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 591-600; *July 25*, 1130, 1137.
- Duty of 1901.
  - Abolition of, proposed.
    - References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1127-1129, 1131, 1133, 1134, 1139.
  - Basis on which Tax was Levied.
    - References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 591, 593.
  - Confectionery Trade, Effect on.
    - References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1130, 1131.
  - Expiration of, on 1st July, 1904, proposed.
    - References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 589-592.
  - Incidence of.
    - References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1129, 1132, 1133.
  - Polariscopic Scale—Weight entered for Home Consumption at each degree, and Gross Revenue received thereon—Return Presented, *July 26*, 1188.
  - Price of Sugar, Effect on.
    - References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1130, 1138.

Superannuation
- Civil Service, *see that title.*

Supply
- Army Estimates, Civil Service Estimates, Navy Estimates, *see those titles*
- Business of—Additional Days allotted to.
  - *Motion* (Mr. A. J. Balfour), *July 28*, 1485.

Supply—*cont.*
- Supplementary Estimates, Date of Introduction of.
  - *Qs.* Mr. Buchanan; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 21*, 785-786.

Supply of Electricity Bill
- *l.* Report from Select Committee, *July 18*, 231.

Surrey Commercial Dock Bill
- *l.* Rep.* *July 21*, 677.
- 3R.* *July 25*, 1001.

Sweden
- Trade Report, Presented, *July 14*, 4; *July 21*, 677.

Sweets
- Liqueur contained in—Regulation as to Sale.
  - *Q.* Mr. H. Roberts; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 27*, 1335.

Swindon Corporation Bill
- *l.* Rep.* *July 21*, 677.

Swine Fever
- Scotland—Alteration in Local Regulations as to Free Movement Area, proposed.
  - *Q.* Master of Elibank; *A.* Mr. A. Fellowes, *July 19*, 409.

Switzerland
- Lace, Counterfeit Irish, Manufacture of, alleged.
  - *Q.* Mr. Boland; *A.* Mr. Wyndham *July 27*, 1337.

Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. [Oxford University]
- Juvenile Offenders under Remand, Conveyance of, to Remand Homes, proposed, *July 18*, 258.

Taxation
- Incidence of, on various classes of the Community.
  - References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1148, 1151-1154, 1161; *July 28*, 1498, 1501, 1529, 1556, 1557.
- Income Tax, *see that title.*
- Local Taxation, *see that title.*
- Proportion of, as between the Direct and Indirect Taxpayer.
  - References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1134-1136, 1142-1144; *July 28*, 1492, 1503, 1528.

Taylor, Mr. A. [Liverpool, East Toxteth]
- Crown Agents for the Colonies, Tabling Return as to Business of, *July 14*, 33, 34.
- Finance Bill, *Com. July 18*, 297, 312.

Taylor, Mr. A.—*cont.*
Tobacco Duties.
Protective character of the New Taxes, *July 18*, 314, 315.
Stripped Tobacco.
Rebate on Tobacco proved to have been in bond before April 20, 1904, *July 18*, 312, 313.
Sand and Moisture, Proportion of, in Leaf and Stripped Tobacco, *July 18*, 313.

Taylor, Mr. T. C. [Lancashire, Radcliffe]
Alcohol, for Manufacturing Purposes, Exemption of, from Duty, proposed, *July 25*, 1119.
Finance Bill, *Con. July 25*, 1119, 1158.
Licensing Bill, *Con. July 26*, 1249.
Tea, Additional Duty on, Objections to, *July 25*, 1158-1160.

Tea
Additional 2*d.* per pound on.
Burden imposed on the Poorer Classes by.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1147, 1149, 1151, 1152, 1154, 1155, 1158-1163; *July 28*, 1537, 1538.
Consumers, Tax falling wholly on.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1153, 1155.
Decline in Consumption likely to result from.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1149, 1153.
India and Ceylon, Effect on Tea Industry in.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1148-1150, 1152, 1153, 1156, 1157, 1159, 1163, 1164.
Ireland.
Exemption of, proposed.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1165-1170.
Hardships inflicted on the Poor in, by the Tax.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1160, 1167, 1168.
Reduction of Duty to 6d., proposed.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1147, 1148.
Warehousing Charges on, Reduction or Remission of, proposed.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 20*, 665, 668.

Telegraph (Construction) Bill
c. Bill withdrawn, *July 22*, 999.

Telegraph Service
Inspection Chambers, Explosions caused by Leakage of Gas into.
Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 28*, 1444.
Ireland.
Belfast Messengers, Adult, Sunday Pay of, *July 25*, 1061.
Delays in North of Ireland, alleged—
Complaints received, etc.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 284.
Dublin Castle Telegraph Office—Appointment of Constable Woulfe.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 26*, 1220.
Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 28*, 1474.
Messengers, Adult Night, Award of Good Conduct Stripes to, in Scotland, proposed.
Q. Sir A. Bignold; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 27*, 1337.
Pacific Cable Act—Revenue, Expenditure, Securities, etc.—Account Presented, *July 14*, 21; *July 15*, 147.
Scotland.
Glasgow—Clerks, Proposed Reduction in Class of.
Q. Mr. J. Wilson; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 255.
Messengers, Adult Night, Award of Good Conduct Stripes to, proposed.
Q. Sir A. Bignold; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 27*, 1337.
Underground System to the North—Progress of Work.
Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 27*, 1319-1320.
Unestablished Employees, Annual Leave Regulations for.
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 25*, 1030-1031.

Telephone Service
Ireland.
Cavan, Co.—Cost of Installation, etc.
Q. Mr. V. Kennedy; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 26*, 1195-1196.
Trunk System, Extension of, proposed.
Q. Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 28*, 1448.

Tempo
Water Supply, Improvement of, proposed.
Qs. Mr. E. Mitchell; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1343, 1344.

Tenelich
Evicted Tenant—Reinstatement of P. Magrath.
Qs. Mr. Farrell; *As.* Mr. Atkinson, *July 7, 27*, 1338.

Tennant, Mr. H. J. [Berwickshire]
Home Office Vote, Date of taking, *July 18*, 263.
Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill, *Con. July 18*, 349.

Thames River Steamboat Service Bill
l. Report from Select Committee, *July 15*, 145.
3R.* *July 25*, 1001.

Thomas, Mr. A. [Carmarthen, E]
Education [Local Authority Default] Bill 2R. *July 15*, 212.

Thomas, Sir A. [Glamorgan, E.]
Education [Local Authority Default] Bill, 2R. *July 15*, 171.

Thomas, Mr. D. A. [Merthyr Tydvil]
Coal, Export Duty on, Effect of, on the Trade, etc., *July 22*, 982.
Finance Bill, *Con. July 22*, 982.

Thompson, Dr. E. C. [Monaghan, S.]
Army Medical Corps, Royal.
Probationers, Permission to, between 1880 and 1885 to count time spent at Netley as part of Army Service, proposed, *July 21*, 759.
Promotions — Responsibility of Advisory Board for, *July 27*, 1330.
Loan Fund Banks, Ireland—Losses of Debenture-holders, *July 21*, 757.
Midwifery, Examinations for Diplomas in—Appointment made by Central Midwives' Board, etc., *July 27*, 1337.
Militia.
Irish Regiments, Reason for Stoppage of Recruiting for, *July 22*, 946.
Strength and Efficiency, Maintenance of—Training Period, Extension of, and prevention of men from join-Army, proposed, *July 22*, 945–946.
Parcel Post between Cheltenham and North of Ireland—Delay in Transmission, alleged, *July 25*, 1032.
Poor Law Medical Officers—Retirement, Age for, *July 21*, 758.
South African War—Militia Reserves, Number of, called up, Number engaged at Colenso, Pieter's Hill, and Spion Kop, etc., *July 26*, 1200.
Workhouses, Ireland, Inspection of—Qualifications of Inspectors, etc., *July 21*, 757, 758.

Thornton, Mr. P. M. [Clapham]
Civil Service Clerks—Abstractors, Senior Assistant — Retirement Regulations, *July 26*, 1195.
Portumna Railway—Investigation and Re-opening for Traffic, proposed, *July 26*, 1219 ; *July 28*, 1476.

Thurles Urban District Council Water Bill
l. 3R.* *July 14*, 2.
c. Lords' Amends., *Con.* *July 19*, 404.

Tibet Expedition
Casualities, Information as to.
Qs. Mr. Lambert ; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 27*, 1333, 1334.
China, Communication with, as Suzerain Power.
Qs. Mr. Flynn ; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 265, 266.
Cost, Payment of.
Q. Mr. H. Roberts ; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 28*, 1463, 1464.
Information as to.
Q. Mr. H. Roberts ; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 28*, 1463, 1464.
Lhasa, Advance to.
Qs. Mr. Lambert ; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 27*, 1134, 1335.
Russia, Understanding with.
Qs. Mr. S. MacNeill ; *As.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 18*, 264, 265.

Ticehurst and District Water and Gas Bill
l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 939.

Tillett. Mr. L. J. [Norwich]
Rifle Ranges—Protected Ranges, Construction of, *July 28*, 1454.
Volunteer Camps—Orderly Room, Provision of Tent for use as, proposed, *July 28*, 1453.

Tobacco Duties, etc.
Drawback on—Application of, to Stalks, Shorts, and other refuse not of the fineness of Snuff.
O. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 20*, 675, 676.
Estimated Revenue to be derived from.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 28*, 1514, 1515, 1540, 1558.
Inequalities and Injustice of, alleged.
Qs. Sir W. Foster, *July 28*, 1538–1542.
Protective Character of the New Taxes.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18* 300, 301, 308, 312, 314, 315, 319, 325, 337, 373, 375–377 ; *July 28*, 1564.
Stripped Tobacco.
Definition of.
O. Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 18*, 370.
Drawback on—Effect of the New Scale on the Trade in Strips.
References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 301, 302, 322, 324.
Duty cost on Leaf and Stripped Tobacco, Alleged Difference in.

[*cont.*

Tobacco Duties, &c.—*cont.*

Stripped Tobacco—*cont.*

Duty cost—*cont.*

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 306, 308–311, 313, 314, 316, 317, 319, 323, 326, 327, 335–338.

Employment of British Labour likely to Result from the Tax.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 307, 314, 315, 324, 325.

History of the Tax.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 301, 374, 377.

Influence brought to bear by Importers and Manufacturers—Allegations against Mr. Gallagher, etc.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 304, 305, 326, 377, 378; *July 28*, 1545, 1546.

Moisture, Proportion of, in Leaf and Strips.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 304, 306, 309, 310, 313, 320, 321, 335, 336, 338–340, 372.

Rebate on Tobacco proved to have been in Bond or Shipped before April 20, 1904.

References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 297–300, 305, 308, 309, 312, 313, 327, 328, 335, 340, 345, 346, 361–365, 367–370, *July 28*, 1547.

Reduction of Duty from 3d. to 1½d. per Pound, proposed.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 335–338.

Sand, Proportion of, in Leaf and Strips.

References to, in debate, on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 306, 310, 313, 320, 321, 335, 338.

Sub-Section 2—Amendments to.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 382, 383.

Trade in.

Effect of the Tax on Imports, etc.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 302–304, 322, 324, 326, 336, 339, 340, 372; *July 28*, 1499, 1539, 1542, 1543, 1547, 1548.

Injury to, caused, by delay and uncertainty of Budget Proposals.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 296, 329.

Tobacco Duties, &c.—*cont.*

Stripped Tobacco—*cont.*

Withdrawal of Tax, proposed.

References to, in debate on the Finance Bill, *July 18*, 307, 308, 315, 328, 330, 342.

Tomkinson, Mr. J. [Cheshire, Crewe]

Agriculture, Condition of, *July 28*, 1523.

Finance Bill, 3R. *July 28*, 1517, 1523, 1524.

Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill, *Con.*, *July 18*, 352.

Tomlinson, Sir W. E. M. [Preston]

Milwr and District Mines Drainage Bill, *Con.*, *July 18*, 349.

Torquay Tramways Bill

l. 3R., *July 25*, 1001.

Damage to Mains, Pipes or Apparatus of the Corporation, or of the Torquay Gas Company, from the use of Electric Current—Liability of Tramways Company to make Compensation.

Os. Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, *July* 25, 1001, 1010; Lord Hawkesbury, 1004; Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 1005; Lord Wolverton, 1008; Viscount Cross, Lord Newton 1009.

Tottenham Improvement Bill

l. Rep.* *July 14*, 1.

3R.* *July 21*, 677.

c. Lords' Amendments, *Con.** *July 28*, 1440.

Trade, Board of

President—Mr. Gerald W. Balfour.

Parliamentay Secretary—Mr. A. Bonar Law.

Labour Department—Wages, Rates of, and Hours of Labour, Changes in—Report with Comparative Statistics for 1903–4 Presented, *July 28*, 1443.

Trade Reports

Annual Series, Presented, *July 14*, 4, 21; *July 15*, 146; *July 18*, 230, 251; *July 19*, 387, 406; *July 21*, 677, 746; *July 22*, 889; *July 25*, 1011, 1025; *July 26*, 1177, 1189; *July 27*, 1318; *July 28*, 1432, 1443.

Miscellaneous Series, Presented, *July 21*, 677, 746; *July 25*, 1011, 1025.

Trafford Park Bill

c. Report from Police and Sanitary Committee, *July 28*, 1441.

Traité des Blanches

International Arrangements made at the Paris Conference of 1902, Ratification of, etc.

Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 28*, 1445.

Tramways
Street and Road, Number Authorised by Act or Order, Amount of Capital, Length of Line, etc.—Return Ordered, *July 22*, 942.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 1) Bill
Nature of proposals — Memorandum Ordered, *July 18*, 251; Presented, *July 19*, 407.

Tramways Orders Confirmation (No. 2) Bill
Nature of proposals—Return Presented, *July 14*, 22.

Transvaal
Boers.
Natives, Relations with.
O. Sir R. Reid, *July 21*, 583.
Repatriation of, Expenditure on—Audit of Accounts, etc.
Q. Mr. B. Roberts; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 18*, 252.
British-Indians in, treatment of—Law of the late Republic, interpretation of.
Os. Sir C. Dilke, *July 21*, 818–820; Sir M. Bhownaggree, 822–827; Mr. Lyttelton, 847–849.
Chinese Labour, importation of.
British Guiana Ordinance, terms of, and circumstances of passing.
Os. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 789–791, 795, 796; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 802, 807; Sir C. Dilke, 815; Mr. Lyttelton, 837.
Cape Colony, opinion in.
O. Sir R. Reid, *July 21*, 850.
Courts of Justice. Access to.
Os. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 795; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 809; Mr. Lyttelton, 839.
Desertions from Rand Mines, Tabling Information as to, etc.
Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 14*, 33.
Explanation of Terms of Contract prior to leaving China.
O. Mr. Lloyd-George, *July 21*, 881.
Intoxicants, supply of—Provisions of Liquor Licensing Ordinance, etc.
Q. Capt. Ellice; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1042.
Necessity for, question of—Financial Situation, etc.
Os. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 799; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 811, 812; Mr. Markham, 827, 828; Mr. Lyttelton, 837, 838; Mr. Lloyd-George, 879, 880; Mr. Chaplin, 883.
Offices, Depôts, etc., Number provided, source of payment of cost of, etc.
Qs. Mr. Whitley; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 28*, 1463.

Transvaal—*cont.*
Chinese Labour, Importation of—*cont.*
Ordinance.
Bearing of, on conditions of labour in the Transvaal.
O. Sir C. Dilke, *July 21*, 814.
Comparison of, with British Guiana and Trinidad Ordinances.
Os. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 791–793, 795, 796; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 807, 809; Sir C. Dilke, 815.
Conditions imposed by.
Os. Mr. Lyttleton, *July 21*, 835, 839.
Overseers, Asiatics as, Regulations as to.
Os. Mr. Markham, *July 21*, 834; Mr. Lyttleton, 846, 847.
Property, labourers debarred from holding.
Os. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 795, 796; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 809, 810; Mr. Lyttelton, 840.
Public opinion in Great Britain.
Os. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 800; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 812.
Recruiting, Conditions of, Information given, etc.
Qs. Maj. Seely, Mr. S. Buxton; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 28*, 1462, 1463.
Referendum, policy of taking.
Os. Mr. Markham, *July 21*, 832; Mr. Lyttelton, 842; Maj. Seely, 868, 869.
Regulations made under the Ordinance, Tabling, proposed.
Q. Sir H. Fowler; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 28*, 1456.
Riots among the Chinese, Alleged, at New Comet Mine, etc.
Q. Capt. Norton; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1043.
Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 27*, 1328.
Slavery, state of, alleged.
Os. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 797, 798; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 810, 811; Maj. Seely, 867, 868.
Trades' Unions, responsibility of, for stringent conditions imposed.
Q. Mr. Markham, *July 21*, 830.
Transit through Natal, Provisions as to.
Q. Maj. Seely; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 27*, 1333.
Truck, Violation of Principle of, alleged.
Os. Sir C. Dilke, *July 21*, 817; Mr. Lyttelton, 845, 846.

[*cont.*

Transvaal—*cont.*
Chinese Labour—*cont.*
"Tweeddale" party of Coolies, Arrival and Transmission of—Report of Lord Milner.
Qs. Dr. Macnamara; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 767; *July 26*, 1204–1205.
Wages, Rate of, etc.
Q. Mr. H. Samuel; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 761.
Minimum Wage—Pledge given to the House, etc.
Os. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 793–795; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 808; Sir C. Dilke, 814; Mr. Markham, 832–834; Mr. Lyttelton, 840, 841, 844; Mr. Stroyan, 858.
White labour, effect of introduction on.
Os. Mr. R. Lucas, *July 22*, 999; Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. S. Buxton, 1000.
Wives and Children, facilities for introduction of.
Os. Sir C. Dilke, *July 21*, 816, 817; Mr. Lytteltou, 845.
Compensation Fund, Cost of distribution of.
O. Sir R. Reid, *July 21*, 854.
Delagoa Bay—Pier and Land at Lorenço Marques, Protection of Transvaal Interests, etc.
Q. Master of Elibank; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1042.
Devastation in, caused by the War, Steps taken to rebuild Farms, Houses, etc., Expenditure on.
Os. Sir R. Reid, *July 21*, 851, 852; Maj. Seely, 866; Mr. Lyttelton, 872, 873.
Financial Position of.
Os. Sir R. Reid, *July 21*, 854–857; Mr. Lyttelton, 874–876; Mr. Lloyd-George, 878, 879.
Annual revenue and expenditure account.
O. Sir R. Reid, *July 21*, 854, 855.
Milner, Lord, Methods of.
Os. Sir C. Dilke, *July 21*, 820–822.
Receipts and expenditure for 1903–4.
Q. Mr. Buchanan; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 761–762.
Repayments to Great Britain, Question of, etc.
References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 28*, 1488, 1489, 1493–1495, 1531.
Kruger, Late Mr., Burial of, in Transvaal, proposed—Permission of British Government, offer of Warship for transport of body, etc.
Qs. Mr. S. Macneill, Mr. Power; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 18*, 289.
Q. Mr. Power; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 767, 768.

Transvaal—*cont.*
Labour Question.
Chinese Labour, *see that subheading.*
Indian Labour, reasons for non-employment of.
Os. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 791, 792; Mr. J. Chamberlain, 804–806; Sir C. Dilke, 815; Sir M. Bhownaggree, 822.
Native Labour in Mines.
Overseers, Employment of Kaffirs as.
Q. Mr. Markham; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 14*, 34.
Treatment of.
O. Mr. Markham, *July 21*, 829.
White Labour.
Chinese Labour, Effect of introduction of, on.
Os. Mr. R. Lucas, *July 22*, 999; Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. S. Buxton, 1000.
Impossibility of Working Gold Mines with.
O. Mr. Markham, *July 21*, 831.
Land Settlement Scheme, Progress of, and Expenditure on.
O. Sir R. Reid, *July 21*, 853, 854.
Military Receipts given during the War, Redemption of.
Os. Sir R. Reid, *July 21*, 583; Maj. Seely, 866, 867.
Milner, Lord, Criticisms on Administration of.
O. Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 872, 873.
Mines.
Chinese Labour, *see that subheading.*
Kaffirs, Employment of, as Overseers.
Q. Mr. Markham; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 14*, 34.
Life of Gold Mines—Basis of calculation for Profit Tax.
Qs. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Markham; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 19*, 414.
Peace Preservation Ordinance, Reasons for keeping in force.
O. Sir R. Reid, *July 21*, 854.
Railways.
Girouard, Sir Percy, Resignation of—Tabling Papers, Proposed.
Q. Mr. Buchanan; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 19*, 413, 414.
Transfer to Civil Authorities—Provision for Payment of amount outstanding, to Imperial Treasury.
Qs. Mr. Whitley; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 26*, 1206.
Representative Institutions to be granted to.
Os. Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 843, 844; Sir R. Reid, 849.

[*cont.*

Transvaal—*cont.*
  Sand River Convention, Terms of.
    Qs. Sir H. Fowler, *July 21*, 797, 798, Mr. J. Chamberlain, 810.
  Self-Government.
    Qs. Dr. Macnamara, *July 21*, 870; Mr. Lyttelton, 870, 871.
    Correspondence with Lord Milner—Tabling, proposed.
      Q. Dr. Macnamara; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 21*, 768.
    Information as to Details.
      Q. Mr. Horner; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1042.
      Qs. Dr. Macnamara; *As.* Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. Speaker, *July 26*, 1206–1207.
  Stores, Purchase of, by Messrs. Wilson and Worthington—Action of Col. Morgan—Text of Agreement for Purchase, etc.
    Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 25*, 1039.
    Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1043.
  War Contribution.
    Date of Payment of, etc.
      References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 28*, 1488, 1489.
    Estimates, Provision in, for Payment of first instalment.
      Q. Mr. Whitley; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 25*, 1041–1042.
      Q. Mr. Whitley; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 28*, 1467.

Treasury
  First Lord—Mr. A. J. Balfour.

Trevelyan, Mr. C. P. [Yorkshire, W.R., Elland]
  Coal, Export Duty on—Annual, instead of Permanent Tax, proposed, *July 22*, 955.
  Criminal Aliens Bill — Facilities for Passage of, proposed—Rejection of suggested arrangement by Committee, etc., *July 18*, 288.
  Finance Bill
    Com., *July 19*, 449, 450, 452, 454-456, 542.
    Con., *July 22*, 955.
  Income Tax, Graduation of, proposed, *July 19*, 449, 452-456.

Trillick, Ireland
  Union Jack on Orange Hall, Destruction of, Alleged.
    Q. Mr. Sloan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 756, 757.

Trinity College, Dublin
  see under Dublin.

Trustees
  Frauds by, Prevention of, by Establishment of Public Trustee, proposed.
    Q. Sir H. Vincent; Sir R. Finlay, *July 28*, 1446, 1447.

Tuberculosis (Animals) Compensation Bill
  c. Report from Select Committee, *July 19*, 430.

Tullaroan
  Postal Arrangements —Memorial from Mr. R. Meagher.
    Q. Mr. J. Devlin; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 18*, 254.

Tullcha
  School, Instruction in Irish Language at.
    Qs. Mr. Boland; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1215–1216.

Tully, Mr. J. [Leitrim, S.]
  Belfast Corporation Tramways Bill.
    2R., *July 19*, 503.
  Boyle, Erection of cottages at—Reason for refusing loan to Town Commissioners, *July 19*, 408.
  Castlerea Rate Collector, Payment of arrears of poundage to, Proposed, *July 19*, 424; *July 26*, 1217.
  Economic Holdings on grazing and untenanted lands — Number provided, etc., *July 14*, 44; *July 18*, 281.
  Hastings *v.* Cogavin—Application of Enactments Order—Assimilation of law in England and Ireland, Proposed, *July 18*, 282, 283.
  Jones-Lloyd Estate—Notice to quit served on tenant by landlord for refusing to pay price asked, alleged, *July 14*, 45.
  Keadew National School teacher, reason for dismissal of, by patron—right to pension or compensation, etc., *July 19*, 24.
  Labourers' Cottages, Occupancy of, by other than *bonâ fide* labourers, complaints received as to, etc., *July 14*, 44, 45.
  McGuire Estate, Sale of—Reinstatement of evicted tenant, etc., *July 26*, 1217; *July 27*, 1343.
  Mayo Co.—Firearm outrage—Proceedings instituted by police, etc., *July 25*, 1056–1057.
  Roscrea Income Tax Appeals—Names of Special Commissioners, *July 14*, 47.
  Roscommon—Animals, cruelty to—Number of sentences of imprisonment during past five years, etc., *July 18*, 283. *July 25*, 1056.

Turkey

Tithe Reform Schemes proposed in—Restrictions imposed on Gendarmerie Officers.
 Q. Mr. Moon; *A.* Earl Percy, *July 14*, 25-26.

Trade Reports Presented, *July 19*, 387; *July 25*, 1011.

"Tweeddale."

Chinese Coolies, landing of, in South Africa, *see under* Transvaal – Chinese Labour, Importation of

Tweedmouth, Lord

Army—Rifle, New Service, Information as to, *July 14*, 8-13, 17, 18.

Tynemouth Corporation

c. 3R.* *July 14*, 19.
l. Commons' Amendts., *Con.* *July 15*, 145.
 Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Bill.

c. Rep.* *July 22*, 940.
 Con. *July 28*, 1440.

Uganda

Concessions in—Return Presented, *July 19*, 387, 406.

Railway Committee, Final Report of, presented, *July 26*, 1177, 1189.

United States of America

Africa, South.

 Exports to, Increase in Total Value of.
  Q. Earl Grey, *July 19*, 397, 398.

 Freights to, Return of, with Quantities and description of Manufactured Goods exported.
  Qs. Earl Grey, *July 19*, 395-402; Lord Wolverton, 402, 403; Earl of Rosebery, Marquess of Lansdowne, 403.

Mail Service—Sorting Arrangements at Queenstown.
 Q. Mr. Nannetti; *A.* Lord Stanley, *July 26*, 1219, 1220.

Ports of, British Vessels entering, Reduction in Charges on, etc.
 Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. G. Balfour, *July 26*, 1194.

St. Louis Exhibition—Irish Section, Extra Charge for Admission, number of Advertisements issued, etc.
 Q. Capt. Donelan; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 779-780.

Trade Report Presented, *July 14*, 4.

Universities

Ireland.

 Royal University.

  Scholarships, etc., Regulations as Holding, in addition to Queen's College Scholarships.
   Qs. Mr. J. Redmond, Mr. S. MacNeill; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 19*, 424-425.

  Senate, Vacancy in, Appointment of Dr. Leslie, proposed.
   Q. Mr. C. Craig; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 27*, 1323.

 Trinity College, *see under* Dublin.

Oxford—Worcester College—Statutes Presented, *July 22*, 889, 941.

University College

Vivisection Experiments on Dogs, Number of, Performed in 1903.
 Q. Dr. Shipman; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 22*, 944.

University of Liverpool Bill

c. 2R.* *July 14*, 143.
 Com. *July 21*, 884.

Vaccination

Prisons—Glasgow—Regulations as to Consent of Prisoners, etc.
 Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *July 25*, 1026, 1027.

Valuation Bill

Government Intentions as to.
 Q. Mr. Duncan; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 14*, 49.

Vauxhall Bridge

Closing, Complaints as to Obstruction to Traffic from—Date of Completion, etc.
 Q. Mr. Fison; *A.* Mr. A. Douglas, *July 28*, 1445.

Venezuela

Scotland, Lucy, Compensation to, for Ill-treatment.
 Q. Sir T. Esmonde; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July 27*, 1324.

Vincent, Sir E. [Exeter]

Expenditure, House of Commons Control over, increasing — Recommendations of Select Committee of Inquiry, *July 28*, 1503.

Finance Bill.
 Con. *July 25*, 1085.
 3R. *July 28*, 1502.

Financial Position of the Country, *July 28*, 1504.

National Debt—Sinking Fund, Position of, *July 25*, 1085-1087.

Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. H. [Sheffield, Central]

Aliens.

Number arriving for Settlement in the United Kingdom during the last six months, etc., *July 22*, 943.

Prisons, Number of Aliens in, *July 19*, 416.

Army Contracts—Orders, Allocation of, *July 22*, 949.

Defence of the Empire, Forces necessary for, *July 28*, 1478.

Fiscal Policy—Free Trade *v* Protection—Colonial Conference, proposed, *July 25*, 1041.

India—Petitions for Redress of Grievances presented in House of Commons, Action taken on, etc., *July 19*, 415.

Merchant Shipping.

British Seamen—Number of, Unemployed, &c., *July 18*, 257.

Foreign Seamen.

Number Arriving to Ship in British Ports—Acquaintance with Shipping Regulations, etc., *July 18*, 257.

Restriction on Employment of, on British Ships, by Amendment to Merchant Shipping Bill, proposed, *July 15*, 155.

Traité des Blanches, Ratification of, *July 28*, 1445.

Trustees, Frauds by, Prevention of, by Establishment of Public Trustee, proposed, *July 28*, 1446.

Volunteers.

Home District, Strength of Corps in, on 1st July, 1901, and 1st July, 1904—Number of Officers, etc., *July 15*, 162.

Norfolk Commission Recommendations, Adoption of, *July 28*, 1458.

Reduction of—Particulars as to proposals, *July 21*, 766.

Vivisection
see Animals—Experiments on.

Voluntary Schools
see under Education.

Volunteers

Camps—Orderly Room, Provision of Tent for use as, proposed.
Q. Mr. Tillett; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 28*, 1453.

Division of, into two Classes, proposed.
Os. Earl Spencer, *July 21*, 742, 743.

Establishment Reduction in, proposed.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 77.

Volunteers—*cont.*

Establishment—*cont.*

Particulars as to—Proposals of the Government,
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 21*, 766.

Grant to, proposed increase in,
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 78.

Home District, strength of corps in, on 1st July, 1901, and 1st July, 1904—number of Officers, etc.
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 15*, 162–165.

Norfolk Commission Recommendations, Adoption of.
Q. Sir H. Vincent; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 28*, 1458.

Organisation of, unsatisfactory nature of
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 66, 116; Col. Pilkington, 108.

Review of, in Hyde Park, proposed,
Q. Sir T. Dewar; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 26*, 1201.

Transport, Grant for,
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 79.

Wages

Rates of, changes in—Report with Comparative Statistics for 1903-4, presented, *July 28*, 1443.

Waltham Abbey and Cheshunt Gas Provisional Order

Report by Board of Trade, dispensing with consent of Cheshunt Urban District Council, presented, *July 14*, 5.

Walton, Mr. Joseph [Yorkshire, W.R., Barnsley]

Coal—Export duty on.

Ad valorem Tax, proposed, *July 22*, 964, 965.

Discussion of, Opportunity for, *July 20*, 540, 542, 584.

Effect of, on the trade and wages of miners, etc.—Abolition of duty Proposed, *July 20*, 609–613; *July 22*, 959–968.

Income Tax paid by Coal-owners on a five years' average, *July 22*, 962.

Expenditure, House of Commons Control over, Increasing—Recommendations of Select Committee of Inquiry, *July 28*, 1526.

Finance Bill.

Com., *July 20*, 540, 542, 584, 585, 609, 616, 636.
Motion to report Progress, *July 20*, 636
Con., *July 22*, 959, 973.
3R. *July 28*, 1526.

Financial position of the Country—Increase in Expenditure, etc., *July 28*, 1527–1532.

[*cont.*

Walton, Mr. Joseph, etc.—*cont.*
Licensing Bill, *con.*, *July 26* 1285.
Transvaal, Financial condition of—Question of Repayments to Great Britain, etc., *July 28*, 1531.

Walton, Mr. T. L. [Leeds, S.]
Licensing Bill, *con.*, *July 26*, 1255. 1263, 1265, ; *July 27*, 1355, 1385.

War Office
Secretary of State—Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster.
Under-Secretary—Earl of Donoughmore.
Financial Secretary—Mr. W. Bromley-Davenport.
Decentralisation in.
O. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 59, 81.
Indian Representative—Abolition of Appointment.
Q. Capt. Norton ; *A.* Mr. Brodrick, *July 25*, 1044.
Intelligence Department, Increase in.
Os. Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 14*, 59, 81.
Malta—Land, etc., Held by War Office, Acreage, Estimated Rental, etc.
Q. Mr. Boland ; *A.* Mr. Lyttelton, *July, 18*, 262.
Ordnance Survey Department — Civil Assistant, Reduction in Pay of, for Absence without Leave—Restoration of Position, etc., Proposed.
Q. Mr. Nannetti ; *A.* Mr. A. Fellowes, *July 14*, 37.

Warden Estate
Sale of.
Q. Mr. Boland ; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 26*, 1213.

Warner, Mr. T. C. T. [Staffordshire, Lichfield]
Coal, Export Duty on, Opportunity for Discussion on, *July 20*, 539, 630.
Finance Bill.
Com. July 18, 376 ; *July 19*, 475 ; *July 20*, 630.
Con. July 25, 1097.
Financial Position of the Country, *July 25*, 1097–1099.
Income Tax, Graduation of, Proposed, *July 19*, 475.
Licensing Bill, *Con. July 27*, 1391.
Tobacco Duties, Additional, on Stripped Tobacco, *July 18*, 376.

Wason, Mr. E. [Clackmannan and Kinross]
Coal, Export Duty on.
Discussion of, Opportunity for, *July 20*, 534, 543, 630.
Effect of, on the Trade and Wages of Miners, etc., *July 20*, 643–645.
Finance Bill, *Com. July 20*, 534, 543, 630, 643.

Wason, Mr. J. C. [Orkney and Shetland]
Africa, East, Steamship Communication with—German East African Company, Arrangement with, proposed, *July 25*, 1046.
New Zealand—Chief Justice, Alteration as to Precedence of, *July 21*, 768–769 ; *July 25*, 1044.
Zanzibar Regent Complaints Against—Inquiry proposed, *July 21*, 769.

Water Orders Confirmation Bill
c. 2R.* *July* 25, 1023.
Nature of Proposals—Return Presented *July 14*, 22.

Ways and Means
Amount Remaining Unissued, etc.
Q. Mr. E. Robertson ; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 14*, 49.

Weir, Mr. J. G. [Ross and Cromarty]
Avoch Harbour Works, Decision as to Grant for, *July 21*, 753.
Ceylon—Tamil Children, Education of—Committee Report, Delay in Presenting, *July 19*, 412.
Congested Districts (Scotland) Bill, Date of Proceeding with, *July 22*, 946.
Crofting Counties—Cookery and Household Economy, Number of Girls receiving Instruction in, *July 25*, 1026.
Dogs, Cancer in—Cause of, Examination of Specimens, etc., *July 22*, 944.
Fish, Carriage of, from Scotland to Southern Markets — Reduction in Rates, proposed, *July 27*, 1320.
Glasgow, Prison—Regulations as to Vaccination of Prisoners, *July 25*, 1026, 1027.
India.
Irrigation Works, Progress of, *July 28*, 1450.
Petitions for Redress of Grievances presented by Pandit Adya Prasada Misra, Bandaru Appala Charyulu and Muthia Gounden, Action taken on, *July 18*, 261.
Police, Report on, Date of Tabling, *July 28*, 1450.
Sivasulramania Nadan—Petition for Redress of Grievances, Action taken, etc., *July 19*, 410.
Post Office, Tain, Extra Charge on Letters Addressed to, *July 18*, 255.
Savings Banks—Post Office.
Deposits of less than One Pound, Estimated Saving on Abolition of Acknowledgment of, *July 21*, 751.
Withdrawals by Telegraph during 1904, *July 28*, 1447.
Scottish Office — Letters Addressed to Members of Parliament, Postage of, *July 27*, 1320.
Stornoway Mail Service, Delays in, *July 28*, 1447.

Weir Estate
Sale of—Proposals of Land Judge as to unsold portion of estate.
Qs. Mr. O'Dowd; *As.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 776, 777.

Weir, L. O., Estate of
Sale of—Construction of Section 7 of Land Act, 1903.
Q. Mr. T. W. Russell; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 778.

Wemyss, Earl of
Army Rifle, New pattern, experiments with, *July 14*, 18.

West Ham Police Court
Birch, weight of.
Q. Mr. S. MacNeill; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 18*, 271.

West Riding Tramways Bill
c. *Con.** *July 18*, 249.

Westropp Estate
Sale of—Progress of Negotiations.
Q. Mr. Sheehy; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 18*, 274.

Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. L. [York, W.R. Ripon]
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 27*, 1354, 1363.

Whisky
Patent still, Investigation of—Recommendation of Royal Commission on Arsenical Poisoning.
Q. Mr. MacVeagh; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *July 25*, 1065.

Whiteley, Mr. G. [York, W.R., Pudsey]
Finance Bill.
Com, *July 20*, 545, 557, 558, 596, 597, 672.
Con., *July 25*, 1161.
Friendly Societies—Income tax, exemption of Societies with incomes less than £160, proposed, *July 20*, 672.
Sugar Duty of 1901, Effect of, on consumption of sugar, etc., *July 20*, 596, 597.
Tea, additional duty on, objections to, *July 25*, 1162.
Unclaimed Dividend Account, realisation of, *July 20*, 557, 558.

Whitley, Mr. J. H. [Halifax]
Africa, South, Garrison in—Cost of maintenance, Expenditure on barracks, etc., *July 26*, 1203–1204.
Coal, Export Duty on—Annual, instead of permanent tax, proposed, *July 22*, 954.
Finance Bill.
Con. *July 25*, 1099, 1139.
3R., *July 28*, 1491.
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1268 *July 27*, 1404.

Whitley, Mr. J. H.—*cont.*
Post Office Sites Bill, 2R., *July 26*, 1316.
Sugar Duty of 1901, Effect of, *July 25*, 1139.
Taxation, Increase in — Proportion between Direct and Indirect Taxation, etc., *July 28*, 1492, 1493.
Transvaal.
Chinese Labour, Importation of — Offices, Depôts, etc., Number provided, Payment for, etc., *July 28*, 1463.
Estimates — Railways, Transfer of Control of, to Civil Authorities—Provision for Payment to Imperial Treasury, etc., *July 26*, 1206.
Financial Condition of—Question of Repayments to Great Britain, *July 28*, 1493–1495.
War Contribution, Provision for Payment of, *July 25*, 1041; *July 28*, 1467.

Whitmore, Mr. C. A. [Chelsea]
War Trophies—Guns allotted to London, London County Council's Refusal to take charge of, etc., *July 26*, 1200–1201.

Whittaker, Mr. T. P. [Yorkshire, W.R., Spen Valley]
Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1232, 1265; *July 27*, 1353, 1363, 1373, 1396.

Wild Birds Protection Acts Amendment (St. Kilda) Bill
c. 2R.* *July 14*, 143.
Com., Rep., and 3R.* *July 21*, 884.
l. 1R.* *July 22*, 936.
2R. *July 28*, 1437.

Wills, Sir F. [Bristol, N.]
Finance Bill.
Com., *July 18*, 297, 327.
3R., *July 28*, 1546, 1549, 1550.
Tobacco Duties, additional, on Stripped Tobacco, *July 18*, 327, 328; *July 28*, 1546–1550.

Wilson, Mr. H. J. [Yorkshire, W.R., Holmfirth].
India, Water Storage in—Progress of survey, etc., *July 26*, 1198.

Wilson, Mr. J. [Durham, Mid.]
Coal, Export Duty on.
Discussion of, opportunity for, *July 20*, 534, 579.
Effect of, on the trade and wages of Miners—Reduction of duty, proposed, *July 20*, 601-609.
Finance Bill.
Motion to Report Progress, *July 20*, 579.
Com. *July 20*, 534, 579, 601.
Postmasterships — Vacancies, number of, filled by persons not previously in the Civil Service, *July 21*, 752.

Wilson, Mr. J. [Glasgow, St. Rollox]

Telegraph Service, Glasgow—Clerks, proposed reduction in class of, *July 18*, 255.

Windsor, Lord—*First Commissioner of Works.*

Westminster, Palace of, Decoration of—Appointment of Committee of Inquiry, proposed, *July 25*, 1018, 1019.

Wines

Fraudulent trade description and sale of manufactured Wine—Protection of the public, etc.
Q. Mr. A. Gibbs; *A.* Mr. A. Chamberlain, *July 26*, 1196, 1197.

Winter Assizes

Orders in Council relating to, Presented, *July 22*, 889, 942.

Wireless Telegraphy Bill

c.1R.* *July 18*, 295.

Memorandum explanatory of, Presented, *July 19*, 407.

Wishaw Corporation Order Confirmation Bill

l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 886, 938.

Witton, Lieutenant

Mitigation of sentence, suggested, Government Decision as to.
Qs. Mr. W. Churchill, Mr. Joyce; *As.* Mr. B. Davenport, Mr. Speaker, *July 14*, 32–33.
Q. Mr. W. Churchill; *A.* Mr. Arnold-Forster, *July 19*, 412, 413.

Wolverhampton Corporation Bill

l. Royal Assent, *July 22*, 887, 939.

Wolverton, Lord

Africa, South, Freights to, Return of, with Quantities and Description of Manufactured Goods Exported from the United Kingdom and America, Proposed, *July 19*, 402–403.

Torquay Tramways Bill, 3R., *July 25*, 1008.

Worcester College, Oxford

Statutes made by Governing Body Presented, *July 22*, 889, 941.

Workhouses

Eastville, Bristol—Sick Poor Accommodation, Schemes for Improvement of.
Q. Mr. H. Samuel; *A.* Mr. W. Long, *July 21*, 750–751.

Ireland.

Inspection in—Qualification of Inspectors, etc.
Q. Dr. Thompson; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 21*, 757–758.

Roscommon—Proposal of District Council to make Allowances to certain Inmates—Refusal of Permission by Local Government Board.
Q. Mr. J. O'Kelly; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *July 14*, 43.

Workmen's Compensation Acts

Extension of—Legislation Proposed.
Q. Mr. S. Evans; *A.* Mr. A. A. Douglas, *July 18*, 271.

Works

First Commissioner—Lord Windsor.

Naval—

Estimated Cost, and Estimated Expenditure on, during 1903–4 and 1904-5, and Date of Completion—Statement as to, Presented, *July 22*, 942.

Expenditure on, Growth of.

References to, in Debate on the Finance Bill, *July 25*, 1070, 1098.

Worsley-Taylor, Mr. H. W. [Lancaster, Blackpool].

Licensing Bill, *Con.*, *July 26*, 1263, 1265; *July 27*, 1354, 1383, 1393.

Wrightson, Sir T. [St. Pancras, E.]

Coal, Export Duty on, Effect of, on the Trade and Wages of Miners, etc., *July 22*, 986.

Finance Bill, *Con.*, *July 22*, 986.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*Chief Secretary for Ireland* [Dover], 136.

Agricultural and Technical Instruction Department.

Longford—Appointment of Agricultural Instructor, *July 25*, 1054.

Statistical Section, Superintendent—Filling Vacancy, *July 28*, 1476.

Veterinary Branch.

Memorial from Officers, Text of Reply to, *July 19*, 423.

Pension Claim, Treasury Decision as to, etc., *July 26*, 1214; *July 27*, 1341.

Transfer to Merrion Street, proposed, *July 26*, 1218.

Animals, Cruelty to—Roscommon—Number of Sentences of Imprisonment during past five years, etc., *July 18* 283; *July 25*, 1056.

Aughnamullen East, Band at—Action of Constable Creaghan, *July 14*, 30.

Ballinasloe Lunatic Asylum—Medical Superintendent—Appointment of Dr. Kirwan in place of Dr. Mills, Tabling Correspondence as to, proposed, *July 19*, 422.

Banbridge, Parade of Nationalist Band at, *July 26*, 1200.

Banks' Loan Fund—Losses of Debenture Holders, *July 21*, 757.

[*cont.*

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*cont.*
  Belfast.
    Dundonald Cemetery—Regulations as to Burial of Roman Catholics—Corporation Refusal to Concede to Bishop Henry's Demand, etc., *July 25*, 1051.
    Queen's College, *see that sub-heading.*
  Belturbet — Artisans' Dwelling Scheme, Progress of Negotiations as to, *July 18*, 281.
  Bertillon System, Regulations for Introduction of, into Irish Prisons, *July 18*, 275, 276.
  Blackrock—Motor Speed, Regulations for, *July 28*, 1471.
  Boyle—Cottages, proposed Erection of—Reason for refusing Loan to Town Commissioners, *July 19*, 408.
  Burke, D. J., Sale of Estate of—Price asked, etc., *July 26*, 1212-1213.
  Butter.
    Delay in Transit of saltless butter, alleged, *July 26*, 1218.
    Salt Firkin, Regulations as to, *July 21*, 781.
  Cahircivane to Coppal—Construction of Road, proposed, *July 26*, 1211.
  Carnane Estate, Proposals as to Sale of, *July 19*, 419.
  Castlerea Rate Collector, Payment of Arrears of Poundage to, proposed, *July 19*, 424; *July 26*, 1217.
  Cattle Food, Analysis of — Authority Empowered to undertake Analyses, etc., *July 25*, 1055.
  Civil Service Estimates, Opportunity for Discussing, *July 21*, 775; *July 28*, 1483.
  Cladnageerah—Date of Commencement of Marine Works, *July 19*, 411.
  Clinton Estate—Disturbances at evictions, *July 27*, 1339.
  Collierstown—Reinstatement of F. Morris, Evicted Tenant, *July 18*, 275.
  Congested Districts Board.
    Cahircivane to Coppal—Construction of Road, proposed, *July 26*, 1211.
    Clerical Staff, Regulations as to appointment of, *July 26*, 1193.
    Kerry, Offer of Land in, price asked, etc., *July 18*, 273.
    Mahon's Estate, Alleged Purchase of, *July 28*, 1472.
    O'Donovan, Mr., Property of, in Durrus District—Date of Inspection by Congested Districts Board, *July 21*, 757.
    Spraying Machines, Supply of, to Farmers at Reduced Prices, alleged, *July 14*, 39.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*cont.*
  Constabulary, Royal Irish.
    Anderson, Constable, Case of—Connection with Sheridan Case, *July 18*, 276, 277; *July 21*, 780.
    Aughnamullen East, Band at—Action of Constable Creaghan, *July 14*, 30.
    Cork, Religion of Head Constables at, *July 18*, 277.
    Kanturk—Bicycle-riding on footpath by Constable, alleged, *July 26*, 1199.
    Mountpottinger Barracks, occupation of quarters in, by Head Constable not stationed in District, alleged, *July 21*, 776; *July 25*, 1052, 1053.
    Roundstone — Flags displayed on licensed premises, Illegal prohibition of, by Constabulary—Letter of Rev. Mr. Gleeson, asking for dismissal of Constables, alleged, *July 18*, 278-279.
    Salaries of Constables, initial, *July 19*, 417.
  Cork Police—Religion of Head Constables, *July 18*, 277.
  Cusack Estate, Sale of — Progress of negotiations, *July 14*, 38.
  De Burgh, Henrietta, Sale of Estate of—Safeguarding landlord and tenants against bargains induced by duress, etc., *July 14*, 42.
  De Montalt, Earl, Estate of—Delay in hearing Fair Rent Appeals, alleged, *July 18*, 282.
  Dromore—Assault on Mr. Gamble, Prosecution of assailants, etc., *July 21*, 778.
  Dublin.
    Castle Telegraph Office, Appointment of Constable Woulfe, *July 28*, 1474.
    Marlborough Street Training College. Building Grants, Return as to, *July 26*, 1216.
      Students — Number, Religious Denominations, etc., Return as to, *July 26*, 1216-1217.
    Motor bicycles, alteration of numbers on, to escape Identification after an accident, alleged, *July 18*, 273.
    Trinity College.
      Administration and Government—Ages and Emoluments of Senior Fellows, etc., *July 21*, 782.
      Estate Commission—Date of first Sitting, *July 28*, 1475.
  Dungannon School Attendance Committee, Failure of, to select Chairman, *July 18*, 284.

[*cont.*

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*cont.*
- Edenderry Labourers' Cottages Scheme—Compensation Award, *July 27*, 1342.
- Edgeworthstown.
  - Floods, Cause and Prevention of, etc., *July 26*, 1214.
  - Loan Fund Society, Failure of—Relief to Losers, proposed, *July 26*, 1214–1215.
- Education.
  - Dungannon School Attendance Committee, Failure of, to Select Chairman, *July 18*, 284.
  - Queen's Colleges, *see that sub-heading.*
  - Royal University, *see that sub-heading.*
  - Starkie, Dr., Visit of, to Intermediate Schools — Authority to leave Dublin, Length of Absence, etc., *July 18*, 282.
  - Training Colleges — Marlborough Street—Returns as to Building Grants and Number of Students, etc., *July 26*, 1216–1217.
  - Trinity College, *see under sub-heading* Dublin.
  - Tulloha School, Instruction in Irish Language at, *July 26*, 1215, 1216.
- Evictions.
  - Ballymacrossin—Estate of Major Fox—Reinstatement of Miss Masterson, etc., *July 14*, 43; *July 18*, 279, 280.
  - Clinton Estate Disturbances, Action as to, *July 27*, 1339.
  - Collierstown—Re-instatement of F. Morris, *July 18*, 275.
  - McGuire Estate—Re-instatement of T. Rourke, etc., *July 26*, 1217; *July 27*, 1343.
  - Mahony Estate—Re-instatement of Mr. F. Doherty, *July 14*, 39.
  - Malone, Rev. S. L., Estate of—Re-instatement of P. O'Brien, *July 14*, 41; *July 25*, 1051.
  - Re-instatement of Evicted Tenants—Question of Compensation to present occupiers who have purchased holdings, *July 19*, 407, 408.
- Fair Rent.
  - Appeals
    - De Montalt, Earl, Estate of—Reason for delay, *July 18*, 282.
    - Rowland Estate—Action of Major Kiggel as Agent for owner, *July 14*, 41.
  - Applications, Number, etc., of, since 1881, *July 21*, 781–782.
- Fenit Pier, Particulars as to Loan for, *July 21*, 783.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*cont.*
- Fisheries.
  - Ballynahinch Trout Fisheries, Illegal netting in, alleged, *July 27*, 1341.
  - Bann River, Upper, Illegal net fishing in, *July 26*, 1199.
  - South East Coast—Government proposals as to encouraging fishing industry, *July 21*, 756.
- Galbraith Estate, Sale of—Applications received, *July 25*, 1055.
- Galway — Land Purchase — Transactions within area of Parliamentary Borough, *July 21*, 775.
- Gault Estate Sale of—Progress of Negotiations, *July 21*, 776.
- Gortnasate—Date of Commencement of Marine Works, *July* 19, 411.
- Grazing Farms in West of Ireland Let or Sold to Non-resident Graziers, alleged—Powers of Estates Commissioners, etc., *July 25*, 1050.
- Hastings *v.* Cogavin — Interpretation of "Public Work" in Application of Enactments Order, and Assimilation of Law in England and Ireland, proposed, *July 18*, 283.
- Holywood District Council's Withholding Authority to Sign Cheques, alleged, *July 27*, 1339.
- Inny Junction Peat Production Experiment—Cost, etc., *July 25*, 1055.
- Irish Language—Tulloha, Instruction in School at, *July 26*, 1215, 1216.
- Irish Loan Fund Bill, Date of Taking, Amendments acceptable to the Government, etc., *July 25*, 1049.
- Jones Lloyd Estate, Sale of—Notice to Quit served on Tenant by Landlord, for refusing to pay price asked, alleged, *July 14*, 45.
- Kanturk—Bicycle-riding on Footpath by Constable, alleged, *July 26*, 1199.
- Keadew—School Teacher, Reason for Dismissal of—Right to Pension or Compensation, etc., *July 19*, 424.
- Kerry.
  - County Court Land Valuer acting as Land Agent on Rowland Estate, alleged, *July 14*, 41.
  - Land offered for Purchase to Congested Districts Board—Price, etc., *July 18*, 273.
- Kilbride Camp Canteen Licence—Irregularity in signing Order—Decision on Action of Mr. Shanks, etc., *July 18*, 275.
- Kinvara Pier, Improvement in, proposed, *July 25*, 1056.

[*cont.*

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*cont.*
- Labourers' Cottages.
  - Belturbet Scheme—Progress of Negotiation, *July 18*, 281.
  - Boyle—Reason for refusing Loan to Town Commissioners, *July 19*, 408.
  - Edenderry Scheme — Compensation Award, *July 27*, 1342.
  - Occupancy of, by Labourers, Complaints received as to other than *bonâ fide*, etc., *July 14*, 44, 45.
- Labourers (Ireland) Bill, Committee on, Adjournment of, etc., *July 14*, 50.
- Land Commission.
  - Grazing Farms in West of Ireland let or sold to Non-resident Graziers, alleged — Powers of Commissioners, etc., *July 25*, 1050.
  - Rents—Comparison of 1881 with 1903, Reductions since 1881, etc., *July 21*, 781-782.
  - Staff of Estate Commissioners, Increase in, *July 25*, 1048.
- Land Purchase.
  - Advances made since 1881, Statistics as to, *July 21*, 781-782.
  - Burke, D. J., Estate of—Price asked, etc., *July 26*, 1212, 1213.
  - Carnane Estate, Proposals as to, *July 19*, 419.
  - Cusack Estate Progress of Negotiations, *July 14*, 38.
  - De Burgh, Henrietta, Estate of—Safeguarding Landlord and Tenants against Bargains induced by Duress, etc., *July 14*, 42.
  - Economic Holdings on Grazing and Untenanted Lands—Number provided, etc., *July 14*, 44; *July 18*, 281.
  - Estates certified under Land Act (1903) Section 6, Subsection 4, *July 27*, 1322.
  - Galbraith Estate—Applications received, *July 25*, 1055.
  - Galway—Transactions within Area of Parliamentary Borough, *July 21*, 775.
  - Gault Estate—Progress of Negotiations, *July 21*, 776.
  - Jones Lloyd Estate—Notice to quit served on Tenant by Landlord, for refusing to pay price asked, alleged, *July 14*, 45.
  - Kerry, Offers to Congested Districts Board, Price asked, etc., *July 18*, 273.
  - Land Clerks, Employment and pay of, *July 27*, 1342.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*cont.*
- Land Purchase—*cont.*
  - McGuire Estate, Sale of, Applications received, *July 26*, 1217; *July 27*, 1343.
  - Malone, Rev. S. L, Estate of—Proposals to sell, etc., *July 14*, 41; *July 25*, 1051.
  - Morley Estate—Affirmances of Decrees for Rent, etc., *July 25*, 1054.
  - Rowland Estate—Offer from Major Kiggel as agent of owner, *July 14*, 41.
  - Sherlock Estate, Cork — Affording Opportunity for Tenants to purchase Holdings, *July 14*, 30.
  - Skreen, Estate of Mr. Webber at—Application of Mr. J. Higgins, *July 18*, 273, 274.
  - Warden Estate, Inspection of, etc., *July 26*, 1213.
  - Weir Estate—Proposals of Land Judge as to unsold Portion of Estate, *July 21*, 777.
  - Weir, L. O., Estate of—Construction of Section 7 of Land Purchase Act, 1903, *July 21*, 778.
  - Westropp Estate, Sale of—Progress of Negotiations, *July 18*, 274.
- Land Purchase (Ireland) Act, 1903—Construction of Section 7, *July 21*, 778.
- Lisnagade, Disturbances at—Prosecution of Offenders, etc., *July 26*, 1219.
- Loan Fund Board, Functions and Powers of, *July 26*, 1215.
- Local Government Board, Ireland—Tenders, Instructions to Unions, &c., as to accepting lowest, *July 19*, 419-420.
- Longford—Agricultural Instructor, Appointment of, *July 25*, 1054.
- Lunatic Asylums.
  - Ballinasloe—Medical Superintendent—Appointment of Dr. Kirwan in place of Dr. Mills—Tabling Correspondence, proposed, *July 19*, 422.
  - Medical Officers, Regulations as to Appointment of, *July 19*, 420, 421.
- Lurgydonnell River—Prevention of Floods, Inspection of District, &c., *July 25*, 1048.
- McGuire Estate, Sale of, Reinstatement of Evicted Tenant, etc., *July 26*, 1217; *July 27*, 1343.
- Mahon's Estate, Purchase of, by Congested Districts Board, alleged, *July 28*, 1472.
- Mahoney Estate—Reinstatement of Mr. F. Doherty, evicted Tenant, *July 14*, 39.
- Malone, Rev. S. L., Estate of—Proposals to Sell—Reinstatement of P. O'Brien, etc., *July 14*, 41; *July 25*, 1051.

cont.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*cont.*
- Mayo.
  - County Council, Appointments under—Qualifications of Candidates—Necessity for Knowledge of Irish Language, etc., *July 19*, 423.
  - Firearm Outrage—Proceedings instituted by Police, etc., *July 25*, 1057.
- Millstreet Rural District Council—Audit of Accounts—Remission of alleged surcharge, proposed, *July 25*, 1052.
- Morley Estate, sale of—Affirmances of decrees for rent, etc., *July 25*, 1054.
- Motors.
  - Bicycles, Alteration of Numbers on, to escape identification after an accident, alleged, *July 18*, 272, 273.
  - Speed regulations at Blackrock, *July 28*, 1471.
- Mountjoy prison—dismissal of S. J. Carmichael, *July 28*, 1451.
- Mountpottinger Constabulary Barracks, occupation of quarters in, by Head Constable not stationed in district, alleged, *July 21*, 776; *July 25*, 1052, 1053.
- Moy Townlands, Reason for prohibiting processions in, *July 18*, 280–281.
- National Gallery of Ireland—Vacancy on Board of Governors, *July 28*, 1474.
- National School Teachers.
  - Civil Service, Regulations as to entering, *July 19*, 418.
  - Keadew—Reason for dismissal of teacher by patron—Right to pension or compensation, *July 19*, 424.
  - Punishment—Opportunity for explaining or disproving charges—Practice of Commissioners on receiving statement of school manager, etc., *July 14*, 40.
  - Reports, official, on, opportunity of seeing, proposed, *July 27*, 1340.
  - Salaries, Initial, amount of—Increase proposed, *July 19*, 417, 418.
- O'Donovan, Mr., property of in Durrus district—Date of inspection by Congested Districts Board, *July 21*, 757.
- Owenmore River, drainage of, proposed, *July 28*, 1472.
- Peat production experiment at Inny Junction—Cost, etc., *July 25*, 1055.
- Piers and Harbours.
  - Falcorrib, expenditure on, *July 19*, 411.
  - Fenit Pier, Particulars as to loan for, *July 21*, 783.
  - Kinvara, Improvement in pier at, proposed, *July 25*, 1056.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*cont.*
- Poor Law.
  - Medical Officers
    - Retirement, age for, *July 21*, 758, 759.
    - Salaries, Increase in—Amount, to be borne by local rates, etc., *July 19*, 421.
  - Paupers, Deportation of—English and Scotch paupers, legislation to authorise removal of, from Ireland, proposed, *July 14*, 44.
- Portnoo—Date of commencement of marine works, *July 19*, 411.
- Portumna Railway—Investigation and reopening for traffic, proposed, *July 26*, 12, 19; *July 28*, 1476, 1477.
- Poultry-rearing industry—Special railway rates for carriage of poultry, proposed, *July 28*, 1472.
- Prisons.
  - Bertillon System, Regulations for Introduction of, *July 18*, 275, 276.
  - Mountjoy Prison—Dismissal of S. J. Carmichael, *July 28*, 1451.
- Queen's Colleges.
  - Belfast.
    - Professors, Additional Appointments held by, *July 25*, 1053.
    - Session, Duration of, Period for delivery of Lectures, etc., *July 21*, 779.
  - Scholarships, etc.—Regulations as to holding in addition to Royal University Scholarships, *July 19*, 425.
- Railways.
  - Armagh, Keady and Castleblayney Railway, delay in Construction of, alleged, *July 14*, 42.
  - Portumna—Investigation and Reopening for traffic, proposed, *July 26*, 1219; *July 28*, 1476, 1477.
  - Poultry, Special Rate for carriage of, proposed, *July 28*, 1472.
- Rathmines Commissioners, Appeal of, Against Dublin County Council Order—Delay in Decision, alleged, *July 21*, 777.
- Roscommon.
  - Animals, Cruelty to—Number of, sentences of imprisonment during past five years, etc., *July 18*, 283; *July 25*, 1056.
  - District Council, Proposal of, to make allowances to certain Labourers and Inmates of the Workhouse out of the Rates—Refusal of permission by Local Government Board, *July 14*, 43.
- Rosscarbery Petty Sessions—Roman Catholic boy committed to Protestant Industrial School, alleged, *July 28*, 1473.

[*cont.*

yndham, Rt. Hon. G.—*cont.*
- Roundstone—Display of Flags on Licensed Premises, Illegal Prohibition of, by Constabulary—Letter of Rev. Mr. Gleeson, asking for dismissal of constables, alleged, *July 18*, 278–279.
- Rowland Estate, Scale of—Action of Major Kiggel as agent for owner, etc., *July 14*, 41.
- Royal University.
  - Scholarships, etc., Regulations as to holding, in addition to Queen's College Scholarship, *July 19*, 425.
  - Senate, Vacancy in—Appointment of Dr. Leslie, proposed, *July 27*, 1323.
- St. Louis Exhibition, Irish Section—Extra Charge for Admission, Number of Advertisements issued, etc., *July 21*, 779–780.
- Sherlock Estate, Cork—Affording Opportunity for Tenants to Purchase Holdings, *July 14*, 30.
- Skreen, Sale of Estate of Mr. Webber at—Application of Mr. Higgins, *July 18*, 273, 274.
- Tempo Water Supply, Improvement in, proposed, *July 27*, 1343, 1344.
- Trillick—Destruction of Union Jack on Orange Hall, alleged, *July 21*, 757.

Wyndham, Rt. Hon. G. —*cont.*
- Warden Estate, Sale of, *July 26*, 1213.
- Weir Estate, Sale of—Proposals of Land Judge as to Unsold Portion of Estate, *July 21*, 777.
- Weir, L. O., Sale of Estate of—Construction of Section 7, of Land Purchase Act, 1903, *July 21*, 778.
- Westropp Estate, Sale of—Progress of Negotiations, *July 18*, 274.
- Workhouses.
  - Inspection of—Qualifications of Inspectors, etc., *July 21*, 758.
  - Roscommon — Proposal of District Council to make Allowances to Certain Labourers and Inmates—Permission Refused by Local Government Board, etc., *July 14*, 43.

Younger, Mr. W. [Lincolnshire, Stamford]
- Russo-Japanese War — Detention and Search of British Vessels by Russian Cruisers in the Red Sea, Inquiry as to, etc., *July 19*, 409.

Zanzibar
- Regent, Complaints by Envoys against—Inquiry proposed.
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